

509662

The Pahlavi Rivāyat

Accompanying the

Dādestān ī Dēnīg

Alan Vincent Williams

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD.

December, 1983

The School of Oriental and African Studies

University of London

ProQuest Number: 11010633

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 11010633

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

581211



## ABSTRACT

The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg is a collection of sixty-five miscellaneous texts, of varying length, all connected with the Zoroastrian religion (legend, mythology, ritual, customs, ethics, wisdom, precept). In its present form it is attributed to the tenth century of the Christian era, but this redaction comprises much material which is thought to be considerably older, derived from the older, written and oral, priestly tradition of the religion. The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg was edited by B.N. Dhabhar and published in Bombay in 1913. H.K. Mirza presented a transcription and translation, with notes, of the majority of the Pahlavi Rivāyat Preceding the Dādestān ī Dēnīg (omitting four previously published chapters and the three chapters following the Dādestān ī Dēnīg), as a PhD. thesis to the University of London in 1942. Although my own work is quite independent of Dr. Mirza's work, I have paid attention to some of the valuable analysis and etymological explanation of the earlier thesis, in particular because Dr. Mirza was supervised in his work by Professor W.B. Henning. I acknowledge in my thesis any instances where I include textual emendations, translations or explanations which were the result of Dr. Mirza's work with Professor Henning. Like Dr. Mirza, in establishing the text of the Rivāyat I have also used two manuscripts which were not accessible to B.N. Dhabhar: K35 and a ms. in the India Office Library, London. I have, however, as the title of the present thesis indicates, translated the whole of the text in Dhabhar's edition, including the concluding (three) chapters omitted by Dr. Mirza, but excluding chapter 58. The exclusion of chapter 58 - a long and problematic text of extracts from the Nīrangistān - is regrettable, in that it disrupts the otherwise continuous treatment of the text, but necessary because this chapter requires a separate study in its own right and in the context of a study of the Nīrangistān (which is, fortunately, currently being undertaken by Dastur Dr. Firoze Kotwal in Bombay). Because the transliteration of Pahlavi script is problematic and open to widely different interpretation, I present a full transliteration of the text; this is accompanied by a parallel transcription, with footnotes of significant alternative readings in the mss. There follows a new translation of the text and a commentary. This latter comprises an attempt to understand the subject matter of the Rivāyat in its religious (theological and ritual) and historical context.



Table of Contents

Volume I

Foreword.....	5
Abbreviations.....	8
Chapters of the <u>Pahlavi Rivāvat</u> .....	10
Introduction.....	12
Text.....	34

Volume II

Translation.....	353
Notes.....	494
Appendix.....	718
Bibliography.....	721

## Volume I

κλύθι ἰδὼν αἰὼν τε, δίκη δ' ἴθυνε θέμιστας  
τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε, Πέρση ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην.  
Οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἑρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν  
εἰσὶ δύο· τὴν μὲν κεν ἐπαινέσσειε νοήσας,  
ἣ δ' ἐπιμωμητή· διὰ δ' ἀνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.

ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ

### Foreword

The tenth century Pahlavi text which is the subject of this study is commonly known now as the Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg. This is a cumbersome and unilluminating title for a set of writings which are unique in Zoroastrian literature in several respects. In no other Pahlavi text of equivalent length (some 26,000 words) is there so clear a display of so many different facets of the Zoroastrian religious tradition. And yet, because it is found in the company of the celebrated Dādestān ī Dēnīg of the high-priest of Pars and Kirman, Mamušcihr, and, perhaps, because the author is not known, the Pahlavi Rivāyat has been somewhat overlooked. E.W. West did not include it in the Sacred Books of the East series, (though the inferior Sad Dar Naṣr is there), and even now no translation of the whole work has been published. Yet as an indication of its value, it is to be noted that several of its chapters have been studied and translated in learned articles over the last century. The present study, then, was undertaken with a view to giving the Pahlavi Rivāyat its rightful place alongside the other important later religious writings in Pahlavi. It has generally been regarded as an anthology, and thus, perhaps, as having no central unity as a text. It is suggested here, however, that indeed the work constitutes a whole, and is the product of one mind and compiled from the Zoroastrian oral and written traditions of theology, observance, legend, law and spirituality, all put together for the particular purpose of resolving contemporary difficulties. For this reason, if the text were to be given a new title, albeit belatedly, the present writer would suggest 'The Resolutions of the Good Religion' (Wizārišn ī Weh Dēn).

Since the publication of B.N. Dhabhar's edition of the text in 1913, the only major study of the Pahlavi Rivāyat has been an unpublished thesis (treating of most of the Rivāyat preceding the Dādestān ī Dēnīg), which was submitted to the University of London in 1942. Dr Mirza transcribed and translated the text, with philological notes, working under the supervision of the late Professor W.B. Henning. It has not been my intention to duplicate the researches of these two scholars, particularly as I have approached the text with, frankly, less of a philological interest and with more that of a student of the history of religion. Nonetheless I wish to record here my appreciation of their learning and insights in respect of the text. As many others have said

before, the Pahlavi script and grammar pose unique problems to one who tries to read, let alone translate, the writings they enclose. One can have only the deepest admiration for those scholars such as E. W. West who wrestled so dauntlessly with the Pahlavi texts, and who produced pioneer translations which still have value today and which in many cases have not been superseded in the light of new knowledge. A literal translation of the Pahlavi Rivāyat should reflect the clear and confident style of the Pahlavi writer, who, in comparison with other, known authors, expressed himself relatively straightforwardly. There is a rhythm and a robustness here which, one presumes, is born of a high degree of literacy combined with a life of chanting the sacred prayers of the faith. The task of the translator is to keep such elements alive, as far as possible, as well as doing justice to the smaller units of sense. It was originally planned that this study should contain a full glossary of words in the Pahlavi Rivāyat and in texts cited in the notes, and considerable progress was made with this task until it became apparent that the thesis would be far too long with a glossary. This would have been a more serious loss in a text of greater linguistic complexity and uncertainty; it is hoped that the major problems have been dealt with in the notes. It is fully my intention to add a comprehensive glossary in the published version of this thesis -in the hope that the Pahlavi Rivāyat will soon see the light of day in published translation.

For anyone whose primary academic interest is in the study of religion, the Weh Den, the 'Good Religion' of Zoroastrianism affords an unexpected opportunity to look into a remarkably wide spectrum of religious life and thought. For one, also, whose field of study is the literature of Iran, the Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Denīg is especially fascinating, written down as it was at a time of crisis and rapid change in Iran in the tenth century A.D., and preserved in the cryptic and often tantalisingly ambiguous priestly language of Book Pahlavi. I wish, then, to express my sincere thanks to my teacher, Professor Mary Boyce, who first suggested that I should undertake the present thesis and has given me the benefit of countless hours of her attention and learned guidance, not to mention the wisdom and patience of an Ādurbād, to enable me to bring it to completion. The thesis has been a long time in preparation, having been virtually

set aside during the first eighteen months after my appointment to a teaching post in the University of Sussex. The memory of two periods of contact with Zoroastrians has therefore been very important for me. The Queen's College, Oxford and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London both gave me travelling grants which enabled me, in the first instance, to visit the Zoroastrian villages in the vicinity of Yazd in Iran in 1975, and, in the second, to visit the Parsis of Bombay and Gujarat in 1977. I am grateful to both colleges for giving me the opportunity to meet the two old communities of Zoroastrians. I am indebted also to the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat in Bombay and to Dastur Dr K.M. Jamasp Asa, who have provided the Library of the University of Sussex with valuable Zoroastrian books for teaching and research, which have been of use to me in my work. I should also like to thank the University of Sussex, and in particular the School of African and Asian Studies, for generous grants to defray the costs of having the present work typed and copied for examination. I am grateful to Miss Naomi Frances of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who undertook the great labour of typing the Pahlavi transliteration and transcription with the notes, and completed it so accurately and uncomplainingly.

Lastly, I thank my wife Joanna who, amongst everything else she has done for me, typed the translation and introduction. I cannot repay her for all the support she gave me and the sacrifices she made.

This work is dedicated to my mother and father, and Charles.

---

Abbreviations

<u>AI</u>	<u>Acta Iranica</u>
<u>AMI</u>	<u>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</u>
<u>AJ</u>	<u>Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg</u> , ed. Messina
Av.	Avestan
<u>AVN</u>	<u>Ardā Wirāz Nāmag</u>
Barth.	C. Bartholomae
<u>Bd.</u>	<u>Bundahišn</u>
<u>BSO/A/S</u>	<u>The Bulletin of the School of Oriental /and African/ Studies</u>
BTA	B.T. Anklesaria
D.	B.N. Dhabhar (and his edition of <u>PRDd.</u> )
<u>DdA.</u>	<u>Dātistān-ī Dīnīk</u> , T.D. Anklesaria
<u>DHMV</u>	<u>Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume</u>
<u>Dk.</u>	<u>Dēnkard</u>
<u>DkM.</u>	<u>Dēnkard</u> , ed. D.M. Madan
<u>Ep. Man.</u>	<u>The Epistles of Manuščīhr</u> ( <u>Nāmagihā ī Manuščīhr</u> )
<u>farg.</u>	<u>fargard</u>
fol.	folio
<u>GBd.</u>	<u>Greater Bundahišn</u>
<u>GIP</u>	<u>Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie</u> , W. Geiger and E. Kuhn
<u>HN</u>	<u>Hadost Nask</u> , ed. in AVN (q.v.)
<u>Ind.Bd.</u>	<u>Indian Bundahisn</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
<u>JCOI</u>	<u>Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
M.	H.K. Mirza
Man.M.P.	Manichaean Middle Persian
<u>MHD</u>	<u>Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān</u>
<u>MMV</u>	<u>Dr. Modi Memorial Volume</u>
<u>MO</u>	<u>Le Monde Oriental</u>
MP	Middle Persian
MS/MSS	Manuscripts of <u>PRDd.</u>
<u>MX</u>	<u>Mēnōg ī xrad</u>
NP	New Persian
<u>Nir.S.</u>	<u>Nīrangistān</u> , ed. D.P. Sanjana
Nyb.	Nyberg

<u>Oš</u>	<u>Andarj i Aoshnar-i Danak</u> , ed. B.N. Dhabhar
Pahl.	Pahlavi
<u>PRDd.</u>	<u>The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg</u>
<u>purs.</u>	<u>pursišn</u>
<u>REA</u>	<u>Rivāyat ī Ēmēd-i Ašawahištān</u>
<u>RHR</u>	<u>Revue de l'histoire des religions</u>
<u>RV</u>	<u>Rg Veda</u>
<u>SBE</u>	<u>Sacred Books of the East</u> , ed. M. Muller
<u>Sd.Bd.</u>	<u>Sad Dar Bundahišn</u>
<u>Sd.N.</u>	<u>Sad dar Naṣr</u>
<u>ŠGV</u>	<u>Škand-Gumanīk Vičār</u> , ed. de Menasce
<u>ŠnŠ</u>	<u>Šāyest nē-Šāyest</u>
<u>Supp.ŠnŠ</u>	<u>The Supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest</u> , F. Kotwal
T.	J.C. Tavadia
TDA	T.D. Anklesaria
Unv.	M.R. Unvala
<u>Vd.</u>	<u>Vendidād</u>
<u>Vr.</u>	<u>Visperad</u>
<u>WZ</u>	<u>Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram</u>
<u>WZKM</u>	<u>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</u>
<u>Yt.</u>	<u>Yašt</u>
Z	R.C. Zaehner
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</u>
<u>ZKA</u>	<u>Zand-i Khurtak Avistāk</u> , ed. B.N. Dhabhar
<u>ZN</u>	<u>Zarātust Nāme</u>
<u>SVYt.</u>	<u>Zand ī Wahman Yašt</u> , B.T. Anklesaria, see Bibliography
<u>/Z/ZZ</u>	<u>/Zaehner/ Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma.</u>

- ( ) In the Pahl. text round brackets enclose words which are better omitted.
- ( ) In the translation round brackets enclose words which are added to complete the sense in English.
- / / Square brackets enclose words which are considered to have been omitted from the text.

Chapters of the Pahlavi Rivāyat

Chapter	Title	Text	Transl.	Notes
1	<u>Frawardīgān</u>	36	355	495
2	Cooked and Uncooked Food; Fire and Water	38	356	498
3	Bodily Effects of Sins and Good Deeds	40	357	501
4	On Forbearance	42	358	502
5	Old Age	44	359	503
6	On Breaking Covenant I	45	360	504
7	The Man of Good Religion and the <u>Margarzān</u>	46	361	506
8	<u>Xwēdōdah</u>	49	362	508
9	Merits of Services	72	370	525
10	On Truthfulness and Charity	78	372	529
11	Penalties of Different Crimes	91	377	532
12	On Breaking Covenant II	94	379	535
13	The Afflictions of Ahreman	96	380	537
14	Slaughter of <u>Gōspand</u>	100	382	540
15	Services Which Go to the Bridge; <u>Margarzān</u> Sins and Confession	102	383	542
16	<u>Gāhambār</u> and Offering	112	387	545
17	Performance of the <u>Yast</u>	117	389	547
18	The Value of Fire	128	393	550
19	Carrying out the Dead	157	404	
20	Making Offerings	158	405	569
21	The Killing of Evil and Good Creatures	160	406	570
22	The Omniscience of Ohrmazd	166	408	
23	The Fate of the Souls of the Righteous and the Wicked	168	409	574
24	The Afflictions of the Wicked After Death	180	414	581
25	<u>Frašegird</u>	182	415	582
26	The Ox, the Horse and Hom Curse Those Who Neglect Them	184	416	585
27	The Value of <u>ašēm vohū</u>	187	417	588
28	The Value of Righteousness and Good Works	189	418	592
29	The Privileges of Seniority	192	419	596
30	On Selling a Slave to an Unbeliever	195	421	
31	Yim's Sin and Confession	196	422	597



Chapter	Title	Text	Transl.	Notes
32	The Value of the Righteous Soul	202	425	600
33	The Faithful and the Wicked	203	426	601
34	Marriage, Obedience and Divorce	204	427	603
35	Thunder and Lightning; the Falling of Stars	209	429	605
36	Zardušt asks Immortality of Ohrmazd	212	431	609
37	Care and Collection of Fires	216	433	612
38	Consecration of <u>Hamāg-dēn</u>	222	436	616
39	Wife and Husband	223	437	617
40	Worship of <u>Yazads</u>	226	439	618
41	<u>Margarzān</u> Sins	227	440	619
42	Trading and Acquisition of Wealth	228	441	620
43	Wife and Child	232	443	622
44	The Dog Species	234	444	623
45	The Destruction of Ahreman	235	445	623
46	The Creation of the World	236	446	624
47	The Conversion of Wištāsp	249	451	634
48	Huṣṣedar, Huṣṣedarmāh, Sōšyāns and the Resurrection	259	455	658
49	Kangdiz, Kayxosraw and Pišyōtan	293	467	671
50	Hell and the Ridge of Ar(g)zūr	299	469	674
51	Mašya and Mašyānē	300	470	676
52	Twelve Things More Difficult Than <u>Frašegird</u>	301	471	678
53	The Vicarious Recitation of Confession	303	472	679
54	The Producers of <u>Frašegird</u>	305	473	680
55	Contact with Putrefying Matter	306	474	682
56	<u>Drōn</u> and <u>Myazd</u>	308	475	683
57	<u>iθā āat yazamaidē</u> and <u>ašəm vohū</u>	315	478	692
58	omitted (see Introduction)			
59	On Meat Offerings	316	479	694
60	<u>Zand</u> of <u>yaθā ahū vairyo</u>	319	480	697
61	On Eating the Meat of <u>Gōspand</u>	321	481	699
62	Counsels of Ādurbād, Son of Mānsarspand, from the Sayings of his Teacher Mihr Ohrmazd	323	482	701
63	Incantations for Fever	336	487	709
64	The Significance of Gem-stones	338	488	712
65	Stations of Heaven	346	491	715

### Introduction

The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg is truly a 'traditional' text, in the sense that, as it lacks a title, author's name and date of its own, its identity may be derived solely in relation to the cultural and historical context into which it fits. It is called a Rivāyat<sup>a</sup> by analogy with other Pahlavi and New Persian works; this Arabic/New Persian word denotes a 'tradition', 'something handed from one to another', or even simply 'manuscript'. The title by which it is known was coined by E.W. West<sup>b</sup> and was adopted by B.N. Dhabhar for his edition of the text in 1913. Dhabhar arranged the text (i.e. those writings both immediately preceding and following the Dādestān ī Dēnīg in several mss.) into sixty-five 'chapters', each with headings, according to their subject-matter. This format of the text has been adopted in the present study. H.K. Mirza translated and transcribed chapters 1-62 (i.e. the parts preceding the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, but excluding chapters 1, 4, 42 and part of 17 which had all been translated previously) in a Ph.D. thesis which was submitted to the University of London in 1942. For the sake of completeness, and for a reconsideration in the light of previous studies, in the present thesis all of Dhabhar's sixty-five chapters are included, with the exception of chapter 58. Chapter 58 is a long, detailed exposition of rituals from the Nirāngistān which deserves a full and separate treatment, and has thus been omitted from this work, appropriately as it happens, since it has recently been the subject of the specialist attentions of Dastur F. Kotwal and Dastur K.M. Jamasp Asa in two independent studies.

The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg (PRDd.) is acknowledged by all those scholars who have considered it<sup>c</sup>, to be a post-Sasanian compilation, both to judge from references in the text, and from the relatively simple style of the language which is thought to be late Pahlavi (see below). Yet much of the material of PRDd. appears to have been derived directly from an oral or written knowledge of the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta and Zand; the text represents, therefore, a tradition from time immemorial and in some instances a record of material which is not found in any other extant sources.

a. See E.W. West, SBE XVIII, xv.

b. GIP IIb, 104.

c. See e.g. West, SBE XVIII, xv, 415; Dhabhar, op.cit., 2; Mirza, p.2.

The arrangement of themes dealt with in PRDd. does not accord with the cosmological sequence of e.g. the Greater Bundahišn, nor the thematic consideration of the Dēnkard. It resembles rather that of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, insofar as each of the chapters is in some way an answer to a question, which is either explicit<sup>d</sup>, or implied<sup>e</sup>, or to a predicament<sup>f</sup>. It is not written in vacuo but is addressed, it seems, to an audience, principally of the laity, but sometimes<sup>g</sup> more particularly to the priesthood alone. The text is neither speculative, philosophical, nor in any narrow sense theological. As in other Zoroastrian texts, but here par excellence the central themes of purity, righteousness, and just and meritorious action are extolled to the reader by all available means. Clearly, the writer is a priest. His knowledge of the Avestan nasks and the Zand, and his command of a clear grammatical style of writing allow him to muster ancient scriptural tradition and authority in an exhortation to immediate, practical religion. The often fluent, vernacular style is markedly different from the tortuously complex periods of Mamuščihr's writings, or the rarified scholasticism of much of the Dēnkard. Its popular appeal made it a model for the later rivāyats in NP (one of which<sup>h</sup> in fact incorporates about three-quarters of PRDd. in the text known as the Sad Dar Bundahišn).

The NP rivāyats were, of course, written as communiqués from the Iranian priesthood in answer to questions and problems from the Indian community. As published by M.R. Unvala and translated by B.N. Dhabhar, they range over a vast area of Zoroastrian life, furnishing details on practical and ritual observance in respect of maintaining religious purity. It is a mistake to expect the same in this Pahlavi Rivāyat, for the author had a quite different purpose. The fact that it is written in fairly standard Book Pahlavi, without Arabic loan words, Islamicisms, or the infelicities of 'hybrid' late Pahlavi syntax, is an indication that the text dates, probably, from the mid-10th century A.D. and thus was addressed to Zoroastrians living in Muslim Iran. The text is not intended merely to impart

---

d. e.g. chs. 1, 2, 3, 6.

e. e.g. chs. 4, 5, 7.

f. e.g. chs. 8, 14, 26, 31.

g. e.g. chs. 55ff.

h. The Rivāyat of Kamdin Khambayeti, also known as Kama Asa; see B.N. Dhabhar, Saddar Naqr and Saddar Bundahesh, introd., xix.

information, whether practical, ritual or theological to the community; the Iranian Zoroastrians suffered different problems from those of a people in exile: they were rather, it would seem besieged in their own land by the Islamic religion. The author of PRDd. endeavours to provide his community with the means to revitalise the principles and practice of the Weh Dēn. This he does by treating of a large number of problems, some perennial, some particular to the time; all are characterised in Zoroastrian thought as stemming from the fact of worldly existence (gumēzišn) in the state of gētīg - i.e. the fact of opposition and strife of the heterogeneous forces of Ahreman against the creations of Ohrmazd. This duality is perceived in all aspects of life, personal, public and spiritual, and PRDd. deals with a range of which the principal ones are given in Table I below. The 'actualities' of the creation appear in the left-hand column, the evil antitheses of each are to the right. Each chapter of PRDd. has one or more of these dualities as its explicit theme. In most cases the writer attempts to resolve the duality either explicitly in doctrinal or ritual prescriptions from the orthodox tradition, or more allusively in legendary narrative, cosmological symbolism, or religious mythology. The idea of 'resolution' is used here in accordance with the Zoroastrian eschatological concept wizārišn 'resolution' of the present state of gumēzišn 'mixture' of opposites in strife (petyāragōmandīh). These resolutions are given on the horizontal axis of the table; the numbers on the grid indicate the chapters in which a resolution is made. The table is not exhaustive of the contents of PRDd. but is an attempt to represent some major structures of thought.

Some examples are given here of the resolutions:

- Trade (and profit) is a wholesome activity, but its opposite, greed (and meanness), poses a problem; this is resolved by the giving of righteous charity (i.e. to a priest); ch. 42.2.
- Sexual relations in marriage are wholesome, but the menstrual processes of woman are heavily polluting: the problem is resolved by a purity code and by the procreation of children - a productive a doubly meritorious act (because it is a means of stopping menstruation); see ch.43.

Table I Resolutions of Dualities in Chapters of PRDd.

		PRACTICAL OBSERVANCE	RETRIBUTION/REWARD	WISDOM	RIGHTEOUSNESS/SIN	CONSULTATION OF PRIESTS	XWEDDOAH	LEGEND	PURITY	VIRTUE	ADVANTAGE IN GĒTĪG	OFFERING/WORSHIP	CHARITY	SELF-SACRIFICE	DIVINE ORIGIN	KILLING	ESCHATOLOGICAL OPTIMISM	SENIORITY/OBEDIENCE	DISCRIMINATION	COSMIC PHENOMENA	SYMBOLISM/EXPLANATION
a	DEATH	1 19 55		36					55		36										OBLIVION
b	FOOD	2																			POISON
c	HOUSE	2																			TRAP
d	BODY		3						43												PAIN
e	PROGENY (DUTIFUL)		3 15		43																HATEFUL
f	CONDUCT (JUST)		4	4 62														29			UNJUST
g	MORTALITY			5 28	5																DESTRUCTION
h	COVENANT		12		6 12																MIHRŌDRUJĪH
i	MARD Ī WEH DĒN		15		41	7													33		MARGARZĀN
j	WEH DĒN				7 8			47									49.18				AGDĒN
k	MARRIAGE		8		8		8	8 51										34 39 43			KŪNMARZ
l	SERVICES	38 20																			SORCERY
m	YAZADS	9			9					10		16 17 40									DĒWS
n	RITUAL				11		8		11 55											56 58 59 60	CHAOS
o	GOODS		11																		STEALING
p	OHMAZD			13 28	35 45		45				13									35	AHREMAN
q	GŌSPAND				14 27 28 61						17					21				61	XRAFSTAR
r	HEAVEN		15		15												50			65	HELL
s	CONFESSION	53			15			31													SHAMELESSNESS
t	PRIESTS												17	17							OPPRESSORS
u	FIRE (USE)	18 37						18	18 37						18						EXTINCTION (ABUSE)
v	SOUL		23	62	23 24 32					28 62							23 25				ANNIHILATION
w	MATHRA	27																		57	CURSE
x	TRADE				30								42								GREED
y	FRAŠEGIRD OF GĒTĪG							49							46		48 49 52 54				STRIFE
z	POWER																			63 64	MALEVOLENT FORCE

- The Good Religion is opposed by Evil Religion and contamination and attrition from contact with the latter is difficult to avoid: xwēdōdah minimises such contact; ch. 8.
- Gōspand are considered holy, but men eat their meat: righteousness resolves the problem, for the wicked suffer punishment for the sins of gōspand that they eat; ch.14.

Looked at in this way certain facts emerge which are not evident from a study of the 'subjects' dealt with in PRDd. chapter by chapter. The author is concerned, in nearly all cases, less with descriptions of rites and rituals, or with priestly memorabilia, rather than to apply these normative resolutions to Zoroastrian problems. The five dominant resolutions are (in order of their emphasis): righteousness, practical observance, retribution and reward, wisdom, eschatological optimism. In the notes to the present work an attempt has been made to place the contents of PRDd. into the context of Zoroastrian tradition by comparing them with earlier and later sources. Here it is intended only to point out certain features of the text which corroborate the general assumptions made thus far.

PRDd. has no prefatory or introductory section, and like e.g. the Šāyist nē Šāyist, its author is not named. Chapter 1 begins after a brief dedicatory formula (which possibly reflects the Muslim Bismillah). As Christensen pointed out<sup>i</sup>, the Rivāyat preceding the Dādestān ī Dēnīg has its own opening and closing formulas, as does that following the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, and 'it would seem most reasonable to regard them as two independent texts'. The styles of chs. 63-65 are all within the range displayed by the author of the preceding Rivāyat and the details of ch. 65 do not contradict anything said on the same subject in chs. 45 and 46.6-7. The enclosing formulas may be a later addition and therefore signify little in respect of the composition.

With the same skill with which he analysed the mss. tradition of PRDd., Mirza argued that the text is both compiled from a comprehensive work or works, and that its origin cannot be traced to any of the Pahlavi works now extant<sup>j</sup>. As Mirza also correctly observed PRDd. is placed in the mss. with works by authors from one

---

i. In the Introduction to his facsimile edition of K35, p.6.

j. P. 2.

well-known family of learned priests and it is likely that a member of the family might have compiled this Rivāyat<sup>k</sup>. It is also possible then that chs. 63-65 were placed after the Dādestān ī Dēnīg to enclose, so to speak, the illustrious text to ensure its safe keeping in the mss.

The correspondences with other texts are indicated below in the notes to the chs. in this work. In general this text is valuable for the more extensive treatment it gives to themes found elsewhere in the Pahlavi books, e.g. the legend of Krišāsp, the care of fire, the Creation, the conversion of Wištāsp, eschatology etc. There are signs throughout that the material is not merely 'a late compilation'<sup>1</sup>, but has been retold, if not recomposed, for a contemporary audience by a single author. Such a writer remains in the background, and although he may have been a priest of high standing in his community, he does not answer on his own authority but on that of scripture and tradition. The only personal references are rare, such as in ch. 9.1:

dar ēn kū kirbag ī yazišn čiyōn dānēm u-m az abestāg  
paydāgenīd tuwan pad gokan nibesem, ud az han ī kamist  
kunem

"This chapter, where I write in detail, as I know and can explain from the Avesta, about the merit of worship, and about those which minimally I perform." (cf. 11.11; 12.2; 37.a.10).

Ohrmazd and Zardušt are the main protagonists, introduced by one of several standard formulas;

Zardušt /ēn-iz/ pursīd /az be Ohrmazd/ kū (1;2;6;8.f., etc.)  
u-š ēn-iz " " " " " (3;8.j)  
Zardušt /be ō Ohrmazd/ guft kū (8.o;23;36;48)  
Ohrmazd /ēn-iz/ /be ō Zardušt/ guft kū.

Alternatively reference to scripture is made in a formula such as:

ēn-iz a paydāg kū (most common), or variants including the words abestāg or dēn

In a few cases a third type of introductory formula is used which appeals not to scriptural tradition but, it would seem, to priestly custom. It is a curious fact that the group of chapters 24-34 all begin with the formula ēn-iz paydāg kū (or variant) and that these are the chs. which were reproduced en bloc in NP in Sad Dar Bundahišn. (chs.24-34 - all except 31 and 34 in this group in PRDd. are short).

k. P.22

1. West, SBE XXVIII, xv, 415 (and Mirza p.2).

In addition to having recourse to the authority of Ohrmazd, the Prophet and the scriptures (which often reflects a knowledge of parts of the Avesta which are now lost), the writer employs various other narrative and pedagogic techniques. There are several notable instances of legendary figures, who are introduced to illustrate the subject under discussion: Yim and Yimag in ch.8 on xwēdōdah; Krišāsp in ch.18 on Fire; Yim in ch.31 on confession, etc. These also are the most notable examples of legendary heroes who are distinguished by their anomalous status in respect of the religious judgement upon them (in contrast to their great popularity in the national folk tradition). Eventually they are forgiven for their transgressions, either actually or virtually: in ch.31 Yim is allocated to Hammistagān, as is Krišāsp also, one assumes, in ch.18 (see 18.f.30, 31). In respect of these heroes a narrative technique used to great affect is the 'imagined' dialogue', drawn from religious mythology, in which the problem is presented imaginatively for resolution. Four examples are:

- the complaint of gospend to Ohrmazd (14)
- the complaint of fire to Ohrmazd and the amahraspands (18.d.3ff.)
- the curses of the ox, horse, and Hōm against wicked men (26)
- the complaint of fire to Ohrmazd (46.30-33).

Other examples of this technique occur in 10.d.2; 13.a.8; 16.a.4; 20; 46.

The great variety of subjects in this text is matched by the range of styles so that there are examples here of every kind of Pahlavi text (excluding the worst excesses of Dd. or of Dk.). The writer frequently uses the long formulaic structure of listing items which clearly has mnemonic advantages in an oral tradition but which is tedious in texts (cf. Vd.). Indeed it is for those subjects which are of more interest to priestly minds that this style is used:

- the eight types of ill-treatment of fires (18.d.8ff.)
- on collecting different fires (18.e.6-20; 34.b.2-15)
- merits of reciting ašm vohu (27).

In several chapters this priestly formulaic style of recording detailed matters is borrowed for other purposes, in combination with a running narrative. 18.f.1ff. is a good example of an epic, poetic narrative punctuated frequently by the reiteration:

ud ohrmazd guft ku : 'be est, ruwān ī krišāsp,  
čē-m zišt pad čašm hē, čē-t ātaxš ī man pus ōzad,  
u-t pahrēz nē kard (SS.4,8,15,19,24)

"And Ohrmazd said : 'Stand away O soul of Krišāsp,  
 for you are hateful in my sight, because my son Fire was



extinguished by you, and you did not take care of him".  
(cf. ch. 46.4, 5, 11 etc.; ch.47 [46].16,18,20; but cf.  
47/46].20,21).

The formulaic presentation of material sometimes serves to reinforce doctrines:

- in ch.23 the narrative of the righteous souls procession to Heaven (SS.1-17) is closely parallel to that of the wicked soul's journey to Hell (SS.18-36; cf.28.b.1,c.1).
- in ch.48 the accounts of the millennia of Hūšēdar, Hūšēdarmāh and Sōšyans are parallel even in details; the impression is given of a gradual, but inevitable process, in keeping with a prevailing mood of eschatological progress. (cf. 48.89,98).
- in many passages the dualism that pervades all this world is well represented in an expressive technique wherein the writer lists the best and worst things, e.g. 10.1.1.where Ohrmazed says: -m panj čiš ēn nēktar dād, and in 10.1.2 -m panj čiš ēn zīstar dād, giving descriptions of each in turn. (Cf. 8.c.1; 13.a.8ff.; 13.b.1ff.; 16.b.3,4ff., 8f.; 52.)

Both in the more obvious examples cited above and in other more subtle usages, the style and form of expression is integral to the resolution of the problems.<sup>m</sup> It is, however, also necessary to see that the wide variety of subjects and styles discloses a consistent Zoroastrian identity which in ideal form embodies all the resolutions of the text. This identity is apparent if one looks beyond the subject matter and beyond the format to the religious imperative which underlies both. An example is the pair of chapters 21 and 22. In stark contrast to the almost tedious enumerations of merit to be gained from killing obnoxious creatures of this gētīg world in ch.21, ch.22 is a brief and poetic expression of the omniscience of Ohrmazd, the ideal and hope of Zoroastrians for the mēnōg world. Nowhere, then, would the text appear to be more miscellaneous. In ch.21 the xrafstars of Ahreman plague the gētīg world, and man's ugly duty is to control their numbers until, eventually, the world will be rid of them. Thus the particular consideration of each instance and its merit reflects the tenacity man must maintain in this obligation. Ch.22 speaks of an altogether different spiritual level, but again it is noteworthy that particularity is the essence of the divine knowledge. Specially significant is that the example of mixed liquids (the milk of mothers, water, etc.) reflects the condition of gumēzišn 'mixture' in this world. This is not, then, a simile of Ohrmazd's knowledge. It is an example of his omniscience, and thus the chapter expresses the eschatological optimism that is a

---

m. See below e.g. ch. 3 n.1.

central feature of the religion, i.e. that God will unmix this 'mixed' world. The endeavour of the righteous man in ch.21, and the hope expressed in ch.22 are thus seen to be essentially the same.

As one scholar has observed in a survey of Pahlavi literature, by a comparison of PRDd. with the NP Sd.Bd. 'Some idea may be gained of the excellence of this Pahlavi text'<sup>n</sup>. The following table gives the principal correspondences between PRDd., Sd.Bd., and Sad Dar Naşr

Table II

<u>PRDd.</u>	<u>Sd.Bd.</u>	<u>Sd.N.</u>
10m		75.1-2
11.1-3	89	
14	54.21-24, 38-41	
17.c	54.13-14	
18.d	54	
18.f	20	
21.a	23	43
23	99	
24-34	24-34	
27	27	80
36	30	
36	36	
42	38	
48	35	

Amongst the longer chapters of PRDd., 18.f is most faithfully rendered in Sd.Bd., in ch.20. Yet it is a paraphrase which is prolix where PRDd. is terse, and foreshortened where PRDd. is most poetic. It is in such epic narratives, especially in describing the titanic feats of heroes, that PRDd. is most eloquent. An example is this brief description which is omitted in Sd.Bd.:

ud hamāg mardōmān az xwarm \*guhrāyēnīd hēm,  
ud āxist hēm ud harw gām hazār gām be ʔast hēm  
ud hān ī az pāy ī man be ʔast harw čē-š pahikaft  
a-š ātaxš andar ōbast.be ō zreh ʔud hēm  
u-m awēšān abāz āwurd hēnd  
u-m gandarw grift ud ōzad

"And I was wakened from sleep by everyone,  
 And I rose and I sprang forward a thousand steps  
 for every step

---

n. P. J. de Menasce, 'Zoroastrian Pahlavi Writings', Cambridge History of Iran 3 (2), p.1187.



away all sin from one's account, like a swift and strong wind when it blows over a plain and sweeps and bears away. And likewise indeed that worship makes the man's soul pure from sin." (ch.7.5)

ke drōn-ēw be yazēd, \*a-š \*tanāpuhl-ēw kirbag  
u-š abdīh ud pērōzgarīh ud ōz ud tagīgīh  
ēdōn ast kū mēnōg ī drōn ka xwaršēd andar šawēd  
ud ahreman az dušox, ud dēwān pad marag  
čiyōn buš ī asp murnjēnišn ī gēhān rāy pad gēhān be āyēnd

"Whoever celebrates a Drōn, then it is) one tanāpuhl merit  
for him,

and its wondrousness and victoriousness and power and strength  
are so great that the Spirit of the Drōn, when the sun goes in,  
and Ahreman comes out from Hell to the world, and the dēws  
in numbers  
like the (hairs in the) mane of a horse, for the destruction  
of the world."  
(ch.9.2)

Some other vivid and extended similes are found in 18.b; 23.29; 25.4; 48.77; and 48.87-8.

As will be indicated in the notes to the chapters, there are many correspondences between the contents of PRDd. and older texts, in Avestan and Pahlavi. It is to be acknowledged that although much of the text is clear, interesting and resounds with religious authority, some parts of it are slightly obscure, especially when they are masked in a convoluted syntax (e.g. 10.g; 49.3), or deal with matters so unfamiliar that, it seems, the copyists had little idea of what they were writing (e.g. 61.6; 63). There is no reason to doubt that the author of PRDd. was drawing on his knowledge of the Avesta and Zand when he claims to do so, though such sources often seem to be nasks of the Avesta which are no longer extant. There are many short passages in which it can be seen that the material is translated from Avestan, in which the word order sometimes reflects an original in a more highly inflected language (though there is virtually no Avestan quoted verbatim in PRDd.). One or two clear examples will suffice here:

gyāg-ēw paydāg kū ohrmazd guft ku-m ātaxš ī warahrān  
a-m arz nē guft ud agar-iš arz gōwēm a-š hamāg abādīh  
bun, ud hamāg ahlāyīh paydāgīh bar, ud hamāg spenāg  
mēnōg dām ī gētīg ēstišn arz

The latter part of this sentence would be rendered more typically in the Pahlavi of PRDd. thus:

a-š bun ī hamāg abādīh ud bar ī paydāgīh ī hamāg ahlāyīh  
ud arz ī ēstišn ī hamāg dām ī gētīg ī spenāg mēnōg

"Then it is the basis of all prosperity, and the fruit of the manifestation of all righteousness and the value of the existence of all the material creation of the Holy Spirit." (ch.18.h).

Sometimes explanatory glosses accompany such older language:

ka ašmā nē hād ātaxš kardār  
(kū ātaxš az-iš nē šāyēd wēxt)  
hān ašmā hād ādursōg  
(kū ka-š abar nihēnd a frāz \*waxšēd).

"Since you will not be makers of fire  
 (that is, it will not be possible to separate fire from them)  
 may you be the fuel of the fire  
 (that when they put (you) on to it, then it will blaze up)".  
 (ch.46.29)

Most common is the old apposition denoting a genitive relationship (in place of the later izāfe), e.g. ahreman xrafstarān "the xrafstars of Ahreman" (21.b.1) and :

hagriz az xrafstarān ī ahreman dāman  
zištar ud rēmantar az hān nē dīd

"uglier and filthier than any of the xrafstars,  
 the miscreations of Ahreman, which he had ever seen".  
 (ch.23.23)

For other examples see 13.a.2, 6, 7, 9, 10; 17.d.14; 18.e.17, 18; 31.b.1; 34.b.3; 45; 46.7; and especially

be ō wahišt ud garōdmān ud wēnišn ī ohrmazd  
ud amahraspandan mihr arzanigih bawēd.

"there will be worthiness of going to Heaven  
 and Garōdman and of beholding Ohrmazd and of  
 the love of the amahraspands". (36.14)

As well as linguistic archaisms there are several instances of subject matter which would have been similarly anachronistic in the 10th century under Muslim rule. Ch. 15.a.5f. mentions the practice of beheading margarzān sinners: this would have been possible only when the Zoroastrian church was supported by the Sasanian judicial system, and was not enforcible for the same crimes and punishments by the Muslim authorities. The emphasis upon 'spiritual beheading' in PRDd. ch.15 may represent a way of compensating for actual punishment of capital offences. It is doubtful also that in this period Zoroastrians would have been able to own slaves as they had in former times. The mention of slaves in 34.c.2 has a virtually rhetorical

function (see Commentary ch.34.n.6, and cf. ch.30). Similarly, references to oppressive lords and rulers (17.c, 40.2) and foreign enemies, appear to hark back to Sasanian times; in fact, they serve as illusions to the problems of the day<sup>p</sup>. Nowhere in the text is anything Muslim mentioned by name - for this would be to invite persecution - yet the writer emphasises the stark polarity of Weh Dēnīh and Agdēnīh throughout. Apostasy from Zoroastrianism to another faith (dād ī dudīgar) is a margarzān offence because the other faith is bad (dād ī wad 7.2). Both here, and at the beginning of the next chapter, on xwēdōdah, it is said that a non-Zoroastrian may convert to the Good Religion, indeed it is the greatest virtue he is capable of as an infidel (agdēn-ē kirbag ēn meh 8.a.1). The term agdēn clearly refers to the Muslim. In ch. 33, as elsewhere, druwand 'wicked' seems to be a familiar way of referring to Muslims, and the chapter hints at the strife and ill-will between the two religions. Presumably also anērān 'non-Iranians' refers to Arabs, as in ch. 14.7; Zoroastrians must not trade in meat with 'non-Iranian infidels' (anērān ud agdēnān). This section has clearly been appended to the rest of the chapter which deals with the more ancient problem of reconciling meat-eating with the sacredness of the gōspand creation.

Abhorrence of contact with Muslims is an anxiety which pervades much of this text; it is expressed not only in terms of the explicit opposition Weh Dēn - Agdēn, but also in many other of the dualities listed in Table I (h, i, k, m, p, q, u, x, y)<sup>q</sup>. The hardship which was imposed upon the Zoroastrian community by Islam only compounded the difficulties of a world already under attack from evil<sup>r</sup>. The resolution of the problems falls roughly into two types: 1) of righteousness (purity), 2) of eschatological hope. Both types of resolution put the evils of the day into a greater perspective, i.e. of the traditional, religious world-view of Zoroastrianism, and thus urge the revitalisation of the tradition. Righteousness in all its forms (ritual, moral, spiritual etc.) serves to seal off the community from outside influence and thus to minimise the effects of oppression and scarcity. Eschatological hope is present at many levels of the text also, most explicitly in the long chapter 48,

---

p. See below ch.17, n.11.

q. See esp. notes to ch.8.

r. See below ch.13 n.5.

but most succinctly in ch.49.18 which announces the restoration and triumph of the Good Religion in Erānšahr. Both types of resolution are summarised and symbolised in what is for this text a locus classicus of religious mythology, viz the well-known address of Ohrmazd to the fravašis:

ohrmazd ī xwadāy awēšān frawahr pad ēn dō ciš hunsand kard hēnd, ewag hān ka-š guft kū: "kirbag kē ašmā kunēd, a-tān mizd ud pādāšn wēš dahēn!" ud ewag hān ka guft kū: "-tān mard hān be brēhēnem pad hān gāh kē ašmā az hān anāgih be bōzēd; oy kē-š yazdān hān ī abāyēd pad-iš paydāg kū tan az hān kār be bared, pad hān ciš wināhgar bawēd"

"Those fravašis were satisfied by Lord Ohrmazd with these two things: one (was) that, when he said: 'For the good deeds which you perform, then I shall give you more reward and recompense', and one was that, when he said: 'I shall fashion for you in that time the man by whom you will be saved from that distress; when the needs of the yazads have been revealed through him, if you should turn yourselves away from those matters, you will be sinners thereby'".  
(17.d.14)

As old as this material may be, it has an immediate relevance for the 10th century Zoroastrian priest. The religious tradition was suffering in two direct ways from the ascendancy of Islam, 1) conversion to the new faith, and as a result, from lack of support, 2) attrition and impoverishment of the priesthood. Since the text represents an attempt to counter these trends, the implication of nearly every chapter is that the layman should, in every way possible, support the religion through the priesthood. It happens that Zoroastrianism is par excellence both priestly in its spiritual practice and eschatological in its view of existence. These two characteristics are united in the righteous soul with special emphasis in PRDd. The soul is, of course, the locus of personal eschatological progress, but also, with all the other righteous souls, contributes to the bringing of Frašegird in the world. The souls righteous progress is by good deeds, principally, through religious services and righteous charity, (ka rādih frārōnīhā kunēd, 10.b.1), both of which serve to maintain the priesthood. In all cases the writer makes his point through orthodox religious doctrine, and never baldly through plain command or exhortation (see e.g. 8.c.1, h.1; 16.a.1; 18; 39.b.3). The priest is called here the 'righteous man' mard ī ahlaw; care of the sacred fire is the religious duty of

the priesthood (18.b.20), but care of the priesthood is correspondingly the responsibility of the lay community. The subject of charity to priests is given special attention in ch.10. Merit is even described in the 'coinage' of charity to priests, e.g. 16.a.1:

gāhāmbār rāy paydāg kū ka be sazēd, yazēd xwarēd  
ud rādihā ud rāstihā dahēd, a-š kirbag ēdōn bawēd  
čiyōn ka-š hazār mēš ī zadag kē-š warrag abāg pad  
dahišn ī ahlawdād be ō mard ī ahlaw dād hē

"Concerning the Gāhāmbār it is revealed that when (a man) prepares, celebrates, consumes, and gives (to others) charitably and sincerely, then the merit for him will be such as if he had offered a thousand ewes with their lambs as a righteous gift to a priest".

As if to show how maintenance of the priesthood is integral to the progress both of the soul and of the eschatological realisation, it is said that Zardušt was Mōwbadān Mōwbad (47.21, presumably the first), and Sōšyans will also have that office (48.49, presumably the last). The priest is both alpha and omega of Zoroastrian religious history.

It seems that the most important consideration in Zoroastrian life is the gaining of merit. Retribution and punishment are incurred largely through sins of commission and omission with regard to the code of ritual, services, purity, and moral rectitude, all of which are best represented in the life and practice of the priest. Unless, however, one has committed a margarzān sin, one can oneself work for personal salvation, for Zoroastrianism does not have a doctrine of Original Sin (N.B. Sōšyans comes to save the world, not individual souls who must chose their own destiny). Apart from supporting the priesthood, the greatest meritorious act is, according to ch.27, that of reciting the mathra ašēm vohū:

ka-š dādestān ēdōn bawēd ka hān ašēm vohū-ēw  
/gowed/ be az \*dušoxih be ō hammistagānih rasēd,  
a-š hān az harw čiš arzōmandtar.

"If the judgement is such for him (i.e. that he must go to Hell), when he recites an ašēm vohū he will come out of Hell to Hammistagān, then that is more valuable for him than all other things". (27.12)

According to this doctrine, then, with righteousness (aša) all things are possible. Certain other religious acts are similarly effective in opposing evil; confession (the example of Yim in ch.31); contrite repentance (Krišāsp in ch.18); xwēdōdah (in ch.8); worship (in ch.17.d).



In each case the resolution is primarily normative, overriding petty considerations, and is thus expressive of Zoroastrian ideals and aspirations towards the restoration of the Good Religion and the destruction of evil. Performance of worship is the most fundamental of religious acts recommended here. The term yazišn denotes worship of Ohrmazd and the yazads generally (see e.g. 17.d.1-3). The term yašt is also used (see e.g. 7.5, also called yašt ī nabar in 7.6, 17.a.1ff., etc.) to denote the primary act of allegiance to the Weh Dēn, i.e. the initiatory rite:

- wehdēnīh a-š kirbag \*ēn meh\* ka gīrēd,  
kū yašt be kunēd, a-š hān yašt hamāg  
wināh ēdōn az bun be barēd ud be rōbēd  
 - "(As regards) the Good Religion, then this  
 (is) the greatest virtue of it, when one  
 accepts it so that one performs worship,  
 then that worship removes and sweeps away  
 all sin from one's account". (7.5; cf. 8.i.1; 9.10).

Thus it appears that in spite of the difficulties of the contemporary conditions in Iran the author of PRDd. remains true to an optimism which is more than merely other-worldly; as M. Molé said generally of religion in the Pahlavi books:

"le salut qu'il prêche n'est pas uniquement spirituel, ce sera l'épanouissement de la vie telle que nous la connaissons ici-bas, mais transformée et transfigurée, libérée des liens de la mort et des servitudes qui pèsent sur elle actuellement".<sup>s</sup>

In PRDd., as elsewhere, the concept of the gētīg world is, as the same scholar observed "(dans les écrits pehlevi) a la fois plus souple et plus nuancée que ce qu'on affirme d'habitude".<sup>t</sup> The fact of mortality (as opposed to the observances surrounding death) is faced with a straightforwardness more usually associated with handarz texts. According to PRDd., death is inevitable in this present world (andar gēhān ch.5), and thus the body is secondary to the soul in the religious endeavour (ch.10.a.2; 29.4). The righteous at first feel pain of separation from the body in Heaven, and are, so to speak weaned from it with celestial food (23.15, 17); it is made clear, though, that they achieve a happiness unknown in the gētīg state (23.3-5). On the other hand only the immortal part of man is capable of such happiness and in this world, of mortal men even Zardušt must

---

s. M. Molé, 'Un ascétisme moral dans les livres pehlevi?', RHR CLV (1959), 189.

t. ibid., 147

be disappointed in his hope for immortality here and now (ch.36.6); only when evil has been banished can this world become immortal (47.73-100). Thus it is taught that progeny and increase are better in this getig state (36.13) and religious knowledge, righteousness and worthiness of Heaven (36.14). The body is tended as sacred in life, in which virtuousness (hunarāwandīh) is to be preserved by excluding the demons Greed, Wrath, Lust and Disgrace (62.10). To achieve this the practice of xwēdōdah is recommended (8.1.1), and the cultivation of spiritual virtues (ch.62). Moderation is the touchstone of the religious philosophy throughout:

paymānīgīh hān bawēd kē harw cis be ō paymān handāzēd,  
kū wēs ud kam andar nē abāyēd cē harw xīr bowandagīh  
paymān

"moderation is he who plans everything according to the measure, so that more and less should not be therein, for the right measure is the completeness of everything".  
 (62.18).

However there is a zeal born of righteousness in which excess is recommended, and this is at the heart of the Pahlavi Rivāyat and all Zoroastrian orthodoxy, as the handarz is concluded:

be hān cis kē paymānīgīh nēst: dānāgīh, dōstīh ud kirbag  
 "except those things in which there is no need for  
 moderation: knowledge, love and good deeds". (loc.cit.).

\*

\*

\*

\*

The four manuscripts used by Dhabhar in his edition of PRDd., are described in his Introduction, pp.12-15, and also by West in the introductions to his translations of the Bundahišn and Dādestān ī Dēnīg and in GIP IIb, p.103. H.K. Mirza used two additional mss. (as does the present writer), K35 and IO; he devoted more than half of his Introduction to a detailed analysis of the relationship between all of the mss., and for this reason the present writer will not repeat the process but will summarise the main points of the earlier scholar's laborious inquiry. First, however, a brief synopsis of each of the mss. is desirable:

BK is described by Dhabhar on p.12 of his edition. It has a colophon dated Rōz Asmān Māh Amurdād A.Y 941, which, as West says (SBE XVIII, xvi), corresponds to 19th March, 1572. Though Dhabhar says it was written then (loc. cit.), West explains that the colophon

may have been copied from K35, from which BK descends, along with the scribe's name Marzabān Frēdōn Wahrām Rustam Shāhmardān Dēn-hayyār, and that the colophon of BK has been lost with the last folio of that ms.

J was described by West in SBE XVIII, xviif, and by Dhabhar, op.cit., 13. Dhabhar says that the oldest part of this ms. (to Ep. Man. I.vii.4) is dated A.Y. 1188 (i.e. A.D. 1818, West, loc. cit.). Both scholars note that the rest is a still more recent copy.

MR was copied by Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana from BK and TD in A.Y. 1241-2, A.D. 1872, (see West, SBE V, xxxiii, xlix; SVIII, xvif; Dhabhar, op.cit. 13).

MR1 was copied by the same Dastur in A.Y. 1236, A.D. 1867, "from a copy (undated) of the late Ervad Minocherji Jamaspji Vacha" (Dhabhar, op.cit., 14).

K35 was described by West in SBE XVIII, xv f. and GIP IIb, p.102ff. It was published in a facsimile edition by A. Christensen in 1934, who described the ms. in his Introduction, p.5. The first 71 folios of the ms. are lost; fols. 72r., 1.1-99r., 1.10 contain the text of PRDd. p.146.3-200 (in D.'s ed.), i.e. from ch. 48.S28 to the end of the text preceding Dd. All of the 92 pursiṣn of Dd. follow, after which, from fols. 202v. 1.12 to 206r, follow the three short texts called chs. 63-5 in D.'s ed. As stated above, the date of this ms. may be that recorded in the colophon in BK.

IO is a ms. of 33 folios (referred to - but not used by - Dhabhar, op.cit., 15). It is ms. no. CCXXVIII of "the Catalogue of Two Collections of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts preserved in the India Office Library", compiled by E. Denison Ross and E.G. Browne, London, 1902. This ms., obviously, is only a fragment of PRDd.

The findings of Mirza's analysis are summarised below, with references to the paragraphs of his Introduction:

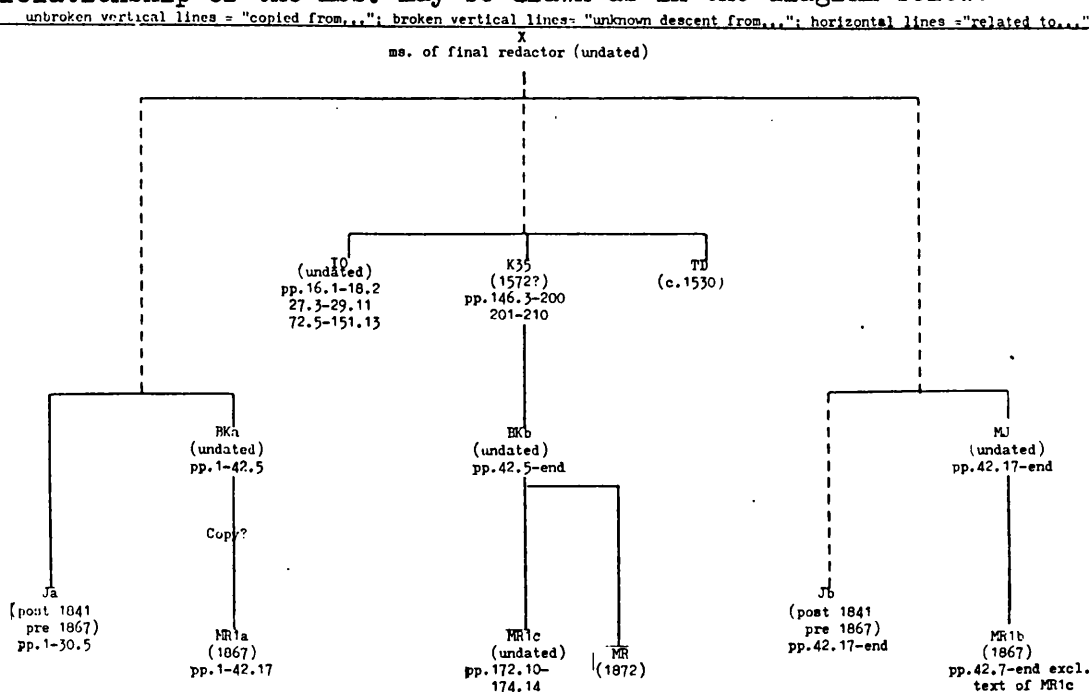
§24----- In BK the text of PRDd. 1.1-42.5 (pp. in D.'s ed.) has been added later on. It is referred to as BKa. The original remainder of BK is termed KBb.  
In MR1, PRDd. 1.1-42.17 has been added latterly (copied from BKa). It is called MR1a. Similarly, in J PRDd. 1.1-30.5 (after which some folios are missing) was added later on; it is called Ja.

§25----- MR1b contains PRDd. 42.17-end, copied from a defective, undated codex called MJ, described by West, SBE XVIII, xvii, with n.1; GIP IIb, p.102.

§26----- The text of one folio (PRDd. 172.10-174.14) which was lacking was copied from KBb and is called MR1c.

- §29----- BKa, MR1a, Ja have several mistakes in common, but
- §30----- Ja is not a copy of BKa,
- §31----- nor vice versa.
- §32----- BKa and Ja descend from a common source, but
- §33----- BKa and Ja are not copies of IO, nor vice versa.
- §34----- MR1a was copied from BKa (or, as Dhabhar says, from a copy of BKa -see D.'s ed., p. 14).
- §37----- BKb was copied from K35.  
BKa and BKb transcribe several Pahl. words into NP, which K35 never does (MR1a and MR1b always give these words in NP too, S35). BKa and BKb were written by the same scribe.
- §39----- BKa was compared with Ja, and both were corrected from the comparison before MR1a was copied from BKa (in 1867).  
However, MR1a sometimes gives the 'uncorrected' text of BKa.
- §§41-3----- Mirza corroborates West's statement (SBE XVIII, xvi; V, xlix) that BKb is a copy of K35.
- §§45-6----- MR1b and Jb are closely connected but they are independent of one another. They represent a group of mss. distinct from that represented by BKb. Jb was compared with BKb.
- §47----- IO is not a fragment of K35.
- §48----- IO is related to BKb (but is not a copy of it, S49) and hence to its original, K35, but
- §51----- IO is independent of either of them.
- §52----- MR was copied from BK and K35, but in BKb ch. 62 is lacking and MR has it from TD.
- §§54-6----- The mss. fall into three distinct, mutually independent groups:
- 1) IO, K35, BKb, MR    2) MR1b, Jb    3) BKa, MR1a, Ja.
- §58----- None of the mss. descends from the original ms. of the author.  
All the mss. descend from a defective ms. of a final redactor.

Based upon the above findings and also Mirza's diagram (p.21) the relationship of the mss. may be drawn as in the diagram below:



The system of transliteration and transcription adopted in this thesis follows that recommended by D.N. Mackenzie in his 'Notes on the Transcription of Pahlavi', BSOAS 30, (1967), 17-29, and in A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary, Oxford University Press (1971). The only differences from Prof. Mackenzie's system are in a few of the conventions of transliteration:

ideographic hē 𐭪 is rendered by H (not E)

ideographic 'ayin 𐭣 is rendered by ' (not O)

in ideograms/Iranian words hēt 𐭪 is rendered by X/h (not H/h)

in ideograms/Iranian words 'āleṗ 𐭪 is rendered by ' (not A/').

Corrupt letters are indicated in ideograms by underlining.

Generally the text of BK is regarded as most dependable except where K35 can be consulted for better readings. MR1, J, etc. often appear to have been 'improved' in copying with glosses and omissions, but occasionally have better readings. The Pahlavi script is, as always, very often ambiguous in PRDd. Some Pahlavi letters are repeatedly confused with one another: 𐭪 (d/g/y) with 𐭫 (k) and 𐭬 ('/h) and 𐭪 (b) and 𐭣 (w); 𐭪 (m) with 𐭪 (mn/H/MN); 𐭪 (s) with 𐭪 (yh).

The izāfe 𐭪 (ZY/i) and the conjunction 𐭣 (W/ud) are often added or omitted by the copyists erroneously; the present writer has exercised a certain licence to 'edit in' (or out) these two words. In the mss. a number of letters are often added or omitted, and these 'loose' letters always have to be borne in mind when one attempts to read a difficult word:

𐭪 is often prefixed before a word (e.g. 3.5)

𐭣 is often inserted in the middle of a word (passim)

𐭪 is often duplicated, 𐭪 is often reduced to 𐭪

𐭣 is often added to end of word in multiples, e.g. 𐭪𐭪𐭪𐭪

𐭫 is often added at end of a word.

𐭪 XD, 𐭪-I, 𐭪-yh, 𐭪-yt' are often omitted from ends of words.

The many confusions of words in this text result mainly from the ideographic element in the language; the corruptions arise from two principal types of error (or from a combination of both):

- 1) error in reading - copyist writes an orthographically similar word
- 2) error in hearing - copyist writes a homophone.

With hardly an exception, the principal errors of the first type are all in ideograms. Copyists had far less trouble in reading Iranian spellings. Deducing the original text now is easier from the second type of mistake.

The following is a list of examples of the commoner mistakes which occur in the mss.; they are listed according to type as given above:

1) orthographic confusions (many occur vice versa)

ד	is mistakenly written	ע	YK	e.g.9.15
ס	"	ס	XD	" 15.d.1
ס	"	ס	n	" 10.b.3
סע	"	סע	Ps'n'	" 10.q
ס	"	ס	passim	"
סע	"	סע	NPŠH	" 18.f.30
סע	"	סע	ZNH	" 7.2
סע	"	סע	MH	" 7.2
ס	"	ס	D	" 2.4
ס	"	ס	L	" 48.23
ס	"	ס	wl	" 17.d.10
ס	"	ס	ZYŠ	" 37.a.3
ס	"	ס	l't	" 8.a.1
ס	"	ס	m'n	" 8.a.1
ס	"	ס	MN	" 5
ס	"	ס	MT	" 3.2
ס	"	ס	MTm	" 8.a.7
ס	"	ס	PWN	" 8.d.9
ס	"	ס	wb'n'	" 17.c

and the following verbal endings:

ד	-d	"	ס	-yt'	" 8.c.3
ס	-t'	"	ס	-yt'	" 2.7
ס	-t'	"	ס	-tn'	" passim
ס	-tn'	"	ד	-d	" 15.a.5

and the following verbs:

ס	LPWNtn'	"	ס	PLXWNtn'	" 41.1
ס	XDWNt'	"	ס	BYDWNt'	" 18.f.6
ס	Y'TWNYt'	"	ס	SGYTWNYt'	" 13.a.1
ס	YDBXWNd	"	ס	YXSNNd	" 16.a.3
ס	YK'YMWNYt'	"	ס	YXWWNYt'	" 21.b.2
ס	YXBWNd	"	ס	YXSNNd	" 10.1.1
ס	YXYTYWNd	"	ס	YXSNNd	" 23.14
ס	YXWWNd	"	ס	YXBWNd	" 11.11



TEXT



PWN ŠM ZY yzdt' d'tgl  
 pad nām ī yazd dādgar

šn'dšn' ZY d't'l 'whrmazd l'd'wmnd GDH'wmnd  
 šnāyišn ī dādār ohrmazd rāyōmand xwarrahōmand

- (1) zltwhst' ZNHc pwrst' MN 'whrmzd' YK plw'hl ZY  
'hlwb'n' \*PWN MH zm'n<sup>1</sup> PWN m'hm'nyh BR' gytyk Y'TWNd
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ZK 10 YWM ZY plwltyk'n PWN  
lwck'l ZY NPSH \*plwltyk'n<sup>2</sup> YWM ZY 'twr' BYRX s(ʔ)l  
hm'y 'MT-s'n' KN ycsn' 'BYDWNd W KRYTW[N]d
- (3) 'MT ZK 5 YWM ZY g's'nyk BR' YMYTWNyt' PWN  
\*BYRX<sup>3</sup> ZY pltwm PWN 30 YWM l'st' '-s m'hy[k]'n'  
BR' d'lsn' 'Ps 'p'ryk m'hyk'n \*plwltyn'<sup>4</sup> YWM YXSNNsn'  
'Ps s'ly[k]'n PWN lwck'l ZY NPSH d'lsn'
- (4) 'MT L' pyt'k 'YK MH BYRX W MH YWM BR' YMYTWNyt' '-s  
m'hyk'n BYRX 'twr' 'Ps lwck'l<sup>5</sup> plwltyn'

- (1) Zardust ēniz pursīd az Ohrmazd kū: "frawahr ī  
ahlawān \*pad cē zamān\* pad mehmānīh be gētīg āyēnd?" D.1
- (2) Ohrmazd guft kū: "hān dah rōz ī frawardīgān, pad  
rōzgār ī xwēs, \*frawardīgān rōz ī ādur mäh sar,  
hamē ka-sān ōh yazišn kunēnd ud xwānēnd."
- (3) ka hān panj rōz ī gāhānīg be mīrēd, pad  
\*mäh ī fradōm pad sīh rōz rāst a-s mähīgān  
be dārišn. u-s abārīg mähīgān, \*frawardīn rōz dārišn.  
u-s sālīgān pad rōzgār ī xwēs dārišn.
- (4) ka nē paydāg kū cē mäh ud cē rōz be mīrēd, a-s  
mähīgān mäh ādur u-s rōzgār frawardīn.

1. Nyb. supplies the words PWN MH zm'n, which he suggests were lost through haplography, because of their resemblance to the following PWN m'hm'nyh. 2. MSS plwltyk. 3. MSS m'hy'n. 4. MSS plwltyk'n. 5. MSS 'p'lwck'l.

- (5) 'MT m'hyk'n pyt'k' \*'Ps<sup>6</sup> lwck'l L' pyt'k' \*'-s<sup>7</sup> m'hyk'n  
 ZK ZY pyt'k' \*'Ps<sup>6</sup> lwck'l plwltyn' YWM
- (6) 'MTs YWM pyt'k' 'Ps BYRX L' pyt'k' \*'-s<sup>7</sup> YWM ZK ZY  
 pyt'k' m'hyk'n BYRX 'twr'
- (7) 'MT 'ywl YD'TWNYt' 'YK<sup>8</sup> [L' 'twr' BYRX 'ywl \*YD'TWNYt'  
 'YK]<sup>8</sup> L' plwltyn' YWM YMYTWNYt' '-s BYRX ddw' W YWM  
 wlhl'n' 'p'yt' d'stn'

- (5) ka mähīgān paydāg, \*u-s rōzgār nē paydāg, \*a-s mähīgān D.1/2  
 hān ī paydāg, \*u-s rōzgār frawardīn rōz.
- (6) ka-s rōz paydāg, u-s mäh nē paydāg, \*a-s rōz hān ī  
 paydāg, mähīgān mäh ādur.
- (7) ka ēwar dānēd kū [nē ādur mäh, ēwar\*dānēd  
 kū] nē frawardīn rōz mirēd, a-s mäh dai ud rōz  
 warahrān abāyēd dāstan.

6. MSS '-s 7. MSS 'Ps 8. Lacking in the MSS; Dhabhar  
 restored L' 'twr' BYRX 'ywl YD'TWNd 'YK on the authority of a  
 late copy (MS no. 24 of D. Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana's  
 collection in the Navsari Meherji Rana Library, pp. 253-254).

- (1) zltwhst ZNHc MN 'whrmzd pwrst' 'YK h'nk' ZY  
 [XD] BB'<sup>1</sup> 'MTs 'ywk'XD BYN BR' YMYTWNyt' ' MH  
 'p'yt' krt'
- (2) <sup>2</sup>hwlsn' ZY s'htk' ZY BYN ZK h'nk' ZY XD  
 BB' hwlsn' ZY s'htk' ZY LXM' W BSLY' ZY pwhtk'  
 W blystk' W hwltk W ZK ZY L' s'htk' '-s 9 LYLY'  
 W BYRX \*dlhn'd<sup>3</sup> MH YXWWNyt'
- (3) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 'MT PWN h'myn' BYN h'nk' ZY XD  
 BB' BR' YMYTWNyt' '-s 'D XD BYRX BR' YXWWNyt'  
 '-s 'wbs L' 'p'yt' 'ZLWNtn' PWN zmst'n' 'D 9 LYLY'  
 BR' YXWWNyt' '-s L' 'p'yt' 'ZLWNt'

- (1) zardušt ēn-iz az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "xānag ī D.2  
 [ēw] dar ka-s ēwag-ēw andar be mīrēd, a čē  
 abāyēd kard?
- (2) "xwarišn ī sāxtag ī andar hān xānag ī ēw  
 dar — xwarišn ī sāxtag ī nān ud gōšt ī poxtag  
 ud brishtag ud xwardīg — ud hān ī nē sāxtag, a-s nō šab  
 ud māh \*drahnāy čē bawēd?"
- (3) ohrmazd guft kū: "ka pad hāmīn andar xānag ī ēw D.3  
 dar be mīrēd, a-s tā ēw māh be bawēd,  
 a-s awiṣ nē abāyēd sudan; pad zamestān tā nō šab  
 be bawēd, a-s nē abāyēd sud.

1. MSS h'nk' BB'. 2. MSS have the evidently erroneous interpolation: 'Ps gwpt 'whrmzd 'YK before hwlsn''.  
 3. MSS dlhn'dk.

- (4) hwlšn' ZY L' s'ht' \*'styt' PWN h'myn' <sup>4</sup>\*'D \*XD<sup>4</sup>  
 BYRX b[w]ndk BR' YXWWNyt' PWN zmst'n' 'D 9 LYLY'  
 b[w]ndk BR' YXWWNyt' '-s k'l L' plm'dsn ZK ZY s'htk' 'k'l
- (5) MNW BYN 9 LYLY' W BYRX dlhn'd 'ths BYN 'L h'nk'  
 YBLWNd '-s tn'pwhl-I wn's 'MT BR' 'plwcyt' [PWN] hmgyw'k<sup>5</sup>  
 tn'pwhl-I [W PWN ywdt' gyw'k' y't'XD]<sup>6</sup>
- (6) <sup>7</sup>MNW [MY']<sup>6</sup> BYN 'L h'nk' YBLWNd '-s plm'nXD<sup>8</sup> wn's  
 'MT BR' lycyt' PWN hmgyw'k [tn'pwhl-I]<sup>6</sup> W PWN ywdt'  
 gyw'k' y't'XD
- (7) KR' MNW PWN k'm-wc'l BYN \*'ZLWNyt'<sup>9</sup> '-s plm'nXD wn's
- (8) hwlšn'XD s'htk' ZY BYN h'nk' YBLWNd hm'k 'p'ty'p

- (4) "xwarišn ī nē sāxt \*estēd pad hamīn tā ēw D.3  
 māh bowandag be bawēd, pad zamestān tā nō šab  
 bowandag be bawēd, a-s kār nē framāyišn; hān ī sāxtag akār.
- (5) "kē andar nō šab ud māh drahnāy ātaxs andar ō xānag  
 barēnd, a-s tanāpuhl-ē wināh; ka be abrōzēd [pad] hamgyāg  
 tanāpuhl-ē [ud pad jud gyāg yād-ēw].
- (6) "kē [āb] andar ō xānag barēnd a-s framān-ēw wināh;  
 ka be rēzēd pad hamgyāg [tanāpuhl-ē], ud pad jud  
 gyāg yād-ēw.
- (7) "harw kē pad kām-wizār andar \*šawēd, a-s framān-ēw wināh.
- (8) "xwarišn-ēw sāxtag ī andar xānag barēnd hamāg apādyāb."

4. MSS W XD. 5. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>: hmwgyw'k. 6. Lacking in all MSS. 7. MSS have 'MT BR' lycyt hmgyw'k tn'pwhl-I PWN ywdt gyw'k' y't'XD before MNW; these words are evidently a mistaken anticipation of the last part of the paragraph. If they are omitted, § 6 becomes parallel in expression with § 5.

8. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> plm'n'ykXD; J plm'nyk. 9. MSS 'ZLWNt.

- (1) 'Ps ZNHc pwrst' MN 'whrmzd 'YK GBR' 'MT' [PWN]  
 hm'k hnd'm wn's 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> \*<sub>-s</sub><sup>1</sup> 'n'kyh \*kt'l<sup>2</sup> hnd'm  
 L'YN' YXMTWNYt'
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK XN' l'd \*MH<sup>3</sup> BYN <sup>4</sup>tn' \*ZY<sup>4</sup> 'NŠWT'-'n'  
 hnd'm ZY 'wzw'n' 'k'wmndtl ' 'n BR' 'L 'wzw'n  
 L'YN' YXMTWNYt'
- (3) 'Ps ZNHc pwrst' 'YK 'XL <sup>5</sup>'YK YXMTWNYt'
- (4) 'Ps gwpt' 'whrmzd 'YK 'XL BR' 'L LBBMH  
 YXMTWNYt' 'Ps 'XL BR' 'L \*'skmb'<sup>6</sup> YXMTWNYt'
- (5) 'Ps prznd ZY \*wnstk<sup>7</sup> W zyšt' hcs YLYDWNd  
 XN' l'd \*MH<sup>8</sup> wn's 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> W krpk L' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>

- (1) u-š ēn-iz pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "mard kā [pad] D.4  
 hamāg handām wināh kunēd, \*a-š anāgīh kadār handām  
 pēš rasēd?"
- (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "ēd rāy cē andar tan ī mardōmān  
 handām ī uzwān arzōmandtar, a ān be ō uzwān  
 pēš rasēd."
- (3) "u-š ēn-iz pursīd kū: "pas kū rasēd?"
- (4) u-š guft ohrmazd kū: "pas be ō dil  
 rasēd, u-š pas be ō \*aškamb rasēd.
- (5) "u-š frazand ī \*winastag ud zišt aziš zāyēnd,  
 ēd rāy cē wināh kunēd ud kirbag nē kunēd."

1. MSS 'Ps. 2. MSS 'kt'l. 3. MSS 'MT'. 4. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>  
 TWR'ZY; J tn'XD. 5. MSS have ' before 'YK. 6. MSS 'yškmb'.  
 7. MSS nstk. 8. MSS have 'MT' after MH.

- (6) 'MT 'NŠWT' k'l W krpk' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> hcš'n' nywkyh  
kt'l hnd'm L'YN' YXMTWNYt'
- (7) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK BR' 'L 'wzw'n L'YN' YXMTWNYt'  
XN' l'd MH<sup>7</sup> 'wzw'n MN hm'k hnd'm ŠPYL YXBWWNt'  
YK'YMWNYt' 'Ps 'XL BR' 'L LBBMH YXMTWNYt' 'Ps  
'XL BR' ['L] \*'škmb'<sup>5</sup> lsyt' 'Ps 'XL BR' 'L hm'k tn'  
YXMTWNYt'
- (8) 'Ps prznd ZY plhht' W hwysk'l W d'tst'nyk W  
hncmn'yk hcš YLYDWNd XN' l'd MH krpk' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
W wn's L' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>

- (6) "ka mardōm kār ud kirbag kunēnd, azišān nēkīh  
kadār handām pēs rasēd?"

D.4

- (7) ohrmazd guft kū: "be ō uzwān pēs rasēd,  
ēd rāy čē uzwān az hamāg handām weh dād  
ēstēd, u-š pas be ō dil rasēd u-š  
pas be [ō] \*aškamb rasēd, u-š pas be ō hamāg tan  
rasēd.

- (8) u-š frazand ī frahixt ud xwēškār ud dādestānīg ud  
hanjamanīg aziš zāyēnd ēd rāy čē kirbag kunēd  
ud wināh nē kunēd."

D.4/5

- (1) 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK 'MT ['YŠ] BYN  
 \*<sup>1</sup>gytydy \*LK<sup>1</sup> BR' \*plypydy<sup>2</sup> 'Ps 'n'kyh ZY LK YCBHN't'  
 krt'n' ZY \*tngyh ZY hw'stk' ' LK dwšmn XWH'-t'  
 LK MRY' LWTH 'LH clpyh' W d'tst'ngyh' YMRRWN  
 MH 'MT' MRY' clpyh' W d'tst'ngyh' \*YMRRWNYdy<sup>4</sup>  
 '-t'<sup>5</sup> PWN d'tst'ngyh 'LH ŠPYL twb'n' MXYTWNtn' W  
 'ylhtn' cygwn 'MTs PWN \*dyp'hlyh<sup>6</sup> W dlwstyh  
 LWTH YMRRWNYdy
- (2) MH GBR' ZY l'st-B'YXWN 'MTs d'tst'n' l'dyny't'  
 W BYN d'tst'n' \*l'dynytn'<sup>7</sup> W \*gwptn'<sup>8</sup> \*mwstyh<sup>9</sup> glcyt'  
 W d'tst'n' 'h[w]kynyh' l'dyny't' 's ZK 'g'wmndtl<sup>10</sup> cygwn

- (1) ohrmazd be ō zardust guft ku: "ka [kas] andar  
 \*gētīg to\*be \*frēbē, u-s anāgīh ī tō kāmād  
 kardan—ī \*tangīh ī xwāstag—a tō dušmen hād;  
 tō saxwan abāg ōy čarbīhā ud dādestānagīhā gōw,  
 čē ka saxwan čarbīhā ud dādestānagīhā \*gōwēh,  
 a-t pad dādestanagīh ōy weh tuwān zadan ud  
 ēraxtan čiyōn ka-s pad \*dēbahrīh ud drustīh  
 abāg gōwēh.

D.5

- (2) čē mard ī rāst-xwāh, ka-s dādestān rāyēnēd  
 ud andar dādestān \*rāyēnīdan ud \*guftan mustīhā garzēd,  
 ud dādestān āhōgēnīhā rāyēnēd, a-s hān agōmandtar čiyōn

1. MSS written as one word. 2. MSS plsyp'h.  
 3. MSS tnngyh. 4. D.'s reading; MSS hmwh'. 5. MSS 'twr.  
 6. M.'s reading; BK, MR, splyh; J zyplyh. 7. D.'s reading;  
 BK l'dtynytn'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J l'dtytn'. 8. MSS gwpt'XD.  
 9. MSS MN st'h. 10. D. reads MSS 'swmndtl.



'NSWT' ZY \*wt-hw'h<sup>11</sup> \*MNW<sup>12</sup> d'tst'n hwp' l'dynyt' W  
 'd'tyh BYN \*'LH<sup>13</sup> k'l d'lyt' MH ZK ZY KDB' \*B'YXWN<sup>14</sup>  
 wn's MN \*wt-hw'hšn<sup>15</sup> ZY 'YŠ byt' 'LH MN KR'  
 2 \*KN<sup>16</sup> YXWNNyt' 'ywk' MN hw'stk' \*'pl<sup>17</sup> bwtn' 'ywk'  
 MN \*wt-hw'hšn<sup>18</sup> ZY 'YŠ

mardōm ī \*wad-xwāh \*kē dādestān xūb rāyēnēd ud  
 adādīh andar \*ōy kār dārēd; čē hān ī drō-xwāhišn  
 wināh az \*wad-xwāhišn ī kas bēd; ōy az harw  
 dō \*ōh bawēd, ēwag az xwāstag \*appar būdan, ēwag  
 az \*wad-xwāhišn ī kas.

D.5/6

11. D.'s reading; MSS wt'hw'h. 12. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS 'MT. 13. MSS 'L. 14. M.'s reading; MSS B'YXWN'k.  
 15. BK, MR, wthwhšn'; J thwhšn'. 16. MSS 'L.  
 17. M.'s reading; MSS w'pl bwtn'. 18. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS wth'n'.

'whrmzd ZNHc BR' ['L] zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK BYN gyh'n 'YŠ L'  
 YXWWNy<sup>t</sup>' MNWš ZNH twb'n' krt<sup>n</sup>' 'YK 'LH ['L] 'YŠ XN'  
 YMR[R]W<sup>Ny</sup>t' 'YK LK KN zywndk L gw'hlyk' ZY LK BR'  
 'ZLWN<sub>m</sub> MH KR' 'YŠ MN gytydy BR' 'ZLWNy<sup>t</sup>' BR' ZK  
 MNW \*'hws<sup>1</sup> YXBWNt' \*styt' MNWc MN hm'k 'n'kyh  
 bwhtyt' 'DYN'c \*MN<sup>2</sup> zlm'nyh BR' L' bwhtyt' MH zlm'n'  
 MN 'hlmm' BR' ptglpt' 'YK PWN KR' MND'M PWN  
 'pdwmyh KR' 'YŠ BR' 'psh[y]nm MN L \*MNW<sup>3</sup> zlm'nyh  
 XWH'm BR' 'LYKWNtn' L' twb'n' k'l W krpk' 'BYDWNd  
 MH ZK MNWš ptš s'yt' YXWWNtn' lwb'n tn' PWN  
 'yc 'dwy<sup>n</sup>k' 'L kwc' L' YXMTW<sup>Ny</sup>t'

ohrmazd ēn-iz be ō zardušt guft kū: "andar gēhān kas nē D.6  
 bawēd kē-s ēn tuwān kardan, kū ōy [ō] kas ēd  
 gōwēd kū: 'tō ōh zīndag, man gōhrīg ī tō be  
 sawēm'; cē harw kas az gētīg be sawēd bē hān  
 kē<sup>\*</sup> ahōš dād estēd. kē-z az hamāg anāgīh  
 bōxtēd, ēg-iz az zarmānīh be nē bōxtēd; cē zarman  
 az ahreman be padīrift kū: 'pad harw ciš pad  
 abdomīh harw kas be abesīhēnēm, az man,<sup>\*</sup> kē zarmānīh  
 hom, be wirēxtan nē tuwān'. kār ud kirbag kunēd,  
 cē hān kē-s padīš šāyēd būdan ruwān; tan pad  
 ēč ēwēnag ō kōč nē rasēd."

1. M.'s reading. MSS 'hwn, perhaps through haplography with the YX of YXBWNt' following. 2. MSS MNW. 3. MSS MN.

- (1) zltwhšt' MN 'whrmzd pwrst' 'YK mtr'dlwc čnd 'dwynek  
'YT
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 6 'dwynek'
- (3) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK MNW BYN 'YŠ-I mtr' 'wdlwc'  
ZK [p'td'sn'(?)]<sup>1</sup> zwttl '-s PWN 9 ŠNT' QDM BR' YXMTWNyt'
- (4) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK 'MT GBR' wn's W \*bck'<sup>2</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
mtr' 'wdlwc BR' 'L prznd YXMTWNyt' ZY 'XL MN wn's W \*bck'<sup>2</sup>  
\* 'BYDWNtn'<sup>3</sup> hc-s YLYDWNyt

- (1) zardust az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "mihrdrōz čand ēwēnag  
ast?"
- (2) ohrmazd guft: "saš ēwēnag".
- (3) ēn-iz paydāg kū: kē andar kas-ē mihrdruj,  
hān [pādāšn(?)] zūdtar, a-s pad nō sāl abar be rasēd.
- (4) ēn-iz paydāg kū: ka mard wināh ud \*bazag kunēd —  
mihrdruj-be ō frazand rasēd ī pas az wināh ud \*bazag  
\*kardan az-iš zāyēd.

D.7

1. A word must have been omitted here. 2. MSS bwck'.  
3. MSS 'BYDWNyt'.

- (1) ZNHc py't'k 'YK wyhdyn'-XD MNW MND'M-I pr'c YXMTWNyt'  
W L' \*YD'YTWNyt'<sup>1</sup> 'YK MN krtn' krpk' 'ywp' wn's XT' MND'M  
MN ZK ZYs twb'n' spwhtn' 'MT L' 'BYDWNyt' 'Ps BR'  
spwht' twb'n' '-s L' kwnsn' W BR' spwcn' 'MT \*MND'M<sup>2</sup>  
MN ZK ZYs BR' L' twb'n' spwht \*XT'<sup>3</sup> PWN dstwbl  
B'YXWNt'\*<sup>4</sup> W pwrst' 'wn's 'MT \*LH<sup>5</sup> 'BYDWNyt' '-s 'L bwn  
L'YT' 'MT \*wn's<sup>6</sup> '-s 'L bwn 'Ps PWN wc'lsn' \*MN<sup>7</sup>  
bwn KN 'ZLWNyt'
- (2) MNW MN d't' ZYs BYN YK'YMWNYt' BR' 'L d't' ZY  
dtykl 'ZLWNyt' mlglc'n' XN' l'd 'YK d't' ZY wyhdynh<sup>8</sup>  
BR' hm'y ŠBKWNyt' W \*ZNH<sup>9</sup> d't ZY SLY' hm'y 'XDWNyt'

- (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū wehdēn-ēw kē čiš-ē frāz rasēd,  
ud nē danēd kū az kardan kirbag ayāb wināh, agar čiš  
az hān ī-s tuwān spōxtan ka nē kunēd, u-s be  
spōxt tuwān, a-s nē kunišn ud be spōzišn; ka čiš  
az hān ī-s be nē tuwān spōxt, \*agar pad dastwar  
xwāst ud pursīd, awināh, ka \*ōy kunēd, a-s ō bun  
nēst; ka \*wināh, a-s ō bun, u-s pad wizārišn \*az  
bun ōh sawēd.

D.7

D.7/8

- (2) kē az dād ī-s andar ēstēd be ō dād ī  
dudīgar sawēd, margarzān, ēd rāy kū dād ī wehdēnīh  
be hamē hilēd, ud \*ēn dād ī wad hamē gīrēd;

1. MSS YD'YTWN. 2. MSS MHs. 3. BK 'twr; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'twr'.  
4. MSS B'YXWNtn'. 5. MSS 'L. 6. MSS wn'sk'<sup>1</sup>.  
7. MSS MNW. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, BK wyhdyn'yh. 9. MSS MH.

d't ZY SLYtl \*glptn<sup>10</sup> l'd XN' l'd mlglc'n hm'y  
YXWWNd

- (3) MH ZK d't' ZYs PWN 'plm'nd pr'c 'wbs mt' '-s BNPŠH'  
pts wn'sk'l L' YXWWNyt' W LZNH \*YWM<sup>11</sup> 'MT' 'ywk'  
ZY TWB 'XDWNyt' pts wn'sk'l
- (4) W MNW<sup>12</sup> mlglc'n 'MT' 'L d't' ZY wyhdyn'n<sup>13</sup> Y'TWNyt'  
PWN gyw'k' 'hlwb' YXWWNyt'
- (5) \*wyhdynyh<sup>14</sup> '-s krpk' \*ZNH ms<sup>15</sup> 'MT' 'XDWNyt' 'YK yst'  
BR' 'BYDWNyt' '-s ZK yst' hm'k wn's 'ytwn' MN bwn  
BR' YBLWNyt' W BR' lwpyt' cygwn w'tXD tyc W skpt'  
'MT' QDM dšt'-I BR' 'ZLWNyt' W BR' lwpyt' W BR' YBLWNyt'

dād ī wattar \*griftan rāy, ēd rāy margarzān hamē  
bawēnd.

D.8

- (3) cē hān dād ī-s pad abarmānd frāz awiš mad, a-s xwad  
padiš wināhgār nē bawēd, ud imrōz ka ēwag  
ī did gīrēd, padiš wināhgār.
- (4) ud kē margarzān, ka ō dād ī wehdēnān āyēd,  
pad gyāg ahlaw bawēd.
- (5) \*wehdēnīh, a-s kirbag \*ēn meh\*, ka gīrēd kū yašt  
be kunēd, a-s hān yašt hamāg wināh ēdōn az bun  
be barēd ud be rōbēd, čiyōn wād-ēw tēz ud skeft  
ka abar dašt-ēw be šawēd ud be rōbēd ud be barēd;

10. MSS glpt'. 11. MSS ZNH. 12. MSS MN.

13. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK wyhdyn'n. 14. MSS wyhdyn'yh-I.

15. D.'s emendation; MSS 'nmmmy'.

W ZKc yst' lwb'n' ZY mylk' 'ytwn' MN wn's<sup>16</sup>

DKY' BR' 'BYDWNyt'

- (6) pyt'k 'YK BYN ZK YWM 'MT yst'-I<sup>17</sup> \*n'bl<sup>18</sup> 'BYDWNyt'  
 'mhrspnd'n' MN glwtm'n plwt' Y'TWNd W lwb'n' ZY  
 'LH BYN ZK 'ywk' YWM 3 b'l 'L glwtm'n' gyw'k'  
ZY NPSH YBLWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Ps nywkyh pts 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Ps mzd  
 W p't'sn' YXBWNd

ud hān-iz yašt ruwān ī mērag ēdōn az wināh

D.8

pāk be kunēd.

- (6) paydāg kū andar hān rōz ka yašt-ē<sup>\*</sup> nābar kunēd,  
 amahraspandān az garōdmān frōd āyēnd ud ruwān ī  
 ōy andar hān ēwag rōz sē bār ō garōdmān, gyāg  
 ī xwēs, barēnd, u-s nekīh padīš kunēnd, u-s mīzd  
 ud pādāšn dahēnd.

D.9

16. MN wn's written in BK above the line by a later hand.

17. MSS yst'-2. 18. BK nn'ybl; MR<sub>1</sub> nn'bl.

- a (1) W 'kdyn'-I krpk' ZNH ms<sup>1</sup> 'MT MN d't' ZY 'kdyn'yh  
 BR' 'L wyhdyn' Y'TWNYt' W wyhdyn' 'XL \*MN<sup>2</sup> ZK 'MTs  
 yst' krt' krpk'-I ZNH ms 'MT' hwytwd't' 'BYDWNyt' MH  
 ZK hwyt[w]d'tyh l'd \*MNW<sup>3</sup> 'ytnw' \*lc'wmnd<sup>4</sup> W \*shyk'<sup>5</sup>  
 W mhst'<sup>6</sup> znšn' ZY ŠDY'n'
- (2) W 'whrmzd PWN hwyt[w]d'tyh krt'n' pyt'k' 'YK 'MT'  
 zltwhšt L'YN 'whrmzd YTYBWNst' W whwmn W 'rtwhšt'  
 W štrywr<sup>7</sup> W hwrđt W 'mwrđt' W spndrmt'<sup>8</sup> \*pyl'mwn<sup>9</sup>  
ZY 'whrmzd YTYBWNd 'Ps spndrmt'<sup>8</sup> PWN kn'l  
 YTYBWNyt' 'Ps dst' PWN glyw' YXYTYWNt' \*'st't'  
 zltwhšt' PWN 'L 'whrmzd pwršyt' 'YK XN' MNW ZY

- a (1) ud agdēn-ē, kirbag ēn meh, ka az dād ī agdēnīh D.9  
 be ō wehdēn āyēd; ud wehdēn, pas \*az hān ka-š  
 yašt kard, kirbag-ē ēn meh, ka xwēdōdah kunēd, cē  
 hān xwēdōdahīh rāy, kē ēdōn \*arzōmand ud \*sahīg  
 ud mahist, zanišn ī dēwān.
- (2) ud ohrmazd, pad xwēdōdahīh kardan paydāg kū ka  
 zardušt pēs ohrmazd nišast, ud wahman ud ardwahišt  
 ud šahrewar ud hordād ud amurdād ud spandarmad \*pērāmōn  
 ī ohrmazd nišīnēnd u-š spandarmad pad kanār  
 nišīnēd, u-š dast pad grīw āwurd \*estād,  
 zardušt be ō ohrmazd pursīd kū: "ēd kē, ī

1. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> mys. 2. MSS m'n. 3. MSS 'YK.  
 4. MSS 'lc'wmwnd. 5. MSS sh'k'. 6. MSS mhšyt'.  
 7. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> štrywr. 8. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> spynmt'. 9. MSS pylymwn.

- PWN kn'l ZY LK YTYBWNyt' 'Ps 'ytwn' dwst XWHydy  
 W ZKc 'L LK 'ytwn' dwst XWHydy
- (3) L' LK MNW 'whrmzd XWHydy \*MN<sup>10</sup> 'LH 'YNH BR'  
 wlttydy W L' 'LH MN LK BR' wltyt' \*LK<sup>11</sup> MNW 'whrmzd  
 XWHydy 'LH MN dst BR' L,<sup>12</sup> ŠBKWNydy W L' 'LH  
 LK MN YDH BR' ŠBKWNyt'
- (4) W 'whrmzd gwpt' ZNH spndrmt<sup>13</sup> ZY L BRTH 'Pm  
 ktk-b'nwk' ZY whst' W 'M ZY d'm'n
- (5) zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK 'MT BYN gyh'n MND 'M-I ZNH  
 skypttl YMRRWnd cygwn LK MNW 'whrmzd XWHydy  
 XT' BR' 'L LK gwpt'

- pad kanār ī tō nišīned u-š ēdōn dōst hē,  
 ud hān-iz ō tō ēdōn dōst hē?
- (3) "nē tō kē ohrmazd hē \*az ōy čašm be  
 wardē, ud nē ōy az tō be wardē; \*tō kē ohrmazd  
 hē ōy az dast be nē hilē, ud nē ōy  
 tō az dast be hilē".
- (4) ud ohrmazd guft: "ēn spandarmad, ī man duxt, u-m  
 kadag - bānūg ī wahišt, ud mād ī dāmān".
- (5) zardušt guft kū: "ka andar gēhān čiš-ēw ēn  
 skefttar gōwēnd, čiyōn, tō kē ohrmazd hē,  
 agar be ō tō guft?"

10. Dhabhar's reading; MSS MNW. 11. MSS l't'.  
 12. L' written above line in BK; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>.  
 13. BK, J spynmt'.



- (6) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK zltwhst' p'hlwmm nwšyt' MND'M  
 ZY 'NŠWT'-'n' ZNH bwt' XWHydy
- (7) 14\*<sup>14</sup> MH \*MN<sup>14</sup> bwndhšn' 'wlwn' 'MT m'hlydy W \*m'hlydynny<sup>15</sup>  
 KN \*krt'<sup>16</sup> LKWMc KN krt' XWHydy MH 'MT  
 'NŠWT'-'n' ZK MND'M BR' wltynyt' \*-s'n'<sup>17</sup> BR' L'  
 wltynyt' XWHydy
- (8) 'ytwn' cygwn' m'hlydy W m'hlydynny hwyt[w]d't' krt'  
 ' 'NŠWT'-'n' KN krt' XWHydy hm'k' 'NŠWT' ptwnd  
 W twhmk' ZY NPSH YD'YTWNst' XWHydy hk(w)lc 'X 'LH  
 ZY 'X W 'XTH 'LH ZY 'XTH' MN dwstyh BR'  
 L' ŠBKWNyt' XWHydy

- (6) ohrmazd guft kū: "zardušt, pahlom nōšīd čiš  
 ī mardōmān ēn būd hē.
- (7) "čē \*az bundahišn ōrōn, ka mahlē ud \*mahlēnī  
 ōh \*kard, ašmah-iz ōh kard hē, čē ka  
 mardōmān hān čiš be wardēnīd \*a-šān be nē  
 wardēnīd hē.
- (8) "ēdōn čiyōn mahlē ud mahlēnī xwēdōdah kard,  
 a mardōmān ōh kard hē; hamāg mardōm paywand  
 ud tōhmag ī xwēš dānist hē, hagrīz brād ōy  
 ī brād ud xwah ōy ī xwah az dōstīh be  
 nē hilīd hē.

D.10

14. MSS 'MTm. 15. MSS m'hlydynny. 16. MSS krt'.  
 17. MSS 'Ps'n.

(9) MH hm'k L'YT'-MND'Myh \*w'd-'kynyh<sup>18</sup> W hwškyh BR' 'L  
 'NSWT'- 'n' MN ZK ml mt 'MTs'n MN ywdt-str' W  
 MN ywdt'-lwtst'k' W MN ywdt-MT' GBR' Y'TWNT' XWH'd  
 'Ps'n' NYŠH krt' W 'MTs'n' NYŠH BR' YBLWNa 'B' W  
 'M gldst' XWH'd<sup>19</sup> PWN ZNH 'YKm'n BRTH PWN wltkyh  
 hm'y YBLWNx<sub>2</sub>d

- b (1) ZNHc 'YK hwy[t]d't' 'ytwm' 'pd ZK ZY \*gl'n'twm wn's  
 cygwm y'twkyh ZY mlglo'n bwhtšn' MN dwšhw'  
 (2) W 'pyp'hlyh MN dwšhw' ZY \*'pyp'hlyh<sup>1</sup> MN 'hlmm  
 W \*ŠDY'n<sup>2</sup> PWN ZK \*'DN'<sup>3</sup> YXWNYt' 'MT MN ZK \*'YKs<sup>4</sup>  
 y'twkyh krt'n' \*B'YXWNT'<sup>5</sup> mlglo'n' krt'

(9) "čē hamāg nēst-čišīh, \*wāy-āgēnīh ud huškīh be ō  
 mardōmān az hān mar mad, ka-šān az jud-šahr ud  
 az jud - rōstāg ud az jud - deh mard āmad hēnd,  
 u-šān zan kard, ud ka-šān zan be barēnd, pid ud  
 mād griyist hēnd, pad ēn kū: 'mān duxt pad wardagīh  
 hamē barēnd".

D.10

D.10/11

- b (1) ēn-iz,kū xwēdōdah ēdōn abd,hān ī \*garāntom wināh  
 čiyōn jādūgīh ī margarzān bōxtišn az dušox.  
 (2) ud abēbahrīh az dušox, ī \*abēbahrīh az ahreman  
 ud \*dēwān, pad hān zamān bawēd, ka az hān \*kū-š  
 jādūgīh kardan \*xwāst, margarzān kard.

18. MSS w'b'kynyh. 19. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> WXWWH'd.

1. MSS 'pyp'hly. 2. D.'s emendation; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> 'ŠDY'n'; J YŠDY'n.

3. D.'s emendation; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> 'DNN'; J DNN'. 4. MSS 'MTs.

5. MSS have PLXWNT', the ideogram for xwast, "to trample",  
 apparently written mistakenly for BYXWNT' xwāst "desire, seek".

- (3) W 'MT hwytwd't' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub><sup>6</sup> hcš MN dwšhw  
 znd'n' ZY 'hlmn' W ŠDY'n' bwht' W 'pyp'hl hwytwd't'  
 'ytnw' 'pd-I
- c (1) gyw'k[-XD] pyt'k 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK  
 4 MND'M ZNH p'hlwm yčsn' ZY 'whrmzd ZY hwt'y  
 W 'thš '[y]sm W bwd W zwhl YXBWNtn' W GBR' ZY  
 'hlwb' sn'dynytn' W MNW LWITH bwt'l 'ywp' BRTH'  
 'ywp LWITH 'XTH' hwytwd't' 'BYDWNyt'
- (2) W MN ZK hm'k ZK ms W wyh W p'hlwm  
 MNW hwytwd't'<sup>1</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (3) W hwytwd't' 'ytnw' 'pd 'hlmn' W ŠDY'n' W 'n'kyh ZY

- (3) ud ka xwēdōdah kunēd, aziš az dušox,

D.11

zendān ī ahreman ud dēwān, bōxt ud abēbahr; xwēdōdah  
 ēdōn abd-ē.

- c (1) gyāg[-ēw] paydāgkū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft kū:

"čahār čiš ēn pahlom; yazišn ī ohrmazd ī xwadāy;  
 ud ātaxš ēsm ud bōy ud zōhr dādan; ud mard ī  
 ahlaw snāyēnīdan; ud kē abāg burdār ayāb duxt  
 ayāb abāg xwah xwēdōdah kunēd.

- (2) ud az hān hamāg, hān meh ud weh ud pahlom

kē xwēdōdah kunēd.

- (3) ud xwēdōdah ēdōn abd, ahreman ud dēwān ud anāgīh ī

6. After 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> MSS repeat, by mistake, 'MT hwytwd't.

1. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> hwytwd't.

- 'NSWT'-'n' \*byssn'<sup>2</sup> 'whrmzd ZY hwt'y W hm'k  
 yzd'n l'd PWN hm'k hng'm LWTH' hm'k ŠDY'n'  
 kwnmlc' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> gwlsgyh W syc W \*tysngyh<sup>3</sup> W  
 zlm'nyh W wym'lyh W wstyh W \*'wyl'nyh<sup>4</sup> W  
 sthmk'yh ZY hlpstl'n W 'p'ryk hm'k' 'n'kyh ZY BYN  
 gyh'n' [MN] kwnmlc wys \*YXWWNd<sup>5</sup>  
 (4) pyt'k 'YK 'MT' hm'k hlpstl ZY BYN gyh'n' kwpl' b'l'  
 BR' YMYTWNd W hm'k wš W gndyh W lymnyh BR' 'L  
 \*XD<sup>6</sup> gyw'k' Y'TWNYdy gnd BR' 'L 'whrmzd W whst'  
 L' YXMTWNYdy  
 (5) 'MT 'NSWT' kwnmlc 'BYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>, gnd MN kwnmlc 'D 'L

- mardōmān \*bēšišn, ohrmazd ī xwadāy ud hamāg  
 yazdān ray; pad hamāg hangām abāg hamāg dēwān  
 kunmarz kunēnd: gursagīh ud sēj ud \*tišnagīh ud  
 zarmānīh ud wēmārīh ud waštīh ud \*awēranīh, ud  
 stahmagīh ī xrafstarān, ud abārīg hamāg anāgīh ī andar  
 gēhān [az] kunmarz wēs \*bawēnd.  
 (4) paydāg kū ka hamāg xrafstar ī andar gēhān, kōf-balā,  
 be mīrēnd, ud hamāg wiš ud gandīh ud rēmanīh be ō  
 \*ēw gyāg āyē, gand be ō ohrmazd ud wahišt  
 nē rasē.  
 (5) ka mardōm kunmarz kunēnd, gand az kunmarz tā ō

D.12

2. D.'s emendation; BK bšš'n; MR<sub>1</sub> bš''n'; J bšys'n'.  
 3. MSS twšnwyh. 4. MSS 'w'l'nyh. 5. MSS YXWWNyt.  
 6. MSS KN', for ē(d), by mistake for ēw.

pytyd'lk'wmndyh 'ZLWNyt'

- (6) 'ytwn' cygwn LZNH-YWM pl'hst' 'n'kyh MN kwnmlc'  
 'ytwn' 'MT sws'ns Y'TWNyt' hm'k 'NSWT' hwytwd't'  
 'BYDWNd W hm'k' dlwc PWN 'pd W nylwk' ZY hwytwd't'  
 BR' 'psyhyt'.

- d (1) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK GBR'I hwytwd't' 'ywk' [LWTH]  
 \*bwlt'l<sup>1</sup> W 'ywk' LWTH z'hk' BRTH' ZK ZY LWTH  
 bwlt'l QDM 'LH' ZY TWB lt'n XN' l'd MHS ZK ZY MN  
 tn' BR' \*Y'TWNt'<sup>2</sup> nzdyktl
- (2) MH pyt'k 'YK 'hlmn' ZY gcstk'<sup>3</sup> 'MTs LWTH' NPŠH-tn'  
 kwnmlc krt' \*,<sup>4</sup> gl'ntl YXWWNt' cygwn' 'MTs LWTH

petyāragōmandīh šawēd.

D.12

- (6) ēdōn čiyōn im-roz frahist anāgīh az kunmarz,  
 ēdōn ka sōsāns āyēd hamāg mardōm xwēdōdah  
 kunēnd, ud hamāg druz pad abd ud nērog ī xwēdōdah  
 be abesihēd.

- d (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū mard-ē xwēdōdah ēwag [abāg]  
 \*burdār ud ēwag abāg zahag, duxt; hān ī abāg  
 burdār abar ōy ī did radān ēd rāy čē-š hān ī az  
 tan be \*āmad nazdīktar.

D.12/13

- (2) čē paydāg kū ahreman ī gizistag ka-š abāg xwēš - tan  
 kunmarz kard, \*a garāntar būd čiyōn ka-š abāg

1. MSS bwlt'lt'. 2. MSS Y'TWNtn'. 3. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> gc'stk'.  
 4. MSS '.

šDY'n krtn'

- (3) ZK ZY LWTH BRTH' QDM ZK ZY TWB lt' MNWs  
LWTH 'XTH krt' \*,styt<sup>5</sup>\*BR' z'hk' \*hcs<sup>5</sup> L' YXWWNyt'
- (4) BRTH 'ywl \*MNW<sup>6</sup>\*MN<sup>7</sup>'M YLYDWNt' 'B' 'MT' LWTH  
BRTH 'BYDWNyt' \*MNWs<sup>8</sup> MN SLYTWNtn' ZY NPŠH' BR'  
\*YLYDWNt'<sup>9</sup> \*,styt' <sup>10</sup>\*,\_s \*QDM \*'LH YXWWNyt' 'MTs  
'X L' YXWWNyt'<sup>10</sup>
- (5) 'XTH W 'X 'MT \*hm-'B'<sup>11</sup> XWH'd ywdt'-'M '-s'n' KN  
YXWWNyt' W 'MT hm-'M XWH'd ywdt'-'B' \*,\_s'n'<sup>12</sup> KN  
YXWWNyt'
- (6) GBR'-I 'MTs 'hwysk'lyh' BRTH'XD MN NYŠH ZY 'YŠ-'n'

dēwān kardan.

D.13

- (3) hān ī abāg duxt abar hān ī did rad kē-s  
abāg xwah kard \*ested bē zahag aziš nē bawēd.
- (4) duxt ēwar \*kē \*az mād zād, pid ka abāg  
duxt kunēd kē-s az gādan ī xwēs be  
zād estēd \*a-s \*abar \*ōy bawēd ka-s  
brād nē bawēd.
- (5) xwah ud brād ka ham-pid hēnd jud-mād, a-sān ōh  
bawēd,ud ka ham-mād hēnd jud pid, a-sān ōh  
bawēd.
- (6) mard-ē ka-s axwēškārīhā duxtēw az zan ī kasān

5. MSS wwbs z'hk' 'yws. 6. MSS 'YK. 7. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> MNW;  
J 'MT. 8. MSS 'MTs. 9. MSS YLYDWNyt'. 10. MSS 'Ds LWTH  
KN YXWWNyt' 'MTs L' 'X L' YXWWNyt'. 11. MSS 'M W 'B.  
12. MSS 'Ps'n.

- YLYDWNt' YK'YMWNyt' 'MT ZK 'DN' 'MTs PWN NYŠHyh  
 'XDWNyt \*<sup>13</sup><sub>s</sub>dstwb'lyh \*<sup>14</sup><sub>s</sub>krpk' ZY hwytd' 't' KN  
 YXWWNyt' W mtrwdlwc' 'ytwn' PWN z'hk YXWWNyt' cygwn  
 hwytd' 't'  
 (7) \*lwb'n-c<sup>13</sup> ZY 'pln'yk'n MNW 'D 7 ŠNT' BR' YMYTWNyt'  
 \*<sup>14</sup><sub>s</sub> lwb'n' PWN hwlsyt' p'dyk \*'styt' W 'MT' 'B' 'hlwb'  
 LWTH 'B' BR' 'L whst' W 'MT' 'B' dlwnd 'MT' 'M  
 'hlwb' LWTH 'M BR' whst' 'ZLWNyt' 'MTs 'B' W 'M  
 KR' 2 dlwnd LWTH 'B' W 'M BR' 'L dwšhw' 'ZLWNyt  
 (8) YXWWNt' dstw[b]l MNWs 'ytwn' gwpt' 'YK 'MT' 'ths-I  
 \*n'mg'n \*ZY<sup>15</sup> 'LH BR' cynynd hlpstl-I PWN lwb'n' ZY

zād ēstēd, ka hān zamān ka-s pad zanīh

D.13

gīrēd, \*~~a-s~~ dastwarīh, \*~~a-s~~ kirbag ī xwēdōdah ōh  
 bawēd, ud mīhrōdruj ēdōn pad zahag bawēd, čiyōn  
 xwēdōdah.

- (7) \*ruwān-iz ī aburnāyagān kē tā haft sāl be mirēd,  
 \*~~a-s~~ ruwān pad xwarsēd pāyag\*estēd; ud ka pid ahlaw,  
 abāg pid be ō wahišt; ud ka pid druwand, ka mād  
 ahlaw, abāg mād be wahišt sawēd; ka-s pid ud mād  
 harw dō druwand, abāg pid ud mād be ō dušox sawēd.  
 (8) būd dastwar kē-s ēdōn guft kū"ka ātaxs-ē  
 \*nāmagān\*ī ōy be čīnēnd, xrafstar-ē pad ruwān ī

D.13/14

13. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> lbw'nc; J lbw'nc. 14. MSS 'Ps.  
 15. MSS n'mg'nyh.

'LH BR' YKTLWNd '-s lwb'n' MN 'M W 'B' ywdt'k'

BR' YXWWNyt' 'L dwshw' L' 'ZLWNyt'

- (9) bwt' dstwbl MNWs gwpt' 'YK 'LH k'l W krpk' ZY

NPSH l'd YXWWNyt' MH MN 'pst'k' pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd

ZK dws'lm 'MT' 'B' prznđ plwlyt' '-s 'ytwn' YXBWNt'

\*YKS<sup>16</sup> 'D 7 ŠNT' lwb'n' LWTH 'B' W 'M lwb'n-c'

ZY \*'pwl'n'yk<sup>17</sup> \*cygwn<sup>18</sup> z'hk YXWWNyt'

- e (1) W hwytwd't 'ytwn' 'pd ym l'd pyt'k' 'YK 'MTs

GDH ZY hwt'yh hcs BR' 'ZLWNt' YXWWNt' LWTH ymg

\*ZYS<sup>1</sup> 'XTH' MN hncmn ZY dh'k' 'NSWT'- 'n' ŠDY'n W plyk'n'

'LYKWNtn' BR' 'L wl ZY zlyh 'ZLWNt'

ōy be ōzanēnd, a-s ruwān az mād ud pid judāg

D.14

be bawēd, ō dušox nē šawēd."

- (9) būd dastwar kē-s guft kū "ōy kār ud kirbag ī

xwēs rāy bawēd, cē az abestāg paydāg kū ohrmazd

hān dōšāram ka pid frazand parwarēd. a-s ēdōn dād

kū-s tā haft sāl ruwān abāg pid ud mād; ruwān-iz

ī \*aburnāyag \*čiyōn zahag bawēd."

- e (1) ud xwēdōdah ēdōn abd, yim rāy paydāg kū ka-s

xwarrah ī xwadāyih aziš be šud, būd abāg yimag

\*ī-s xwah, az hanjaman ī dahāg, mardōmān, dēwān, ud parīgān

wirēxtan be ō war, ī zrēh, šud.

16. MSS 'MTs. 17. MSS 'pwl'yk. 18. MSS PWN.

1. MSS 'Ps.



- (2) 'Ps'n BYN dwshw' \*B'YXWNst'<sup>2</sup> W L' XZYTWNt' 'Ps'n BYN  
 'NSWT'-'n' W MY' W zmyk W gwspnd W BYN 'wlwl W BYN  
 kwp' W BYN lwst'k' \*'-s'n'<sup>3</sup> B'YXWNst' 'Ps'n' L' \*XZYTWNt'<sup>4</sup>
- (3) 'XL 'hlmn' dl'yt' 'YK 'ytwn' mynym 'YK ym BYN  
 wl ZY zlyh hm'y SGYTWNyt'
- (4) W ŠDY' W plyk'-XD BYN YK'YMWNyt' XWH'd 'YK  
 LNH' 'ZLWNm W ym B'YXWNm
- (5) W \*dwb'lyst'<sup>5</sup> W 'ZLWNt' XWH'd W 'MT BR' 'L ZK  
 wl mt' XWH'd 'YK ym bwt' ZK wl ZY MY' ZY  
 tyl bwt' ym gwpt' 'YK LKWM MNW XWH'yt
- (6) 'Ps'n gwpt' 'YK LNH' ZK XWHm MNW 'ytwn' čygwn

- (2) u-šān andar dušox \*xwāst, ud nē dīd; u-šān andar D.14  
 mardōmān ud āb ud zamīg ud gōspand ud andar urwar ud andar  
 kōf ud andar rōstāg \*a-šān xwāst, u-šān nē \*dīd.
- (3) pas ahreman drāyēd kū: "ēdōn mēnēm, kū yim andar D.14/15  
 war, ī zrēh, hamē rawēd."
- (4) ud dēw ud parīg-ēw andar ēstīd hēnd kū:  
 "amāh šawēm ud yim xwāhēm."
- (5) ud \*dwārist ud šud hēnd, ud ka be ō hān  
 war mad hēnd kū yim būd, hān war ī āb ī  
 tīr būd, yim guft kū: "ašmāh kē hēd?"
- (6) u-šān guft kū: "amāh hān hēm kē ēdōn čiyōn

2. MSS B'XWNstn'. 3. MSS 'ys'n'. 4. MSS XZYTWNyt'.  
 5. MSS dwb'l'st'.

LK' MNW [MN] dst' ZY ŠDY'n \*'LYKWNt'<sup>6</sup> XWHydy

LNHc MN ŠDY'n BR' wlyht' XWHm \*'yw-krtk'<sup>7</sup>

YXWWNm

(7) W LK' XN' 'XTH PWN NYŠHyh 'L L YXBWN

'D Lyc ZNH BR' 'L LK YXBWNm

(8) W ym XN' l'd 'MTš ŠDY' MN 'NSWT' L' sn'ht' \*XWHt'<sup>8</sup>

\*'-s<sup>9</sup> plyk' NPSH NYŠH krt' 'Ps 'XTH' BR' 'L NYŠH

ZY ŠDY' YXBWWNt'

(9) W MN ym W ZK plyk hls W \*kpyk'<sup>10</sup> W gndlp'

W gwsbl YLYDWNt' MN ymk W ZK ŠDY' gsp

W kwlbk' W gwnc W wk W dyw<sup>fjk</sup> W 'XRNyc' KBD

tō kē [az] dast ī dēwān \*wirēxt hē,

D.15

amāh-iz az dēwān be wirēxt hēm.ēw-kardag

bawēm.

(7) "ud tō ēd xwah pad zanīh ō man dah,

tā man-iz ēn be ō tō dahēm."

(8) ud yim,ēd rāy ka-s dēw az mardōm nē snāxt \*hād,

\*a-s parīg xwēs zan kard, u-s xwah be ō zan

ī dēw dād.

(9) ud az yim ud hān parīg xirs ud \*kabīg ud gandarb

ud gōšwar zād; az yimag ud hān dēw gasf

ud gurbag ud gunj ud wak ud dēw<sup>gk</sup> ud any-iz was

6. MSS 'LYKWNtn'. 7. MSS 'ywk TWB. 8. MSS XWH'd.

9. MSS 'Ps. 10. MSS kwpyk'.

hlpstl YLYDWNt' XWH'd W \*ymk'<sup>11</sup> ZK ŠDY' XZYTWNt'

'YK SLY' bwt' 'Ps zn-tc' 'p'yt' B'YXWNt'

(10) W YWM-I 'MT' ym W ZK ŠDY' PWN mdy 'ŠTHNt'

bwt' XWH'd '-s gyw'k' W wstlg ZY NPSH LWTH' ZK

ZY plyk BR' gwh'lyt' W 'MT' ym Y'TWNt' mst'

YXWNT' \* 'n'k'syh,<sup>12</sup> LWTH' ymk' ZYS 'XTH bwt'

BR' hwpt' W krpk' ZY hwytwd't' BR' 'L d'tst'n'

Y'TWNt'<sup>13</sup> KBD SDY' BR' skst' XWH'd W YMYTWNt'<sup>14</sup> XWH'd

W 'LHs'n' PWN 'yw-[b]'lkyh BR' dwb'lyst' XWH'd W L'WXL

'L dwšhw' 'wpst' XWHd

f (1) ZNHc MN 'pst'k' pyt'k' 'YK zltwhst' BR' 'L 'whrmzd

xrafstar zād hēnd; ud \*yimag hān dēw dīd

D.15

kū wad būd, u-s zan-tačā abāyēd xwāst.

(10) ud rōz-ē, ka yim ud hān dēw pad may xward

D.15/16

būd hēnd, a-s gyāg ud wastarag ī xwēs abāg hān

ī parīg be gōharīd, ud ka yim āmad mast

būd, \*anāgāhīhā abāg yimag ī-s xwah būd

be xuft, ud kirbag ī xwēdōdah be ō dādestān

āmad; was dēw be skast hēnd ud murd hēnd,

ud awēsānpad ēw-bāragīh be dwārist hēnd. ud abāz

ō dušox ōbast hēnd.

f (1) ēn-iz az abestāg pāydāg, kū zardust be ō ohrmazd

11. MSS yymk'. 12. MSS 'n'k'yh'. 13. MSS add XWH'd perhaps as a wrong anticipation of skst' XWH'd following.

14. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> YMYTWt'.

- pwršyt' 'YK KBD mynšn' KBD gwbsn' KBD  
 kwnšn '-t' gwpt' LK MNW 'whrmzd XWHydy 'YK 'p'yt'  
 mynytn' gwptn' W krtn' MN hm'k mynšn' gwbsn'  
 W kwnšn' MH wyh 'MT' myn'ydy YMR[R]WNYdy W kwnydy  
 (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK KBD mynšn' [KBD] gwbsn' W  
 KBD kwnšn' '-m pr'c' gwpt' XWHydy zltwhst' MN  
 ZK mynšn'<sup>1</sup> gwbsn' W kwnšn' ZY 'p'yt' mynytn'  
 gwptn' W krtn' ZK ŠPYL W p'swm \*MNW<sup>2</sup>  
 hwytwd't' 'BYDWNyt'  
 (3) MH pyt'k 'YK pltwm b'l 'MTs BR' nzdýk 'ZLWNyt'  
 1000 ŠDY' BR' YMYTWNyt' W 2000 y'twk' W plyk'

- pursīd kū: "was mēnišn, was gōwišn ud was  
 kunišn a-t guft, tō kē ohrmazd hē, kū abāyēd  
 mēnīdan, guftan ud kardan; az hamāg mēnišn, gōwišn  
 ud kunišn, cē weh ka mēnē, gōwē ud kunē?"  
 (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "was mēnišn, was gōwišn ud  
 was kunišn a-m frāz guft hē, zardušt; az  
 hān mēnišn, gōwišn ud kunišn ī abāyēd mēnīdan,  
 guftan ud kardan, hān weh ud pāšom \*kē  
 xwēdōdah kunēd.  
 (3) cē paydāg kū fradom bār ka-s be nazdīk šawēd,  
 hazār dēw be mīrēd ud dō hazār jādūg ud parīg;

D.16

1. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> mnšn'. 2. MSS MN.

- \*<sup>3</sup>MTs 2 b'l BR' nzdyk 'ZLWNyt' 2000 ŠDY' BR'  
 YMYTWNyt' W 4000 y'twk W plyk' 'MT[s] 3 b'l  
 BR' 'L nzdyk 'ZLWNyt' 3000 ŠDY' BR' YMYTWNyt'  
 W 6000 y'twk' W plyk 'MTs 4 b'l BR' 'L  
 nzdyk 'ZLWNyt' 'sk'lk' 'hlwb' YXWWNyt' GBR' W NYŠH  
 g (1) XN' YMR[R]WNyt' ZK MNW BRH<sup>1</sup> BR' 'L bwlt'l 'YK  
 tn' PWN tn' gwmycsnyh BR' \*KN<sup>2</sup> YXBWNd 'Dm'n bym  
 ZY MN dwshw' L' YXWWNyt' W wn's ZYm'n' krt'  
 YK' YMWNyt' MN bwn BR' 'ZLWNyt' W PWN <sup>3\*</sup>cynwt'  
 \*pwhl [p'k] LBBMH<sup>3</sup> YXWWNm 'Pm'n' gyw'k ZY nywk'  
 W 'p'yšnyk' NPŠH YXWWNyt'<sup>4</sup> W 'whrmzd šn'dynym

\*ka-s dō bār be nazdīk šawēd, dō hazār dēw be  
 mīrēd ud čahār hazār jadūg ud parīg; ka-[s] sē bār  
 be ō nazdīk šawēd, sē hazār dēw be mīrēd  
 ud šas hazār jadūg ud parīg; ka-s čahār bār be ō  
 nazdīk šawēd, āškārag ahlaw bawēd mard ud zan.

D.17

- g (1) ēd gōwēd hān kē pus be ō burdār - kū  
 tan pad tan gumēzišnīh - be \*ōh dahēnd: "tā-mān bēm  
 ī az dušox nē bawēd, ud wināh ī-mān kard  
 ēstēd az bun be šawēd, ud pad \*činwad  
 \*puhl [pāk] dil bawēm, u-mān gyāg ī nēk  
 ud abāyišnīg xwēs bawēd, ud ohrmazd šnāyēnēm

3. MSS MNWS. 1. BK BR' with BRH written above by a later hand.  
 2. MSS 'L. 3. MSS cnt pwhlt ZY LBBMH.  
 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWNt'.

W 'hlmm byšsynm XN' YMR[R]WNyt' \*bwlt'l<sup>5</sup> BR' 'L  
 BRH' \*MT<sup>6</sup> PWN 'hl'dyh YMR[R]WNyt' BR' LK YXBWNm  
 [tn' PWN] tn' gwmycšnyh 'ytwm čygwn gwpt' LK BRH'  
 XN' YMR[R]WNyt' 'B' 'L<sup>7</sup> BRTH' \*XN'<sup>7</sup> YMR[R]WNyt'  
 BRTH BR' 'L \*'LH<sup>8</sup> ZY 'B' XN' YMR[R]WNyt' 'X BR' ['L]  
 'LH ZY 'XTH [XN'] YMR[R]WNyt' 'XTH' 'L 'LH ZY  
 'X 'ytwm' cygwn-m npšt'

- (2) MN ZK kwnšn' ZY hwytwd't' ŠDY'n' znšn'-XD W  
 byšsn'-XD 'ytwm' BR' YXWWNyt' 'MT 'XL \*MN<sup>9</sup> [ZK]  
 'LHs'n' GBR' W NYŠH y'twk BR' YXWWNd W 1000  
 p'h W stwl PWN 'ywb'l 'd'tyh' kwšynd W zwhl BR'

ud ahreman bēšēnēm." ēd gōwēd\* būrdār be ō  
 pus,\*ka pad ahlāyih gōwēd: "be tō dahēm"  
 [tan pad] tan gumēzišnīh, ēdōn čiyōn guft, "tō, pus."  
 ēd gōwēd pid ō duxt; \*ēd gōwēd  
 duxt be ō \*oy ī pid; ēd gōwēd brād be [ō]  
 ōy ī xwah; [ēd] gōwēd xwah ō ōy ī  
 brād, ēdōn čiyōn-im nibišt.

D.17

- (2) az hān kunišn ī xwēdōdah, dēwān zanišn-ēw ud  
 bēšišn-ēw ēdōn be bawēd, ka, pas \*az [hān],  
 awēšān mard ud zan jādūg be bawēnd, ud hazār  
 pah ud stōr pad ēwbar adādīhā kōšēnd, ud zōhr be

D.17/18

5. MSS bl'tl. 6. MSS 'YK. 7. MSS BRTH'XD.  
 8. D.'s emendation; MSS 'L. 9. MSS MNW.

'L ŠDY'n' YXBWNd ŠDY'n' ZK znšn' W byššn' l'd  
 ZYS'n' MN hwytwd't' bwt \*'styt' '-s'n \*'s'nyh bwndk<sup>10</sup>  
 L' YXWWNyt' 'Ps'n' L' XYMN[N]yt' 'YK lwb'n' ZY  
 \*'LHs'n'<sup>11</sup> BR' 'L LNH \*YXMTWNyt'<sup>12</sup>

- h (1) MNW \*XD<sup>1</sup> ŠNT' hwytwd't' PWN NYŠHyh YXSNNyt'  
 'ytwn' YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs hm'k ZNH gyh'n' 3 'ywk'-I  
 LWTH MY' LWTH 'wlwl W LWTH ywlt'y '-s PWN  
 'hlwb'd't' BR' 'L GBR' ZY 'hlwb' YXBWNt' XWHydy  
 W 'MT 2 ŠNT' PWN NYŠHyh YXSNNyt' cygwn 'MTs  
 [hm'k] ZNH gyh'n' 2 3 'ywk' LWTH MY' 'wlwl  
 W ywlt'y [PWN 'šwkd't'] BR' 'L GBR' ZY 'šwk' YXBWNt' XWHydy

ō dēwān dahēnd, dēwān, hān zanišn ud bešišn rāy  
 ī-šān az xwēdōdah būd \*estēd, a-šān \*āsānīh bawandag,  
 nē bawēd, u-šān nē wurrōyīd kū: "ruwān ī  
 \*awēšān be ō amāh \*rasēd."

D.18

- h (1) kē \*ēw sāl xwēdōdah pad zanih dārēd,  
 ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ka-s hamāg ēn gēhān sē ēwag-ē,  
 abāg āb, abāg urwar ud abāg jōrdā, a-s pad  
 ahlawdād be ō mard ī ahlaw dād hē;  
 ud ka dō sāl pad zanih dārēd, čiyōn ka-s  
 [hamāg] ēn gēhān dō sē ēwag abāg āb, urwar  
 ud jōrdā, [pad ašōdād] be ō mard ī ašō dād hē.

10. MSS 's'n' 'D bwndk. 11. MSS 'LH ZY s'n'.  
 12. MSS YXMTyt'. 1. MSS XN'.

- (2) 'MT 3 ŠNT' PWN NYŠHyh d'lyt' 'ytwn' cygwn 'MT  
 hm'k ZNH gyh'n' LWITH MY' LWITH 'wlwl W LWITH KR'  
 MND'M PWN 'hlwb'd't' BR' 'L GBR' ZY 'hlwb'  
 YXBWNt' XWHydy
- (3) 'MTs 4 ŠNT' PWN znyh d'lyt' 'Ps yst krt'  
 \*styt' \*-s<sup>2</sup> lwb'n' 'sk'lk' BR' glwtm'n 'ZLWNyt' W  
 'MT L' \*-s<sup>2</sup> 'L whst' 'ZLWNyt'
- i (1) zltwhst' MN 'whrmzd pwrst' 'YK \*MT<sup>1</sup> GBR'  
 ZY hwytd't' 'Ps yst' krt' YK'YMWNYt' 'Ps ycsn'XD  
 YXBWNyt' '-s krpk' 'ytwn' YXWWNYt' cygwn 'hwytd't'  
 YXBWNt' MH 'dwynt' YXWWNYt'

D.18

- (2) ka sē sāl pad zanīh dārēd, ēdōn čiyōn ka  
 hamāg ēn gēhān, abāg āb, abāg urwar ud abāg harw  
 čis, pad ahlawdād be ō mard ī ahlaw  
 dād hē.

D.18/19

- (3) ka-s čahār sāl pad zanīh dārēd, u-s yašt kard  
 estēd, \*a-s ruwān askārag be garōdmān šawēd—ud  
 ka nē, \*a-s ō wahišt šawēd.
- i (1) zardust az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "ka mard  
 ī xwēdōdah, u-s yašt kard estēd u-s yazisn-ēw  
 dāhēd, a-s kirbag ēdōn bawēd čiyōn axwēdōdah  
 dād ? čē ēwēnag bawēd?"



- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'ytwn' cygwn 'MTs 100 GBR' ZY  
'hwytdw't' YXBWNt' XWHydy
- (3) zltwhst' ZNHc pwrst' MN 'whrmzd 'YK GBR' ZY  
hwytdw't' 'pryn' - \*XD<sup>2</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> cygwn YXWWNyt'
- (4) gwpt' 'YK cygwn 'MT 100 GBR' ZY 'hwytdw't'  
'pryn' 'BYDWNd
- j (1) 'Ps ZNHc pwrst' 'YK <sup>1</sup>LHs'n' MNW<sup>1</sup> hdyb'lyh  
'BYDWNd 'LHs'n' 'L hwytdw't' <sup>2</sup>hnd'cynd W h'cynd<sup>2</sup> W  
\*gwptn'<sup>3</sup> ZY 'LHs'n' l'd hwytdw't' 'BYDWNyt' krpk cygwn  
YXWWNyt'
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK cygwn \*'MT<sup>4</sup> 100 hylpt' MNW KR'

D.19

- (2) ohrmazd guft: "ēdōn čiyōn ka-s sad mard ī  
axwēdōdah dād hē."
- (3) zardust ēn-iz pursīd az ohrmazd ku: "mard ī  
xwēdōdah āfrīn- \*ēw kunēd, čiyōn bawēd?"
- (4) guft kū: "čiyōn ka sad mard ī axwēdōdah  
āfrīn kunēd."
- j (1) u-s ēn-iz pursīd kū: "awēšān kē hayyārīh  
kunēd, awēšān ō xwēdōdah handāzēnd ud hāzēnd, ud  
\*guftan ī awēšān rāy xwēdōdah kunēd, kirbag čiyōn  
bawēd?"
- (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "čiyōn \*ka sad hērbad kē harw

2. MSS 'pryn' ZY. 1. MSS MNW 'LHs'n'. 2. MSS hnd'cyt' W  
h'cyt'. 3. MSS gwpt'. 4. MSS MNW.

hylpt'-XD 100 h'wst' 'YT' 'Ps PWN hwlšn' W wstlg

XD zmst'n d'lyt' '-s krpk' YXWWNyt

k (1) zltwhst' ZNHc pwršyt' MN 'whrmzd 'YK 'LHs'n' MNW

GBR' [MN] hwytwd't' krtn' L'WXL YXSNNyt' W

\*gwptn'<sup>1</sup> ZY 'LHš'n' l'd hwytwd't' L' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> '-s

wn's MH

(2) 2\*, \*gyw'k-s dwšhw<sup>2</sup>

l (1) gyw'k' pyt'k' 'YK MN d'n'g'n<sup>1</sup> d'n'ktl MN pl'lw'n'n

pl'lwntl MNW ŠDY'n' PWN mynšn' gwbsn' W kwnšn' 'p'ths'tl

XWH'd W 'hlmn W ŠDY'n' PWN tn' ZY 'LH 'p'ths'tl

XWH'd MNW [GBR' ZY] hwytwd't' 'Ps yšt' krt' \*'styt'

hērbad-ēwsad hāwišt ast u-s pad xwarišn ud wastarag

D.19

ēw zamestān dārēd, a-s kirbag bawēd".

k (1) zardušt ēn-iz pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "awēšān kē

D.20

mard [az] xwēdōdah kardan abāz dārēd ud

\*guftan ī awēšan rāy xwēdōdah nē kunēd a-s

wināh ǝe?"

(2) "a<sup>\*</sup>gyāg-iš dušox."

l (1) gyāg paydāg kū az dānāgān dānāgtar, az frārōnān

frārōntar kē dēwān pad mēnišn, gōwišn ud kunišn apādixšātar

hēnd; ud ahreman ud dēwan pad tan ī ōy apādixšātar

hēnd kē [mard ī] xwēdōdah u-s yašt kard \*estēd.

1. MSS gwpt'. 2. MSS 'y gyw'kyh dwšhw.

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK d'n'gyn'.

- m (1) MN dyn' pyt'k' 'YK ZK ['DN'] 'MT zltwhst' MN  
 L'YN' 'whrmzd hwt'[y] BR' Y'TWNt' BYN \*gyh'n<sup>1</sup>  
 XD gyw'k' 'YK SGYTWNT' '-s ZNH gwpt' 'YK dyn'  
 st'dyt' hwytwd't' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>
- (2) W MN ŠPYL YMRRWNm W dyn' 'st[wb]'n' 'hwysk'l'n' W  
 SLYtl'n' '-s'n PWN skyptyh ZNH gwpt' 'YK MND'M-I  
 'ytw'n' skrypt' W gl'n' ZYm'n PWN d't' hwytwd't'  
 L' krtn'
- (3) , \*<sup>2</sup>ZNHc \*gl'n'XD<sup>2</sup> PWN p'swm ZY KR' MND'M  
 KN YMR[R]WNYt' 'YK KN 'p'yt' krtn'
- (4) mm-c ZNH pyt'k' ['YK] 'MT PWN hm'k' d't' W

- m (1) az dēn paydāg kū hān [zamān] ka zardušt az  
 pēš ohrmazd ī xwadāy be āmad andar \*gēhān  
 ēw gyāg kū raft a-s ēn guft kū: "dēn  
 stāyēd, xwēdōdah kunēd!
- (2) "ud az weh gōwēm ud dēn-ast[aw]ān; axwēskārān ud  
 wattarān a-šān pad skeftīh ēn guft kū: čis-ē  
 ēdōn skeft ud garān ī-mān pad dād, xwēdōdah,  
 nē kardan'.
- (3) "a \*ēn-iz \*garān-ēw; pad pāšom ī harw čis  
 ōh gōwēd kū ōh abāyēd kardan.
- (4) "man-iz ēn paydāg [kū] ka pad hamāg dād ud

D20

D.20/21

1. MSS gyh'nk'. 2. Tentative suggested reading only; MSS  
ZNH cyly dnnXD.

- wlwdšn' ZY dyn' 'st[wɔ] 'n 'š'n' ZK gl'ntl wn's  
 gwpt' \* 'styt' PWN ZNH d't' W wlwdšn' ZY wyh'n  
 ZK ZY m'zdysn p'šwm W ŠPYL krpk' gwpt' YK'YMWNYt'  
 n (1) ZNHc MN dyn' pyt'k 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhšt'  
 gwpt' 'YK s'htn' ZY k'l W krpk' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W zltwhšt'  
 gwpt' 'YK kt'l k'l W krpk' L'YN 'BYDWNm  
 (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK hwytd't' MH MN hm'k ZK k'l W  
 krpk' PWN \*pyšyh<sup>1</sup> kwnšn' MN PWN 'pdwmyh PWN hwytd't'  
 Y'TWNYt \* 'YK<sup>2</sup> KR' MNW PWN gyh'n' BR' 'L dyn' h'cynd  
 o (1) ZNHc MN dyn' pyt'k 'YK zltwhšt' BR' 'L 'whrmzd  
 gwpt' 'YKm wt' W s'ht' W škypt' PWN cšm

wurrōyišn ī dēn astawān, a-šān hān garāntar wināh  
 guft \* estēd, pad ēn dād ud wurrōyišn ī wehān,  
 hān ī mazdēsn, pāšom ud weh kirbag guft ēstēd."

D.21

- n (1) ēn-iz az dēn paydāg, kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt  
 guft kū: "sāxtan ī kār ud kirbag kunēd"; ud zardušt  
 guft kū: "kadār kār ud kirbag pēs kunēm?"  
 (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "xwēdōdah, čē az hamāg hān kār ud  
 kirbag pad \*pēših kunišn; čē pad abdomih pad xwēdōdah  
 āyēd \*kū harw kē pad gēhān be ō dēn hāzēnd."  
 o (1) ēn-iz az dēn paydāg, kū zardušt be ō ohrmazd  
 guft kū: "m wad ud sāxt ud škeft pad čašm

1. MSS pyšyh'. 2. MSS 'MT'.

- 'YK BYN 'N<sup>3</sup>SWT' hwytwd't' cygwn lwb'k' BR' 'BYDWN<sub>m</sub>
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK Lyc' 'ytwn' PWN \*'YNH<sup>1</sup> cygwn LK'  
 BR' XN' l'd \*'YK<sup>2</sup> MN KR' MND'M p'swm '-t' tng W  
 sht' 'L \*'y<sup>3</sup> MDMHN'yt'
- (3) PWN hwytwd't' krtn' twhs'k YXWWNyh W 'YŠ- 'n-c  
 twhs'k 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>

- kū andar mardōm xwēdōdah čiyōn rawāg be kunēm."
- (2) ohrmazd guft ku: "man-iz ēdōn pad \*čašm čiyōn tō,  
 bē ēd rāy \*kū az harw čiš pāšom; a-t tang ud  
 saxt ma \*ē sahēd.
- (3) "pad xwēdōdah kardan tuxšāg bawēh, ud kasān-iz  
 tuxšāg kunēnd."

D.21

1. MSS 'YN<sub>m</sub>. 2. MSS 'MT. 3. MSS XN'.

- (1) BB' ZNH 'YK krpk' ZY ycšn' cygwn YD'YTWNm 'Pm MN  
 'pst'k' pyt'kynyt' twb'n' PWN gwk'n YKTYBWNm W MN ZK ZY  
 kmst 'BYDWNm
- (2) MNW \*dlwn-XD<sup>1</sup> BR' YDBXWNyt' \*, -s<sup>2</sup> \*tn'pwhl-XD<sup>3</sup>  
 krpk' 'Ps 'pdyh W pylwcglyh W 'wc W tkykyh  
 'ytwn' 'YT' ['YK] mynwg ZY dlwn' 'MT<sup>4</sup> \*hwlsyt'<sup>5</sup> BYN 'ZLWNyt'  
 W 'hlmm' MN dwšhw W<sup>6</sup> ŠDY'n PWN \*mlk'<sup>7</sup> cygwn bwš ZY 'sp'<sup>8</sup>  
 mlncynšn' ZY gyh'n l'd PWN gyh'n BR' \*Y'TWNd<sup>9</sup>

- (1) dar ēn, kū kirbag ī yazišn, čiyōn dānēm u-m az D.22  
 abestāg paydāgēnīd tuwān, pad gōkān nibēsēm, ud az hān ī  
 kamist kunēm.
- (2) kē drōn-ēw be yazēd, \*a-s \*tanāpuhl-ēw  
 kirbag, u-s abdīh ud pērōzgarīh ud ōz ud tagīgīh  
 ēdōn ast [kū] mēnōg ī drōn, ka \*xwaršēd andar šawēd  
 ud ahreman az dušox, ud dēwān pad \*marag čiyōn buš ī asp,  
 murnjēnišn ī gēhān rāy, pad gēhān be \*āyēnd,

1. MSS dlwbXD. 2. MSS 'Ps. 3. MSS tn'pwhlXD-I.  
 4. MSS 'YK. 5. M.'s emendation; MSS hwlsst; D. suggests  
 'W[W]ylst'. 6. MSS ZY. 7. D.'s emendation; MSS mlwk.  
 8. MSS add 'hlmm. 9. MSS Y'TWNyt'.

- (3) mynwg ZY dlwn' 'MT YDBXWNd LWTH 'LHs'n' ŠDY'n' k'lyc'l 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
 99 b'l 'ytwn' s'ht' kwšyt' cygwn TWR' <sup>\*</sup>bškcck'<sup>10</sup>  
 'LHs'n' ŠDY'n BR' 'L zmyk \*MXYTWNyt'<sup>11</sup> W cygwn  
 \*tklg<sup>12</sup> 'MT BR' 'L zmyk 'wptyt'<sup>13</sup>

.....

- (9) W 'MT g'wšd'k' W dlwn 'pyl<sup>\*</sup>krpk'<sup>14</sup> W šnwmm' ZY  
 'whrmzd ZY hwt'y 'pryn W<sup>15</sup> krpk' \*300<sup>16</sup> YXWWNyt'<sup>17</sup>  
 dlwn' W g'wšd'k' - \*yc<sup>18</sup> wys krpk' l'tyh W 'hl'dyh

- (3) mēnōg ī drōn, ka yazēnd, abāg awēšān dēwān kārezār kunēd, D.22  
 nawad ud nō bār ēdōn saxt kōxšēd. čiyōn gāw-<sup>\*</sup>baškizag  
 awēšān dēwān be ō zamīg <sup>\*</sup>zanēd, ud čiyōn  
<sup>\*</sup>tagarg ka be ō zamīg ōftēd. D.22.11

.....

- (9) ud ka gōšodāg ud drōn, abēr<sup>\*</sup>kirbag, ud šnūman ī D.23.11  
 ohrmazd ī xwadāy āfrīn ud kirbag <sup>\*</sup>sē sad bawēd.  
 drōn ud gōšodāg-<sup>\*</sup>iz wēš kirbag rādīh ud ahlāyīh

10. M.'s emendation; MSS TWR' bškwc K'N. 11. MSS MXYTWNd; the words bškwc ... MXYTWNd are written above the line in BK by a later hand. 12. MSS tyglg. 13. §§ 4-8 are wrongly inserted in this chapter in all MSS; see below Comm. 23, n. 17. 14. M.'s emendation; BK, J krtk'; MR<sub>1</sub> krt'. 15. MSS MN. 16. MSS . 17. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> .

BYN yzd'n W 'pst'k-<sup>18</sup> yc<sup>18</sup> wys g's \*,pz'dynyt'<sup>19</sup> ms  
 l'msn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W dlwn' ZY 3 d'nk' krpk' 3 dlwn'  
 20\* bwt' \*MNW<sup>20</sup> yst' ZY<sup>21</sup> ks gwpt' dlwn' ZY \*p'hn<sup>22</sup>  
 'MTs yzsn'<sup>23</sup> \*ptglyhyt'<sup>24</sup> end dlwn' '-s krpk' 2 \*,nd<sup>25</sup>  
 dlwn' KN YXWWNyt' W 'MT 2 'nd 'YT' end dlwn'  
 '-s krpk' 2 'nd \*KN<sup>26</sup> YXWWNyt' end dlwn' yst'-XD  
 L' PWN zwhl krpk' 100 tn'pwhl KN YXWWNyt'  
 'ywk' ZY PWN zwhl krpk' 1,000 tn'pwhl KN YXWWNyt'

andar yazdān ud abestāg. <sup>\*</sup>iz wēs gāh abzāyēnēd, meh

D.23

rāmišn kunēd; ud drōn ī sē dānag kirbag sē drōn.

\*būd \*kē yašt ī keh guft. drōn ī \*pahn

ka-s yazišn \*padīrihēd, čand drōn a-s kirbag dō \*and

D.23/24

drōn ōh bawēd; ud ka dō and ast čand drōn,

a-s kirbag dō and \*ōh bawēd čand drōn. yašt-ēw

nē pad zōhr kirbag sad tanāpuhl ōh bawēd,

ēwag ī pad zōhr kirbag hazār tanāpuhl ōh bawēd.

19. MSS 'pz'dyn'd. 20. M.'s reading; MSS bwt'n' dyn'.

21. MSS yst'-XD ZY. 22. MSS phyn. 23. Written 'sn.

24. M.'s reading; MSS PWN dlhn'd 'YT'. 25. D.'s reading;

MSS ywnd. 26. MSS 'L.



- (10) yšt krtn' 'ytn' LB' W m't[k]yk K'N n'mcsty  
 W 'lc'wmnd 'YK MN 'pst'k' pyt'k 'YK GBR' 'MT 15  
 ŠNTk' 'Ps yšt' L' krt' \*,'sty't' \*,'-s<sup>27</sup> LXM' W MY'  
 MN 'dwynt' ZY \*KLB'- 'n'<sup>28</sup> W w'd'n' YXBWNsn'
- (11) wšplyt-XD L' PWN zwhl krpk' 1,000 tn'pwhl  
 ZK ZY PWN zwhl 100,000 tn'pwhl
- (12) \*h'twht'-XD<sup>29</sup> L' PWN zwhl krpk' 2,000 tn'pwhl  
 ZK ZY PWN zwhl 200,000 tn'pwhl
- (13) dw'cdhwm'st'-XD L' [PWN] zwhl \*-s<sup>27</sup> krpk'  
 200,000 tn'pwhl ZK ZY PWN zwhl 1,000,000 tn'pwhl

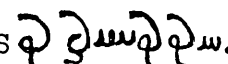

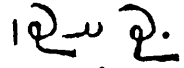
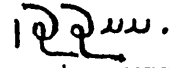
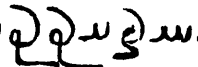

- (10) yašt kardan ēdōn wuzurg ud mād[ag]īg, nun nāmčistīg, D.24  
 ud arzōmand, kū az abestāg paydāg kū mard ka pānzdah  
 sālāg u-s yašt nē kard \*estēd, \*a-s nān ud āb  
 az ēwēnag ī sagān ud wāyān dahišn.
- (11) wisparēd-ēw nē pad zōhr kirbag hazār tanāpuhl,  
 hān ī pad zōhr sad hazār tanāpuhl.
- (12) hādōxt-ēw nē pad zōhr kirbag dō hazār tanāpuhl,  
 hān ī pad zōhr dō sad hazār tanāpuhl.
- (13) dwāzdahhōmāst-ēw nē [pad] zōhr, a-s kirbag  
 dō sad hazār tanāpuhl, hān ī pad zōhr hazār hazār tanāpuhl.

27. MSS ' '. 28. D.'s reading; MSS KLB'n'.

29. MSS h'twht'XD.

- (14) hm'k-dyn'-I PWN 10-hwm'st' krpk' 100 'nd KN  
 YXWWNyt' cnd ZK ZY 'ywk'-hwm'st' W hm'k-dyn'-XD PWN  
 zwhl ZY 10-hwm'st' krpk' 100 hm'k-dyn' ZY 10-hwm'st'  
ZY L' PWN zwhl KN YXWWNyt' hm'k-dyn'-XD 'ywk'-hwm'st'  
ZY L' PWN zwhl krpk' \*1,000<sup>30</sup> tn'pwhl KN YXWWNyt'  
 ZK ZY 'ywk'-hwm'st' ZY PWN zwhl \*100,000<sup>31</sup> ZK ZY  
 10-hwm'st' ZY L' PWN zwhl \*100,000<sup>32</sup> ZK ZY 10-hwm'st' ZY  
 PWN zwhl \*1,000,000<sup>33</sup> 'pst'k wys krpk'yh' 'pz'dynd  
 ZK ZY 10-hwm'st' ZY PWN zwhl cygwn npšt' PWN ZNH cym  
 'MT' hm'k'-dyn'-XD BR' YDBXWNd \*, -s<sup>34</sup> hm'k wn's MN bwn

- (14) hamāg-dēn-ē pad dah-hōmāst kirbag sad and ōh D.24  
 bawēd čand hān ī ēwag-hōmāst; ud hamāg-dēn-ēw pad  
 zōhr ī dah-hōmāst kirbag sad hamāg-dēn ī dah-hōmāst  
 ī nē pad zōhr ōh bawēd; hamāg-dēn-ēw ēwag-hōmāst  
 ī nē pad zōhr kirbag \*hazār tanāpuhl ōh bawēd, D.25  
 hān ī ēwag-hōmāst ī pad zōhr \*sad-hazār, hān ī  
 dah-hōmāst ī nē pad zōhr \*sad-hazār, hān ī dah-hōmāst ī  
 pad zōhr hazār-hazār. abestāg wēš, kirbagīhā abzāyēnd.  
 hān ī dah-hōmāst ī pad zōhr čiyōn nibišt; pad ēn čim  
 ka hamāg-dēn-ēw be yazēnd \*a-s hamāg wināh az bun

30. M.'s reading; MSS  31. M.'s reading; MSS   
 32. M.'s reading; MSS   
 33. M.'s reading; MSS  34. MSS 

BR' 'ZLWNyt' BR' wn's ZY mlglc'n'

- (15) 'MT krpk' MND'M-I 'ytwn' LB,<sup>35</sup> 'ytwn' hw'l krtn' 'YK PWN hm'k-dyn'XD 'nd krpk' KN YXWWNyt' \*,<sup>36</sup> 'MT lwb'n' ZY 'NSWT'-'n BR' 'L cynwt' pwhl YXMTWNyt' wn's W krpk' 'L \*t'l'cwk'<sup>37</sup> XNXTWNd W 'MT krpk' PWN 'nd cnd mwd-I t'k' ZY \*dwk'<sup>38</sup> wys \*,<sup>34</sup> BR' 'L whst' YDLWNx<sub>1</sub> 'MTs wn's 'ndcnd m[y]ck'XD t'k W L'YSH ZY ZK \*myck'<sup>39</sup> wys \*,<sup>34</sup> BR' 'L dwshw YDLWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (16) 'ytwn cygwn krpk' hw'l krtn' \*,<sup>40</sup> wn's-yc hw'l krtn' W PWN krpk' krtn' twhs'k' 'p'yt' bwt'n W MN wn's BR' p'hlyhtn' MH 'MT MN wn's p'hlycyt' BR' 'L dwshw L' YXMTWNyt

be šawēd, bē wināh ī margarzān.

D.25

- (15) ka kirbag čiš-ē ēdōn wuzurg, ēdōn xwār kardan kū pad hamāg-dēn-ēw and kirbag ōh bawēd. \*a ka ruwān ī mardōmān be ō činwad-puhl rasēd, wināh ud kirbag ō \*tarāzūg nihēnd, ud ka kirbag pad and čand mōy-ē tāg ī \*dōk wēs, \*a-š be ō wahišt nayēnd; ka-š wināh and čand miġag-ēw tāg ud sar ī hān \*miġag wēs, \*a-š be ō dušox nayēnd.
- (16) ēdōn čiyōn kirbag xwār kardan, \*a wināh-iz xwār kardan, ud pad kirbag kardan tuxšāg abāyēd būdan ud az wināh be pahrēxtan, čē ka az wināh pahrēzēd be ō dušox nē rasēd.

35. D.'s reading; MSS all have 'twr' after LB', presumably an old mistake for the following 'ytwn'. 36. MSS 'YK. 37. D.'s emendation; MSS t'l'cwk'. 38. D.'s emendation; MSS hwk'. 39. M.'s emendation; MSS 'mck'. 40. MSS 'y.

- a (1) BB' ZNH 'YK zltwhst' MN 'whrmzd pwrst' 'YK PWN mltwm'n  
hwnl-I MH ŠPYL
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' l'st'-gwbsnyh ŠPYL MH BYN l'st'-gwbsnyh  
hwsllwyh BYN gyh'n' W hw'hwyh W 'hl'dyh PWN whst' W ptwnd'n'  
W 'wb''tk'n ZY LK PWN k'l W krpk' krtn' '-s'n \*hwys'n<sup>1</sup>  
hwptl YXWWNyt W LK lwb'n' 'hlwb' BNPSH YXWWNyt' MH MNW  
l'styh l'd PWN hw'stk' 'ylhtyt \*'-s<sup>2</sup> ŠPYL cygwn  
MNW dlwcyh l'd PWN lwb'n' 'ylhtyt' MH hw'stk' L'WXL  
s'yt' hndwhn' lwb'n' 'MT YMYTWNt' 'ZLWNd '-s<sup>2</sup> c'lk' L'YT'

- a (1) dar ēn: kū zardušt az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "pad mardōmān D.26  
hunar-ē čē weh?"
- (2) ohrmazd guft: "rāst-gōwišnīh weh, čē andar rāst-gōwišnīh  
husrawīh andar gēhān ud huaxwīh ud ahlāyīh pad wahišt; ud paywandān  
ud āwādagān ī tō, pad kār ud kirbag kardan a-sān \*xwēsān  
xūbtar bawēd, ud tō ruwān ahlaw xwad bawēd." čē kē  
rāstīh rāy pad xwāstag ēruxtēd, \*a-s weh čiyōn  
kē družīh rāy pad ruwān ēruxtēd, čē xwāstag abāz  
šāyēd handōxtan, ruwān, ka murd, šawēnd. a-s čārag nēst.

1. M.'s emendation; MSS hys'n. 2. MSS '.

- (3) MH pyt'k 'YK L' dwst' 'LH' dwst' L'  
 'X 'LH' 'X L' 'B' 'LH' BRH W 'MTc-s'n k'l krpk'  
 wys 'YK ZK ZY-s pts 'swk' XWH'd 'MT MN gytydy  
 BR' 'ZLWNt' XWH'd 'ywk' 'L 'LH ZY TWB YXBWNt' L' twb'n'

- b (1) BB' ZNH 'YK' l'tyh krpk'XD 'ytwn' LB'  
 W 'lc'wmnd<sup>3</sup> W n'mcstyk 'YK lssn' ZY yzd'n' W ŠPYL-'n'  
 W nywkyh ZY 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n PWN gytydy MN h'nk'  
ZY l't'n wys YXWWNyt' \*MT<sup>4</sup> l'tyh pl'lwnyh' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'L  
 ŠPYL-'n' W 'lc'nyk'n nywkyh ZY 'lc'nyk'n' hylpt'n W \*h'wst'n'<sup>5</sup>  
 lssn' BR' 'L h'nk' ZY l't'n ZY pl'lw'n' l't'n YXWWNyt'

- (3) cē paydāg kū nē dōst ōy dōst, nē D.26

brād ōy brād, nē pid ōy pus; ud ka-iz-isān kār ud kirbag  
 wēs kū hān ī-s padis asō hēnd, ka az gētīg  
 be sud hēnd, ēwag ō ōy ī did dād nē tuwān.

- b (1) dar ēn: kū rādīh kirbag-ēw ēdōn wuzurg  
 ud arzōmand ud nāmcištīg kū rasišn ī yazdān ud wehān,  
 ud nekīh ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān pad gētīg az xānag  
 ī rādān wēs bawēd. \*ka rādīh frārōnīhā kunēnd ō D.26/27  
 wehān ud arzānīgān, nekīh ī arzānīgān, hērbadān ud \*hāwistān  
 rasišn be ō xānag ī rādān ī frārōn rādān bawēd.

3. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> ارجامند . 4. M's emendation; MSS MN.

5. D.'s emendation; MSS h'st'n.

- (2) KR' krpk' ZY 'LHs'n' ZY BYN h'nk' ZY l't'n' \*'BYDWNd<sup>6</sup>  
 l't' ZY pl'lw'n' l't' 'ytwn' YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs PWN  
 dst' ZY NPSH krt' XWHydy
- (3) W l't'n' ZY 'p'lw'n l't'n' MNW ['L] SLYtl W \*'hwysk'lyk<sup>7</sup>  
 [YXBWNd] gdk W l'sd'l 'L h'nk' YXMTWNynd 'n'kyh ZY 'whrmzd  
 W 'p'ryk' yzd'n MN ZK h'nk' 'LHs'n' dlwnd'n' BYN ZK h'nk'  
 wn's ZY mynynd W YMR[R]WNd W 'BYDWNd l't' ZY 'p'lw'n l't' 'ytwn'  
 YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs PWN dst' ZY NPSH krt' XWHydy
- c ZNHc MN dyn' pyt'k 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst'  
 gwpt' 'YK MNW l'tyh sn'sgyh' W wcyt'lyh' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>

- (2) harw kirbag ī awēšān ī andar xānag ī rādān \*kunēnd, D.27  
 rād ī frārōn rād ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ka-s pad  
 dast ī xwēš kard hē.
- (3) ud rādān ī abārōn rādān, kē [ō] wattar ud \*axwēškārīg  
 [dahēnd], gēg ud rāhdār ō xānag rasēnd; anāgīh ī ohrmazd  
 ud abārīg yazdān az hān xānag; awēšān druwandān andar hān xanāg  
 wināh ī mēnēnd ud gōwēnd ud kunēnd, rād ī abārōn rād ēdōn  
 bawēd čiyōn ka-s pad dast ī xwēš kard hē.
- c ēn-iz az dēn paydāg kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt  
 guft kū: "kē rādīh snāsagīhā ud wizīdārīhā kunēd

6. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> کنید; J 'BYDWNyt. 7. MSS 'hwysk'lyh.

- L h'wnd MNW 'whrmzd \*XWHm<sup>8</sup> W MNW 'd'nyh' W 'sn'sgyh'  
W \*'wcyt'lyh,<sup>9</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> [h'wnd ZY] 'hlmm  
d (1) ZNHc MN dyn' pyt'k' 'YK 'MT GBR' 2 \*ptk'lynd<sup>10</sup>  
W 'ywk' YMR[R]WNyt' 'YK 'MT L wcyt'l-dhšnyh 'BYDWNm BR'  
PWN ŠPYLyh W cygwnyh W 'pz'l hwp šn'sym 'Dš MND'M-yc  
'wbs L' YXBWNm ZK PWN ZK gwbšn' 'MT 'ytn' YMRRWNyt  
YXMTWNyt BR' 'L dwšhw  
(2) 'ywk' YMRRWNyt' 'YK L L' 'hlwb' šn'sym L' dlwnd  
BR' MNW MN L k'l W krpk' ptglyt' 'YK 'hl'dyh  
st'yt' W ŠDY'-n<sup>11</sup> \*byšyt'<sup>12</sup> 'Pš wn'sk'lyh L'

man hāwand, kē ohrmazd \*hom; ud kē adānīhā ud ašnāsagīhā D.27  
ud awizīdārīhā kunēd [hāwand ī] ahreman.

- d (1) en-iz az dēn paydāg, kū ka mard dō \*pahikārēnd, D.28  
ud ēwag gōwēd kū: "ka man wizīdār-dahišnīh kunēm, bē  
pad wehīh ud čiyōnīh ud abzār xūb šnāsēm, tā-š čiš-iz  
awiš nē dahēm," hān pad hān gōwišn ka ēdōn gōwēd,  
rasēd be ō dušox.  
(2) ēwag gōwēd kū: "man nē ahlaw šnāsēm nē druwand,  
bē kē az man kār ud kirbag padīrēd, kū ahlāyīh  
stāyēd ud dēwān \*bēšēd, u-š wināhgārīh nē

8. D.'s emendation; MSS 'w'wm. 9. D.'s emendation; MSS  
MSS 'wcyt'lyh ZY. 10. MSS ptk'lyynd. 11. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> ŠDY'n.  
12. M.'s reading; MSS byš'st'.

\*<sup>13</sup><sub>YD</sub>'YTWNm \*,-s<sup>13</sup> BYN wl'wmndyh PWN GBR'-I nywk' YXSNNm  
 'Ps BSLY' W wstlg YXBWNm ZK PWN [ZK] gwbsn' 'MT 'ytwm'  
 YMRRWNyt' YXMTWNyt' BR' 'L whst'  
 e ZNHc MN 'pst'k pyt'k' 'YK MNW GBR'-I<sup>14</sup>  
 'hlwb' MND'M YXBWNyt' BR' 'L whst' YXMTWNyt' W \*MNW<sup>15</sup>  
 'L \*dlwnd-XD<sup>16</sup> MND'M YXBWNyt' W L' YD'YTWNyt' 'YK dlwnd 'MT BR'  
 'L d'nšn' YXMTWNyt' 'YK dlwnd \*,-s<sup>17</sup> L'WXL YNSBWNSn' 'MTs  
 gwk'dy<sup>18</sup> 'p'y't' YDLWNx<sub>2</sub> 'YKm ZNH MND'M BR' 'L LK  
 L' YXBWNt' 'Ps<sup>19</sup> KN YDLWNx<sub>1</sub> KR' 'hwk' ZY-s twb'n'  
 XWH't'<sup>20</sup> 'BYDWNt' XN'<sup>21</sup> 'BYDWNyt' YXSNNsn' ZY hw'stk' BR'  
 'L 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub>

\*dānēm, \*a-s andar warōmandīh, pad mard-ē nēk dārēm, D.28  
 u-s gōšt ud wastarag dahēm," hān pad [hān] gōwišn ka ēdōn  
 gōwēd, rasēd be ō wahišt.

e ēn-iz az abestāg paydāg, kū kē mard-ē  
 ahlaw čis dahēd be ō wahišt rasēd. ud \*kē  
 ō \*druwand-ēw čis dahēd, ud nē dānēd kū druwand, ka be  
 ō dānišn rasēd kū druwand, \*a-s abāz stanišn; ka-s  
 gugāy abāyēd nīdan kū: "-m ēn čis be ō tō  
 nē dād", u-s ōh niyēd, harw ahōg ī-s tuwān D.28/29  
 hād kard, ēd kunēd, dārišn ī xwāstag be  
 ma gīrēd.

13. D.'s emendation; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'nyt' m'h; IO YD'YTWNm 'DYN.

14. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK GBR'y-I. 15. D.'s emendation; MSS MN. 16. MSS dlwnd'n'. 17. MSS ''. 18. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gwk'd'. 19. MSS 'P 'Ps (i.e. dittography). 20. IO; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J hmwht'.

21. M. reads ō by mistake.



- f      ZNHc MN dyn' pyt'k' 'YK l'tyh 'ytwn' 'pd<sup>22</sup>  
          'MT hw'stk' BR' 'L GBR' ZY nywk' YXBWNyt' '-s<sup>17</sup> BYN 'DN'  
          K'L' ZY gwbsn' BR' L'YN' 'whrmzd hwt'y lsyt' 'Ps  
          mzd W \*p't'sn'<sup>23</sup> YXBWNd
- g      ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK l'tyh 'ytwn' \*'lc'wmnd<sup>24</sup> ['YK] 'MT  
          'whrmzd ywlt'y [YXBWNt'] \*bwn-y<sup>25</sup> swptk' l' 'ngwst' bwt' 'Ps  
          hwšk' 3 nyck' b'l' ZY 3 n'd bwt' ŠDY' BR'  
          'ZLWNt' XWHd 'Ps'n<sup>26</sup> ... ZK ywlt'y<sup>26</sup> ... BR' MH m'hlyd' W  
          m'hlyd'n'<sup>27</sup> PWN mwst'<sup>28</sup> pr'c 'XDWNt' 'D-s'n' ZK  
          dtygl BR' mlnc[y]nyt' 'whrmzd c'lk' ZY MND'M krt' 'Ps

- f      ēn-iz az dēn paydāg, kū rādīh ēdōn abd D.29  
          ka xwāstag be ō mard ī nēk dahēd, a-s andar zamān  
          wāng ī gōwišn be pēs ohrmazd xwadāy rasēd, u-s  
          mizd ud \*pādāšn dahēnd.
- g      ēn-iz paydāg, kū rādīh ēdōn \*arzōmand [kū] ka  
          ohrmazd jōrdā [dād], \*bun-is suftag čahār angust būd, u-s  
          hōšag sē nēzag bālā, ī sē nāy, būd; dēw be  
          šud hēnd u-šān ... hān jōrdā ... bē čē mahliyā ud  
          mahliyān pad must frāz grift tā-šān hān  
          dudīgar be murjēnīd. ohrmazd čārag ī čis kard, u-s

22. BK 'p'tyh with 'pd ZY written above; MR<sub>1</sub> 'p'tyh; M. reads  
 abd ī ... . 23. D.'s emendation; MSS p't'h'n'. 24. MSS  
 'lc'wmnd. 25. M.'s emendation; MSS BR' 'h. 26. Some words  
 are missing here. 27. MSS have also ''. 28. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> have also  
PWN MN.

hds \*ZY<sup>29</sup> PWN<sup>30</sup> \*'hl'dyh [QDM] \*'lc'nyk'<sup>30</sup> MND'M c'lk'  
 B'YXWNst[n]' l'd BR' 'L m[h]lyd' W m'hlyd'n'<sup>31</sup> YXMTWNyt'  
 'Ps ywlt'y B'YXWNst' 'Ps 'n' ywlt'y BR' 'wbs nmwt' W 'XL mynwg  
 ZY l'tyh W ZKc \*hds<sup>32</sup> W d'hm'n 'pryn' BR' 'L d'tst'n mt'  
 XWH'd 'Ps'n ŠDY'n' BR' 'pshyny't' XWH'd 'Ps'n' stwb' XWH'd  
 h ZNHc MN dyn' pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst'  
 gwpt' 'YK l'tyh MND'M-I 'ytwn' s'hyk<sup>33</sup> 33  
 l's MN glwtm'n BR' cynwt pwhl \*'styt' W KR' MNW  
 PWN krpk'XD 'hlwb' YXWWNyt' \*,-s<sup>34</sup> PWN l's-I twb'n' 'ZLWNtn'  
 W ZK \*MNW<sup>35</sup> PWN l'tyh 'hlwb' YXWWNyt' \*,-s<sup>34</sup> PWN hm'k ZK  
 l's 'ZLWNtn' twb'n' YXWWNyt'

hadiš ī pad \*ahlāyīh [abar] \*arzānīg čiš čārag

D.29

xwāstan rāy be ō mahliyā ud mahliyān rasēd;

u-s jordā xwāst, u-s hān jōrdā be awiš nimūd; ud pas mēnōg

ī rādīh ud hān-iz \*hadiš ud dahmān āfrīn be ō dādestān mad D.29/30

hēnd, u-sān dēwān be abesīhēnīd hēnd u-sān stōw hēnd.

h ēn-iz az dēn paydāg, kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt

guft kū: "rādīh čiš-ē ēdōn sāhīg, sīh ud sē

rāh az garōdmān be činwad puhl \*estēd, ud harw kē

pad kirbag-ēw ahlaw bawēd \*a-s pad rāh-ē tuwān sudan

ud hān kē pad rādīh ahlaw bawēd, \*a-s pad hamāg hān

rāh sudan tuwān bawēd".

29. BK, J hdsys; MR<sub>1</sub> hdyhyhy. 30. MSS PWN 'sy' 'dwyk'; see Comm. n. 7. 31. MSS mlyd'nydy. 32. MSS h'dsyh.

33. J breaks off here, some folios being lost. 34. MSS ''.

35. D.'s reading; MSS MN.

- i     ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK MNW k'l-I wyh 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'LH MNWš MND'M L'YT  
 \*,<sub>s</sub><sup>34</sup> MND'M YXBWNyt' \*,<sub>s</sub><sup>34</sup> hm'k k'l W krpk' BYN
- j     ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK GBR' m[y]nšn' MN wn's BR' ['y]  
 YXSNNyt' 'wzw'n MN MRY' ZY L' 'p'yt' gwptn' BR' 'y  
 p'hlycyt' W myn[w]k' MN NYŠH' 'y 'SLWNYt' 'škmb  
 l'd 'ytwn' 'L 'y twhšyt' ['YK] KR' MH 'šnwyt'  
 \*,<sub>s</sub><sup>34</sup> KN 'p'yt'
- k     ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK hm'k 'NŠWT' 'ywk' LWTH TWB  
 'ytwn' ['y] SGYTWNd cygwn 'MT' \*,X<sup>36</sup> XWH'd \*dws'lm<sup>37</sup>yh',<sup>38</sup> \*,y<sup>38</sup>
- i     ēn-iz paydāg, kū kē kār-ē weh kunēd ud ōy kē-š čiš nēst     D.30  
 \*,<sub>s</sub> čiš dahēd, \*a-š hamāg kār ud kirbag andar.
- j     ēn-iz paydāg, kū mard mēnišn az wināh be [ē]  
 dārēd, uzwān az saxwan ī nē abāyēd guftan be ē  
 pahrēzēd, ud mēnōg az zan ē bandēd; aškamb  
 rāy ēdōn ma ē tuxšēd, [kū] harw čē ašnawēd     D.31  
 \*a-š ōh abāyēd.
- k     ēn-iz paydāg, kū hamāg mardōm ēwag abāg did  
 ēdōn [ē] rawēnd čiyōn ka \*brād hēnd; \*dōšāramīhā \*ē

34. MSS '.

36. D.'s reading;

MSS w'h.

37. MSS dwhšlm<sup>37</sup>yh'.38. MSS XN'.

‘ŠTHNd W ZK ZY-s’n \*,y<sup>39</sup> ‘p’yt’ krtn’ ‘y ‘BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
 W k’l W krpk’ lwb’n l’d ‘y ‘BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> W dhšn’ ‘L GBR’-’n ‘hlwb’n  
 \*,y<sup>38</sup> ‘BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> W ‘kyn’yh’ W ‘hšmyh’ LwTH ‘NŠWT’-’n’  
 SGYTWNd W MND ‘M wcyt’lyh’ \*,y<sup>38</sup> YXBWNd

- 1 (1) ZNHc pyt’k ‘YK ‘whrmzd BR’ ‘L zltwhst’  
 gwpt’ ‘YKm 5 MND ‘M ZNH nywk’tl YXBWNt’ hwlšyt’ ‘MT  
 L’L’ Y’TWNYt’ tn’ ZY ym ‘MTs pwl GDH YXWWNt’ ‘MT  
 w’l’n’ \*Y’TWNT<sup>40</sup> YK ‘YMWNYt’ W MY’ PWN w’stl YTYBWNst’  
 YK ‘YMWNYt’ ‘Ps ‘pt’p QDM ‘wptyt’ mtr’ ZY \*pl’hw-gwywt<sup>41</sup> ‘MT  
 ‘L \*MT’-I<sup>42</sup> YXMTWNYt’ W BYN MT’ mtr’-y’lyh ‘BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W ‘thš ZY

xwarēnd, ud hār ī-sān \*ē abayed kardan ē kunēnd, D.31  
 ud kār ud kirbag ruwān rāy ē kunēnd, ud dahišn ō mardān ahlawān  
 \*ē kunēnd, ud akēnīhā ud axešmīhā abāg mardōmān  
 rawēnd, ud čis wizīdārīha \*ē dahēnd.

- 1 (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū ohrmazd be ō zarduš  
 guft kū: "-m panj čis ēn nēktar dād: xwaršēd ka  
 ul āyēd; tan ī yim ka-s purr xwarrah būd; ka  
 wārān \*amad ēstēd ud āb pad wāstar nišast  
 estēd u-s āftāb abar ōftēd; mihr ī \*frāx-gōyōd ka  
 ō \*deh-ē rasēd ud andar deh mihr-yārīh kunēd; ud ātaxš ī

39. MSS ZY. 40. MSS Y’TWNYt’. 41. MSS pl’swywt’.  
 42. MSS MT’y.

swhl ZY swc'k' 'MT PWN g's'nb'l zwhl pt-s \*YXBWNd<sup>43</sup>  
 'Pm MN ZK 5 MND'M '-m MND'M ZNH nywktl W  
 'p'dšnyktl YXBWNt' MNW 'k'syh' PWN d'nšn MND'M ZY l'st'  
 YMR[R]wNyt'

- (2) 'Pm 5 MNDWM ZNH zystl XZYTWNt' 'MT PWN  
 dšt'-XD hz'n-XD krt' YK'YMWNyt' 'Ps mwltk'-XD nwk'  
BYN 'wbs bwlt' YK'YMWNyt' 'Ps BYN wšwpšn YK'YMWNyt' PWN  
 LYLY' ZY zmst'n' ZY t'lyk' 'MT dwšmyn'n PWN l's  
 bwt XWHd 'wzw'n' ZY dwšhw' dwšp'ths''n' sthm'n  
 'MTs'n' PWN hšm plm'n-XD dwšp'ths''n s'htyh'

suxr ī suzāg ka pad gāhānbār zōhr pad-iš \*dahēnd;  
 u-m az hān panj čiš a-m čiš ēn nēktar ud  
 abāyišnīgtar dād kē āgāhīhā pad dānišn čiš ī rāst  
 gōwēd.

D.31

- (2) "u-m panj čiš ēn zištār dīd: ka pad  
 dašt-ēw hazzān-ēw kard ēstēd, u-s murdag-ēw nōg  
 andar awiš burd ēstēd, u-s andar wišōbišn ēstēd; pad  
 šab ī zamestān ī tarīk ka dušmenān pad rāh  
 būd hēnd; uzwān ī dušox dušpādixšāyān stahmān,  
 ka-šān pad xešm framān-ēw dušpādixšāyān saxtihā

D.32

pt-s YXBWNt' BYN MT' 'MTs'n mtr' L' d'st' 'Ps'n'  
 'MT' wyh krt' W zlm'nyh 'MT QDM 'NŠWT'- 'n' mt YK'YMWNyt'  
 W BR' 'L gyw'k' mt' YXWWNyt' MN ZK hm'k '-m MND'M<sup>44</sup>  
ZNH PWN čsm zyštl YXWWNt' MNW-s 'k'syh' KDB'  
 gwpt'

m ZNH-c pyt'k' 'YK l'tyh krpk'XD 'ytwn' \*shyk<sup>45</sup>  
 zmyk ZK ŠPYL MDMHNyt' 'MT' GBR' ZY l't' QDM  
 SGYTWNyt' w't<sup>46</sup> ZK<sup>46</sup> [ŠPYL] MDMHNyt' 'MT' 'L tn' ZY \*'LH'<sup>47</sup> l't'  
 YXMTWNyt' NYŠH ZK ŠPYL MDMHNyt' 'MTs GBR' ZY l't'  
 šwd 'sp' ZK ŠPYL MDMHNyt' 'MTs km'n' GBR' ZY

pad-iš dād; andar deh ka-sān mihr nē dāst u-sān

D.32

ka weh kart; ud zarmānīh ka abar mardōmān mad ēstēd

ud be ō gyāg mad bawēd; az hān hamāg a-m čiš

ēn pad čašm zištar būd, kē-s āgāhīhā drōw

guft."

m ēn-iz paydāg, kū rādīh kirbag-ew ēdōn \*sahīg,  
 zamīg hān weh sahēd ka mard ī rād abar  
 rawēd; wād hān [weh] sahēd ka ō tan ī \*oy rād  
 rasēd; zan hān weh sahēd ka-s mard ī rād  
 šōy; asp hān weh sahēd ka-s kamān mard ī

44. MSS have also XD. 45. MSS s'hyk. 46. Written in BK above the line by a later hand. 47. M.'s reading; MSS 'LH'n.

l't' 'hncyt' W gwsṗnd ZK ŠPYL MDMHNyt 'MTs GBR'  
 ZY l't' bl hcs 'ŠTHNyt' PWN GDH ZY l't'n' hwlsyt' PWN  
 ZK l's ŠPYL SGYTWNyt' m'h-c PWN ZK l's \*SGYTWNyt'<sup>48</sup>  
 \*stl'n'<sup>49</sup> PWN 'LHs'n' l's SGYTWNd MN ZK \*,YK<sup>50</sup> l't'n'  
 MND'M BR' YXBWNd 'NŠWT'- 'n ZY gyh'n' zywynd W wck ZY  
 mwlw'n' BYN h'dk W bylwn' h'dk zywynd  
 n ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt'  
 'YK KR' MH l't'n' BR' YXBWNd '-s<sup>51</sup> L 'ywk' 2 L'WXL  
 YXBWNm W hnb'l(w)m

o ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK L l't'n' bwlcy<sup>52</sup>

rād āhanjēd; ud gōspand hān weh sahēd ka-s mard

D.32

ī rād bar aziš xwarēd; pad xwarrah ī rādān xwaršēd pad

hān rāh weh rawēd, mäh-iz pad hān rāh \*rawēd,

D.32/33

\*starān pad awēsān rāh rawēnd; az hān \*kū rādān

čiš be dahēnd, mardōmān ī gēhān zīwēnd, ud waččag ī

murwān andar xāyag ud bēron xāyag zīwēnd.

n ēn-iz paydāg, kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft

kū: "harw cē rādān be dahēnd, a-s man ēwag dō abāz

dahēm, ud hambārēm."

o ēn-iz paydāg, kū ohrmazd guft kū: "man rādān burzēm

48. MSS SGYTWNt'. 49. MSS stwl'n'. 50. MSS ZY 'MT.

51. MSS '.. 52. MSS bwlcy<sup>m</sup> XWH'd; M. emends to \*burzīd \*hōm.

'MTm XZYTWnt' lwb'n ZY l't'n' 'MT PWN kwpt' ZY  
 hlbwlc' wltlt' XWH'd BYN ['L] glwtm'n' 'ZLWNt' XWH'd  
 p ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK nywk' LK l't'  
 MNW MN 'p'ryk lwb'n'n' 'm'wndyh'tl W pylwecglyh'tl Y'TWNYdy  
 q ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt'  
 'YK hm'k' 'NSWT' l'd BR' 'L LK YMR[R]WNym MNW zltwhst'  
 XWHydy \* 'YK-s'n'<sup>53</sup> glwtm'n whst' ZY 'whrmzd NPSH MNW  
 'L 'hlwb'n' l'tyh 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Ps ZNHc gwpt 'YK hm'k  
 'NSWT'-n' l'd BR' 'L LK YMR[R]WNm MNW zltwhst' XWHydy  
 'YKs'n' dwshw' ZY t'lykyh NPSH MNW 'L dlwnd'n' l'tyh 'BYDWNyt'

ka-m dīd ruwān ī rādān ka pad kōf ī

D.33

harborz widard hēnd, andar [ō] garōdmān šud hēnd."

p ēn-iz paydāg kū ohrmazd guft kū: "nēk, tō rād,  
 kē az abārīg ruwānān amāwandīhātar ud pērōzgarīhātar āyē."

q ēn-iz paydāg, kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft  
 kū: "hamāg mardōm rāy be ō tō gōwēm, kē zardušt  
 hē, \*kū-šān garōdmān, wahišt ī ohrmazd, xwēš kē  
 ō ahlawān rādīh kunēd." u-s ēn-iz guft kū: "hamāg

mardōmān rāy be ō tō gōwēm, kē zardušt hē,

D.34

kū-šān dušox ī tārīgīh xwēš kē ō druwandān rādīh kunēd."



- (1) 'NSWT'- 'n' 'MTs' 'n kwstyk wš't' W pyl'hn' ZY  
 XD- \*t'k'<sup>1</sup> ptmwht' \*'styt' \*pltwm<sup>2</sup> g'm ZY BR' XNXTWNa  
 plm'n-XD wn's ch'lw m g'm '-s'n' tn'pwhl-I wn's  
 W 'XL 'D BR' YK'YMWNYt' '-c' wys L'YT' 'YK tn'pwhl-I
- (2) 'MT BR' \*'styt' 'XL BR' SGYTWNYt' \*'-s<sup>3</sup> d'tst'n'  
 'ytw n' cygwn MN bwn 'yw-mwk' dwb'lsnyh '-s d'tst'n'  
 'ytw n' cygwn' wš't' dwb'lsnyh ZY SLYt l MH 'yw-mwk' dwb'lsnyh  
 hm'k pym ZY NKB- 'n ZY PWN gyh'n BR' k'hyt'
- (3) MNW MN LGLH BR' mycyt' \*'-s<sup>4</sup> tn'pwhl-I wn's W MNW  
 LCDr tyh ZY LGLH XD wtyst' W 2 'ngwst' BR' mycyt' \*'-s<sup>4</sup>

- (1) mardōmān ka-šān kustīg wišād ud pērāhan ī D.34  
 ēw-tāg paymōxt \*estēd, \*fradom gām ī be nihēnd,  
 framān-ēw wināh; čahārom gām a-šān tanāpuhl-ē wināh,  
 ud pas, tā be ēstēd, a-z wēš nēst kū tanāpuhl-ē.
- (2) ka be \*estēd, pas be rawēd, \*a-š dādestān  
 ēdōn čiyōn, az bun, ēw-mōg - dwārišnīh; a-š dādestān  
 ēdōn čiyōn wišād - dwārišnīh, ī wattar, čē ēw-mōg-dwārišnīh  
 hamāg pēm ī mādagān ī pad gēhān be kāhēd.
- (3) kē az pāy be mēzēd, \*a-š tanāpuhl-ē wināh; ud kē  
 tar teh ī pāy ēw widest ud dō angust be mēzēd, \*a-š

1. MSS XD twk' (cf. DdA. 125.6). 2. D.'s emendation; MSS plytwm.  
 3. D.'s reading; MSS w'h. 4. MSS '.

tn'pwhl-I wn's

- (4) W MNW šwsl 'k'l BR' 'BYDWNyt' \*'-s<sup>4</sup> tn'pwhl-I
- (5) W MNW hwltyk W hwlšnyk MND'M 'k'l \*'BYDWNyt'<sup>5</sup> \*'-s<sup>4</sup> tn'pwhl-XD wn's
- (6) MNW MY' PWN LYLY' BR' 'L kwstk ZY 'p'htl lycyt \*'-s tn'pwhl-XD wn's
- (7) MNW ZWZN'-XD MN GBR'-I BR' YNSBWNyt' 'ywp' BR'  
 dwcyt' ['-s PWN] \*g's<sup>6</sup> wn's 'Ps gytygyh' ZK ZY PWN sthm  
 YNSBWNyt' 4 ZWZN' ZK ZY BR' dwcyt' 2 ZWZN' BR'  
 'p'yt' YXBWnt'
- (8) MNW \*gwspond-I<sup>7</sup> BR' dwcyt' 'ywp YXNCLWNyt' \*'-s [PWN]  
 \*g's<sup>8</sup> wn's 'Ps 4-w'd<sup>9</sup> W 2-w'd<sup>9</sup> L'WXL 'p'yt' YXBWnt'

tanāpuhl-ē wināh

D.34

- (4) ud kē šusar akār be kunēd, \*a-s tanāpuhl-ē.
- (5) ud kē xwardīg ud xwarišnīg čiš akār \*kunēd. \*a-s tanāpuhl-ēw wināh.
- (6) kē āb pad šab be ō kustag ī abāxtar rēzēd, \*a-s tanāpuhl-ēw wināh.
- (7) kē drahm-ēw az mard-ē be stanēd ayāb be  
 duzēd [a-s pad] gāh wināh u-s gētīgihā hān ī pad stahm  
 stanēd, čahār drahm, hān ī be duzēd, dō drahm be  
 abāyēd dād.
- (8) kē \*gōspand-ē be duzēd ayāb apparēd, \*a-s [pad]  
 \*gāh wināh, u-s čahār- \*wāy ud dō- \*wāy abāz abāyēd dād.

D.35

4. MSS ' '. 5. MSS lycyt; possibly by mistake from §6 (lycyt').  
 6. M.'s emendation (see below comm. 11, n.7) MSS wy''; D. suggests d't'.  
 7. M.'s emendation; MSS gwspondyk. 8. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS g's-I; D. suggests d't'. 9. M.'s emendation; MSS w''.

- (9) W MNW stwł-I BR' dwcyt' 'ywp' YXNCLWNyt'  
 \*,-s<sup>10</sup> mynw[g]yh' 104 styl wn's 'Pš gytydyyh'  
 4-w'd W 2-w'd L'WXL 'p'yt' YXBWNtn'
- (10) MNW bndk'-XD BR' dwcyt' \*,-s<sup>10</sup> mynwgyh' tn'pwhl-XD wn's 'Pš  
 gytydyyh' 4-w'd W 2-w'd L'WXL 'p'yt' YXBWNtn'
- (11) W MNW NYŠH-XD BR' 'L GBR'-I YXBWNyt' W mylk' MNWš  
 'wbs YXBWNyt' '-s ZK 'hlwb'd't' BR' ptglpt' 'XL \*zyd'nk<sup>11</sup>  
 BR' 'L GBR'-I dtygl YXBWNyt' W \*zyd'nk<sup>11</sup> PWN  
 \*d'tn<sup>12</sup> 'L mylk' hmd'tst'n' cygwn' PWNc ZK GBR' ZY  
 nzdyt' 'MT' XD ŠNT' \*dlhn'd<sup>13</sup> dwcyt' mylk' \*zyd'nk<sup>11</sup>  
 W ZKc GBR' MNWš 'XL 'wbs YXBWNt' mlglc'n' \*YXWWNd<sup>14</sup>  
 '-s'n gyw'k' npšt' \*P-m<sup>15</sup> gwk'n hcdl npšt'

- (9) ud kē stōr-ē be duzēd ayāb apparēd, D.35  
 \*a-s mēnōgīhā sad ud čahār stēr wināh, u-s gētīgīhā  
 čahār-wāy ud dō-wāy abāz abāyēd dādan.
- (10) kē bandag-ēw be duzēd, \*a-s mēnōgīhā tanāpuhl-ēw wināh, u-s  
 gētīgīhā čahār-wāy ud dō-wāy abāz abāyēd dādan.
- (11) ud kē zan-ēw be ō mard-ē dahēd, ud mērag kē-s  
 awiš dahēd a-s hān ahlawdād be padīrift, pas \*ziyānag  
 be ō mard-ē dudīgar dahēd, ud \*ziyānag pad  
 dādan ō mērag hamdādestān, čiyōn pad-iz hān mard ī  
 nazdist, ka ēw sāl drahnāy duzēd, a mērag, \*ziyānag  
 ud hān-iz mard kē-s pas awiš dad margarzān \*bawēnd;  
 a-sān gyāg nibišt, \*u-m gōkān azēr nibišt.

10. MSS '-'. 11. D.'s emendation; MSS z'd'nk'. 12. MSS d't'.  
 13. MSS dlhn'k'. 14. D.'s emendation; MSS YXBWNd. 15. MSS '-m.

- (1) MNW LWTH GBR'-I PWN MRY' dws'lmh' pšt' 'BYDWNyt'  
 W ZK mtr' BR' dlwcyt' 'D 300 ŠNT'  
 KR' MNW MN ptwnd ZY GBR' h'mwdyn' bym 'Pš'n' ZK  
 mtr' 'wdlwc' QDM YXMTIWNyt'
- (2) dtygl ZK MNW dst' s'dt' PWN ZNH k'l 'YKm mtr' LWTH 'BYDWN  
 W mtr' BR' dlwcyt' 'D 600 ŠNT' cygwn-m npšt'
- (3) stygl ZK MNW gwspond-XD BR' YXBWNyt' \* 'YKm<sup>1</sup> mtr'  
 LWTH 'BYDWN W mtr' BR' dlwcyt' 'D 700 [ŠNT] 'ytwn' cygwn-m  
 gwpt'
- (4) ch'lwmm ZK MNW stwl-I PWN ZNH k'l BR' YXBWNyt'

- (1) kē abāg mard-ē pad saxwan dōšāramihā pašt kunēd, D.36  
 ud hān mihr be drōzēd, tā sē sad sāl  
 harw kē az paywand ī mard hāmōyēn bīm, u-šān hān  
 mihrōdruj abar rasēd.
- (2) dudīgar, hān kē dast sāyēd pad ēn kār, kū: "-m mihr abāg kun",  
 ud mihr be drōzēd, tā šas sāl, čiyōn-om nibišt.
- (3) sidīgar, hān kē gōspand-ēw be dahēd kū: "-m mihr  
 abāg kun", ud mihr be drōzēd, tā haft sad [sāl], ēdon čiyōn-im  
 guft.
- (4) čahārom, hān kē stōr-ē pad ēn kār be dahēd,

1. M.'s emendation; MSS 'YK.

\* 'YK<sup>1</sup>m mtr' LWTH 'BYDWN W mtr' BR' dlwcyt' ['D]

800 ŠNT' 'ytwn' cygwn-m gwpt'

(5) pncwm ZK MNW 500 ZWZN PWN ZNH k'1 BR' YXBWNyt'

'YK<sup>1</sup>m mtr' LWTH 'BYDWN W mtr' BR' dlwcyt' 'D 900 ŠNT'

'ytwn' cygwn-m gwpt'

(6) ššwm ZK MNW MT'-I PWN ZNH k'1 BR' YXBWNyt'

'YK<sup>1</sup>m mtr' LWTH 'BYDWN W mtr' BR' dlwcyt' 'D 1,000

ŠNT' 'ytwn' cygwn-m gwpt'

kū: "m mihr abāg kun", ud mihr be drōzēd, [tā]

D.36

hašt sad sāl, ēdōn čiyōn-im guft.

(5) pañjom, hān kē pañj sad drahm pad ēn kār be dahēd,

kū: "m mihr abāg kun," ud mihr be drōzēd, tā nō sad

sāl, ēdōn čiyōn-im guft.

(6) šašom, hān kē deh-ē pad ēn kār be dahed,

kū: "m mihr abāg kun," ud mihr be drōzēd, tā hazār

sāl, ēdōn čiyōn-im guft.

1. M.'s emendation; MSS 'YK.

- a (1) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK zltwhšt' MN 'whrmzd pwrstyt' 'YK whsk' W 'XR[N]-c  
\*krpk<sup>1</sup> k'l \*Y'TWNyt'<sup>2</sup> \*snyh'k'<sup>3</sup> hm'ytwn'
- (2) W 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK \*MT<sup>4</sup> k'l<sup>5</sup> 'hlmn' W ŠDY'n' zyndkyh  
kwstn' l'd Y'TWNyt'
- (3) zltwhšt gwpt' 'YKS \*bysynsyh<sup>6</sup> MH
- (4) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 'MTs yt'hkwylw-I W 'šmwhwk'-XD  
QDM BR' YMRRWNd \*-s<sup>7</sup> MND'Myc wn's W zyd'n krtn' L'  
twb'n' Pš swt' n'mcštyk hcš YXWWNyt'
- (5) MH KBD MND'M YXWWNyt' \*ZY<sup>8</sup> 'hlmn' ZY dlwnd  
\*-s<sup>7</sup> zyd'n ZY d'm'n ZY L l'd YXBWNt'

- a (1) ēn-iz paydāg kū zardušt az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "waxšag ud any-z D.37  
\*kirbag kār \*āyēd \*snēhāg hamēdōn?"
- (2) ud ohrmazd guft kū: "ka kār ahreman ud dēwān zīdagīh  
kōstan rāy āyēd."
- (3) zardušt guft kū: "š \*bēsēnišnīh čē?"
- (4) ohrmazd guft kū: "ka-s yaθā ahū vairyō-ē ud ašam vohū-ēw  
abar be gōwēnd, a-s čiš-iz wināh ud ziyān kardan nē  
tuwān, i-s sūd namčīstīg aziš bawēd.
- (5) "čē was čiš bawēd \*ī ahreman ī druwand,  
\*a-s ziyān ī dāmān ī man rāy dād;

1. D.'s emendation; MSS krp'. 2. M.'s emendation; MSS SGYTWNyt'.  
3. M.s emendation; MSS šnwsk'. 4. M.'s emendation; MSS MNW.  
5. MSS have also krtn'. 6. MSS bysyynsn'yh. 7. MSS '-.  
8. M.'s emendation; MSS XD.

- \*W<sup>9</sup> L ZK ZY hcš bwt' \*'-s<sup>10</sup> swt' hcš BR' YXYTYWNT'  
 d'm'n ZY L KBD swt' W h[d]yb'lyh hcš bwt'  
 'Ps d'm'n ZY 'hlmn' gl'n wznd W zyd'n hcš
- (6) MH pyt'k 'YK 'hlmn' 3 MND'M gl'ntl PWN XN' d'st'  
 'YK PWN d'm'n ZY 'whrmzd hm'y 'BYDWNm ZY 'whrmzd  
 \*byššn<sup>11</sup> hc-s wys
- (7) XTš ZK MND'M L' YXBWNt' XWHydy 'L \*'LH<sup>12</sup> dlwnd 'hlmn'  
 swt'wmndtl bwt' \*XWHydy<sup>13</sup> W d'm'n ZY L hc-s gl'n' \*wznd<sup>14</sup>  
 bwt' \*XWHydy<sup>15</sup>
- (8) 'ywk ZK 'MTš mlgylh YXBWNt' mltwm YMYTWNt' XWH'd MH  
 pyt'k' ['YK] 'MT' 'c' nyd'c' dlwcyh W kwhššn<sup>16</sup> YXBWNt' YXWWNT'  
 W 'NSWT' L' \*mwlt' \*XWHydy<sup>17</sup> zlm'nyh l'd

\*ud man, hān ī aziš būd, \*a-s sūd aziš be āwurd,

D.37

dāmān ī man was sūd ud hayyārīh aziš būd,

u-s dāmān ī ahreman garān wizend ud ziyān aziš.

- (6) cē paydāg kū ahreman sē čiš garāntar pad ēd dāst kū:

"pad dāmān ī ohrmazd hamē kunēm ī ohrmazd

\*bēšišn az-iš wēš."

- (7) agar-iš hān čiš nē dād hē ō \*ōy druwand ahreman  
 sūdōmandtar būd \*hē, ud dāmān ī man az-iš garān \*wizend  
 būd \*hē.

- (8) ēwag hān ka-s margīh dād, mardōm murd hēnd; cē  
 paydāg [kū] ka āz, niyāz, drōzīh ud kōxšišn dād būd  
 ud mardōm nē \*murd hē zarmānīh rāy,

D.38

9. MSS 'Ps; M. omits following L. 10. MSS 'Ps. 11. MSS byš'n.  
 12. MSS 'L 'L. 13. D.'s emendation; MSS 'whrmzd. 14. M.'s emendation; MSS znyt' (alternative emendation \*znšn' ("smiting, blow")).  
 15. D.'s emendation; MSS XWHd. 16. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK kwhšyšn. 17. MSS mlt' XWHd.

BR' YKTWLNt' 'p'dst XWHydy W hm'k 'NSWT' 'ywk' LWTH TWB  
 PWN hm'k' lwck'l kwššn' W k'lyc'l krt' XWHydy 'Ps'n' XN'  
 gwpt' XWHydy 'YK 'MT L' YMYTWNm '-m'n hw'stk' wys 'p'yt'  
 W 'XL KR' 'NSWT' bym ZY 'LH ZY TWB l'd PWN krp' d'st[n]'  
 swl'k 'p'dst' XWHydy W zywyst[n'] ZY d'm'n gl'n 'n'kyh  
 YXWWNt' XWHydy

- (9) 'ywk' ZK 'MTs MY' BR' [hw'syny't' MH XT MY']<sup>18</sup>hw'synšn'<sup>19</sup>  
 L' XWHydy hm'k' ZNH zmyk' BR' \*'st't' XWHydy  
 'Ps hcš gl'n' 'n'kyh XWHydy
- (10) 'ywk ZK 'MTs 'thš BR' 'ps'lt' MH XT 'thš KN swht' XWHydy  
 BR' L' 'ps'lt' XWHydy hm'k' ZNH gyh'n' 'thš

be ōzad abāyist hē, ud hamāg mardōm ēwag abāg did  
 pad hamāg rōzgār kōxšišn ud karezār kard hē, u-šān ēd  
 guft hē kū: "ka nē mīrēm, a-mān xwāstag wēš abāyēd",  
 ud pas harw mardōm bīm ī ōy ī did rāy pad kirb dāstan  
 sūrāg abāyist hē, ud zīstan ī dāmān garān anāgīh  
 būd hē.

D.38

- (9) ēwag hān ka-š āb be [xwāsēnīd, čē agar āb]-\*xwāsēnišn  
 nē hē hamāg ēn zamīg be estād hē,  
 u-š aziš garān anāgīh hē.
- (10) ēwag hān ka-š ātaxš be afsārd, čē agar ātaxš ōh sōxt hē,  
 bē nē afsārd hē, hamag ēn gēhān ātaxš

18. M.'s restoration. 19. M.'s emendation; MSS 'n'yšnšn'.



'ytwn' BR' \*,'st't' XWHydy \*,<sup>20</sup> KR' 'YŠ swcšn' bym bwt' XWH't'  
'Ps hc-s gl'n 'n'kyh W dwšhw'lyh bwt' XWH't'

- b (1) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L Zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK  
hm'k' 'NŠWT' ZY BYN gyh'n 'D zywndk' XWHd '-s'n 'p'dst'  
3 'dwnk' YXWWNyt'
- (2) 'MT \*drwst'<sup>21</sup> YXWWNd 'Ps'n wym'lyh-I W p'tpl's-I L'YT'  
'DYNŠ'n'<sup>22</sup> hm'k' nywkyh ZY gytydy KN 'p'yt'
- (3) 'MTs'n' tngyh-I W dwšhw'lyh-I<sup>23</sup> YXWWNyt' '-s'n ZK 'p'yt'  
'MTs'n XY' MN tn' BR' 'ZLWNyt'
- (4) W 'MTs'n XY' BR' 'L klynšn' \*,'st't' W MN gytydy 'n'wmyt' BR'  
YXWWNt' XWH'd '-s'n 'XL 'hl'dyh ZY lwb'n' MN KR' MND'M k'mk'tl

ēdōn be estād hē, \*a harw kas sōzišn bīm būd hād,  
u-š az-iš garān anāgih ud dušxwārīh būd hād."

D.38

- b (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft kū:  
"hamāg mardōm ī andar gēhān tā zīndag hēnd a-šān abāyist  
sē ēwēnag bawēd.
- (2) ka \*drust bawēnd u-šān wēmārīh-ē ud pādīfrāh-ē nēst,  
ēg-išan hamāg nēkīh ī gētīg ōh abāyēd.
- (3) ka-šān tangīh-e ud dušxwarīh-ē bawēd, a-šān hān abayēd  
ka-šān gyān az tan be šawēd.
- (4) ud ka-šān gyān be ō kirrēnišn estād, ud az gētīg anummed be  
būd hēnd, a-šān pas ahlāyīh ī ruwān az harw čiš kāmagtar."

D.38/39

20. MSS ZY. 21. M.'s emendation; MSS dwst'.

22. D.'s emendation; MSS 'ns'n. 23. MSS dwšhw'l-I dwšhw'lyh-I.

- (1) gyw'k pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L gwspnd'n' gwpt' 'YK  
tn' BR' 'L gytydy YXBWNt' 'D-t'n' 'NŠWT'- 'n' KN 'ŠTHNd
- (2) W gwspnd'n' 'n'kyh ZYs'n' K'N \*MN<sup>1</sup> 'NŠWT'- 'n' BR' 'wbs hm'y  
YXMTWNyt' '-s'n' mynwkyh' XZYTWNT' 'Ps'n' LWTH 'whrmzd KBD  
d'tst'n'-ptk'l 'BYDWNt'
- (3) '-s'n' 'whrmzd \*pšn-I<sup>2</sup> LWTH BR' krt' <sup>3</sup> 'YK tn' BR' YXBWNyt'  
MH wn's 'BYDWNyt' '-t'n' 'L bwn L' YXWWNyt' 'Dš'n' tn'  
BR' L' YXBWNt'
- (4) W 'XL gwspnd'n' gwpt' wn's ZY LNH \*'BYDWNym<sup>4</sup> 'L bwn ZY MNW YXWWNyt'
- (5) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 'LH MNW BSLY' ZY LKWM 'ŠTHNyt' W dst' BYN wn's

- (1) gyāg paydāg kū ohrmazd be ō gōspandān guft kū: D.39  
"tan be ō gētīg dahēd tā-tān mardōmān ōh xwarēnd."
- (2) ud gōspandān anāgīh ī-šān nun \*az mardōmān be awiš hamē  
rasēd a-šān mēnōgīhā dīd, u-šān abāg ohrmazd was  
dādestān-pahikār kard.
- (3) a-šān ohrmazd \*pašn-ē abāg be kard kū: "tan be dahēd;  
čē wināh kunēd a-tān ō bun nē bawēd", tā-šān tan  
be nē dād.
- (4) ud pas gōspandān guft: "wināh ī amāh \*kunēm, ō bun ī kē bawēd?"
- (5) ohrmazd guft kū: "ōy kē gōšt ī ašmāh xwarēd ud dast andar wināh D.39/40

1. D.'s emendation; MSS MNW. 2. MSS pwšt'-I; M. reads pušt'-I:  
"a safeguard". 3. MSS have also XWH'd (om. as scribal error).  
4. D.'s emendation; MSS 'BYDWNm.

YXSNNyt' hm'k wn's ZY gwspond 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'LH 'L bwn YXWWNyt'

- (6) MH MNWš m'hyk ZY kwc-XD \*'ŠTHNt'<sup>5</sup> \*'styt' W wn's 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 'MT 'wst(w)l-I GBR'-I BR' YKTLWNyt' '-c 'LH 'L bwn YXWWNyt'
- (7) BSLY' \*MN<sup>6</sup> \*'n'y1'n'<sup>7</sup> W 'kdyn' 'n' \*wys<sup>8</sup> 'YK 'y[w]b'l<sup>9</sup> L' ŠLYT'  
 ZBNN'x<sub>2</sub> W 'kdyn' BR' 'MT' PWN XN' YXSNNydy 'YK BR' YMYTWNyt'  
 'yny'-š MND'Mc L' 'p'yt' YXBWNt'

dārēd, hamāg wināh ī gōspand kunēd ōy ō bun bawēd."

D.40

- (6) cē kē-š mähīg ī kūč-ēw \*xward estēd ud wināh kunēd,  
 ka uštar-ē mard-ē be ōzanēd a-z ōy ō bun bawēd.
- (7) gōst \*az \*anērān ud agdēnān \*wēš kū ē[w]bār nē pādixšā  
 xrīdan; ud agdēn, bē ka pad ēd dārē kū be mīrēd,  
 enyā-š čis-iz nē abāyēd dād.

5. MSS 'ŠTHNyt'. 6. MSS MNW. 7. M.'s emendation; MSS wysl'n'.

8. MSS byš, perhaps NP. form for wys ("more"). 9. MSS 'yb'l;

M. reads the preceding three words bēš ku hayār: "either a foe or a friend".

- a (1) BB' ZNH 'YK yčsn' kt'l ZY 'MT 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> BR' 'L  
pwhl 'ZLWNyt'
- (2) hwlsyt' W g's'nb'l W \*lpytpyn'<sup>1</sup> W stws W plwltyk'n'  
<sup>2</sup>'L \*'LH<sup>2</sup> pwhl 'ZLWNyt'
- (3) k'l ZNH 'YK 'MT' L' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> p'tpl's 'p'yt' krt'n' ['L]  
cynwt pwhl \*ZYs<sup>3</sup> bwn PWNc ck't ZY \*d'ytyk<sup>4</sup> 'Ps  
dwšhw' hodl
- (4) W 'NSWT' 'MT' BR' YMYTWNyt' PWN wn's ZYs krt' YK'YMWNyt'  
PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt' PWN 'ws ZY stygl BR' 'L  
<sup>5</sup>\*ck't' ZY \*d'ytyk<sup>5</sup> YDLWNd 'Ps BR' 'L whst' YDLWN'd

- a (1) dar ēn: kū yazišn kadār ī ka kunēd be ō  
puhl sawēd.
- (2) xwarsēd ud gāhānbār ud \*  
ō \*ōy puhl sawēd.
- (3) kār ēn, kū ka nē kunēd, pādīfrāh abāyēd kardan [ō]  
činwad puhl, \*ī-s bun pad-iz čagād ī \*dāidīg u-s  
dušox azēr.
- (4) ud mardōm ka be mīrēd, pad wināh ī-s kard ēstēd  
pad patēt bawēd, pad ōs ī sidīgar be ō  
čagād ī dāidīg nayēnd, u-s be ō wahišt nayēnd.

D.40

D.40/41

1. MSS 'lpytpyn'. 2. MSS 'L 'L (also possibly dittography for 'L). 3. M.'s emendation; MSS '-'. 4. MSS d'yty-I.  
5. MSS cyhyt' ZY d'yty-I.

- (5) MNWš mlglc'n-XD krt' \*,'styt' W gytydyyh' PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt'  
 'Ps sl BR' PSKWNd \*,'-s<sup>6</sup> PWN gyw'k' stwš 'p'yt' s'htn'  
 W ystn' W 'hlwb' W 'MT ptyt' 'Ps gytydyyh' sl  
 L' s'yt' \*PSKWNTn'<sup>7</sup> 'Ps mynwgyh' LYLY' ZY stygl PWN bwn ZY pwhl  
 sl BR' PSKWNd '-c l<sub>4</sub> wm [YWM] stwš 'p'yt' ystn' W 'hlwb'  
 (6) W 'MT PWN ptyt L' \*YXWWNyt'<sup>8</sup> BR' 'L dwšhw' 'ZLWNyt'  
 'D tn' ZY psyn' PWN dwšhw' YXWWNyt'  
 (7) 'Ps 'DN' tn'wmndyh' L'WXL 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Ps sl BR' PSKWNd  
 'Ps p'tpl's ZY dwšhw BR' nm'dynd  
 (8) bwt' dstwbl MNWš gwpt' 'YK MNWš mlglc'n'-XD krt' YK'YMWNyt'

- (5) kē-s margarzān-ēw kard estēd, ud gētīgihā pad patēt bawēd, D.41  
 u-s sar be brīnēnd, \*a-s pad gyāg stōš abāyēd sāxtan  
 ud yaštan, ud ahlaw; ud ka patēt, u-s gētīgihā sar  
 nē šāyēd \*brīdan, u-s mēnōgihā šab ī sidīgar pad bun ī puhl  
 sar be brīnēnd, a-z čahārom [rōz] stōš abāyēd yaštan, ud ahlaw.  
 (6) ud ka pad patēt nē \*bawēd, be ō dušox šawēd;  
 tā tan ī pasēn pad dušox bawēd.  
 (7) u-s zamān tanōmandihā abāz kunēnd, u-s sar be brīnēnd,  
 u-s pādifrāh ī dušox be nīmāyēnd.  
 (8) būd dastwar kē-s guft kū: "kē-s margarzān-ēw kard estēd

6. MSS '-'. 7. MSS PSKWNd. 8. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS YXWWNt'.

- 'hlwb' KN YXWWNyt' MNWs 2 krt' \*<sub>2</sub>styt' L' YXWWNyt' XN' l'd  
 MH 'LH gytydyyh' GBR' BR' YKTLWNt' \*<sub>1</sub>styt' BR' 'MTs PWN  
 gytydy BNPSH L'WXL YKTLWNd 'Ds ZK twcsn' L' krt' YXWWNyt'  
 (9) 'LH MNWs gwpt' 'YK 'ywk' mlglc'n' 'hlwb' KN YXWWNyt'  
 2 mlglc'n' L' YXWWNyt' \*<sub>1</sub>-s<sup>6</sup> MND'M cym BR' gwpt' 'YK  
 sl ZY ZK XD b'l BR' s'yt' PSKWnt' PWN gytydy  
 (10) W ZKc MNWs gwpt' 2 mlglc'n' 'hlwb' KN YXWWNyt' \*<sub>1</sub>-s<sup>9</sup>  
 MND'M [cym] BR' gwpt' ['YK] 'MTs PWN gytydy L'YSH' ZY tn'  
 BR' PSKWnd 'Ps LYLY' ZY stygl PWN mynwg PWN bwn ZY pwhl  
 ZK ZY lwb'n' BR' PSKWnd

ahlaw ōh bawēd; kē-s dō kard estēd nē bawēd, ēd rāy

D.41

cē ōy gētīgihā mard be ōzad estēd; bē ka-s pad

gētīg xwad abāz ōzanēnd, tā-s hān tōzišn nē kard bawēd."

- (9) ōy kē-s guft kū: "ēwag margarzān ahlaw ōh bawēd,  
 dō margarzān nē bawēd", \*<sub>1</sub>a-s čis čim be guft, kū:  
 "sar ī hān ēw bār be sāyēd brīd pad gētīg."  
 (10) ud hān-iz kē-s guft: "dō margarzān ahlaw ōh bawēd," a-s  
 čis [čim] be guft [kū]: "ka-s pad gētīg, sar ī tan  
 be brīnēnd, u-s šab ī sidīgar, pad mēnōg pad bun ī puhl,  
 hān ī ruwān be brīnēnd."

D.41/42

- (11) W pwlywtkyš hm'k PWN ZNH QDM \*'st't' XWH'd 'YK 'MTš  
 ptytykyh krt' BR' 'L dwšhw' L' 'ZLWNyt' XN' [l'd] MH  
 'MT sl ZY lwb'n' PSKWNd lwb'n KBD b'l sl PSKWnt' s'yt'
- (12) 'MTš mlglc'n' KBD krt' \*'styt' PWN ptyt' L' YXWWNyt'  
 BR' ['L] dwšhw' 'ZLWNyt' 'Ps PWN tn' ZY psyn' tn' 'wmndyh  
 L'WXL 'BYDWNd 'Ps KR' 'ywk'-XD l'd 'ywk' b'l  
 sl BR' PSKWNd 'Ps p'tpl's ZY dwšhw' BR' nm'dyn'd W 'hlwb'
- (13) MNW g's'nb'l XD ŠNT' L' YDBXWNyt' \*, -s<sup>10</sup> KR' 'ywk'-XD l'd  
 'wwylst-XD 'L bwn W ZK wn's BR' 'L pwhl 'ZLWNyt'  
 'Dš p'tpl's BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> \*, -s<sup>10</sup> pwhl BYN \*'ZLWNtn'<sup>11</sup> L' twb'n'

- (11) ud pōryōtkēš hamāg pad ēn abar estād hēnd, kū ka-s D.42  
 patētīgīh kard, be ō dušox nē šawēd. ēd [rāy] cē  
 ka sar ī ruwān brīnēnd, ruwān was bār sar brīd sāyēd.
- (12) ka-s margarzān was kard estēd pad patēt nē bawēd,  
 be [ō] dušox šawēd, u-s pad tan ī pasēn tanōmandīh  
 abāz kunēnd, u-s harw ēwag-ēw rāy ēwag bār  
 sar be brīnēnd, u-s pādīfrāh ī dušox be nimāyēnd, ud ahlaw.
- (13) kē gāhānbār ēw sāl nē yazēd, \*a-s harw ēwag-ēw rāy  
 ōwirišt-ēw ō bun, ud hān wināh be ō puhl šawēd;  
 tā-s pādīfrāh be kard, \*a-s puhl andar \*šudan nē tuwān.

10. MSS ' '. 11. MSS 'ZLWNyt'.

- (14) MNW hwlšyt' BYN YWM XD b'l L' YDBXWNyt' \*, -s<sup>10</sup> plm'n'-XD wn's  
 W 'MT' 2 b'l L' YDBXWNyt' \*, -s<sup>10</sup> TLYN plm'n' wn's  
 W 'MT' 3 b'l L' YDBXWNyt' ', -s<sup>12</sup> 'ww[y]lšt-XD 'L bwn  
 W ZKc BR' 'L pwhl 'ZLWNyt' 'MT YWM ZY dtygl  
 KR' 3 b'l L' YDBXWNyt' \*, -s<sup>13</sup> 'ytw'n' hm YXWNyt'
- (15) W lpytpyn' W stws W plwltyk'n' KR' 'ywk'  
 wys L' YXWNyt' 'YK plm'n W ZKc BR' 'L pwhl 'ZLWNyt'
- b (1) 'NSWT' 'MT MN gytyg BR' 'ZLWNd 'MTs lwb'n' 'm'l BR'  
 'BYDWNd \*, ytw'n<sup>14</sup> 'MTs krpk' wys 'YK wn's \*, -s<sup>10</sup> BR' 'L  
 whst' YDLWNd

- (14) kē xwarsēd andar rōz ēw bār nē yazēd, \*a-s framān-ēw wināh; D.42  
 ud ka dō bār nē yazēd, \*a-s dō framān wināh;  
 ud ka sē bār nē yazēd a-s ōwirišt-ēw ō bun, D.42/43  
 ud hān-iz be ō puhl šawēd; ka rōz ī dudīgar  
 harw sē bār nē yazēd, \*a-s ēdōn ham bawēd.
- (15) ud rapihwīn ud stōš ud frawardīgān, harw ēwag  
 wēs nē bawēd kū framān, ud hān-iz be ō puhl šawēd.
- b (1) mardōm ka az gētīg be šawēnd, ka-s ruwān amār be  
 kunēnd, \*ēdōn, ka-s kirbag wēs kū wināh, \*a-s be ō  
 wahišt nayēnd.

12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 13. MSS 'Ps. 14. MSS XN' i.e.  
ēd for ēdōn.



- (2) ZK ZY hmym'l'n 'p'myh' pts \*'-s<sup>15</sup> PWN tn' ZY psyn'  
 'hlwb'd't' BR' 'BYDWNd W wn's W krpk' ZY lwb'nyk  
 ['-s] krpk' mzd YXBWNd 'Ps wn's p'tpl's 'BYDWNd
- (3) 'NSWT'-n PWN BR' wtylsnyh ptyt L'YN' 'LH<sup>16</sup> 'p'yt' krtn'  
 MNWs d't' W znd wlm W [MNW] MN wn's W krpk'  
 'k'stl 'Ps wn's 'ywk' 'ywk' BR' 'p'yt' 'wšmwlt'n'
- (4) KR' ZK ZY twb'nyk' '-s<sup>17</sup> BR' 'p'yt wc'lt'n' 'MT twb'nyk  
 W L' wc'lyt' '-s<sup>17</sup> ptyt' L'YT' MH ptyt' MND'M-I  
 'twb'nyk<sup>18</sup> YXWWNyt'

- (2) hān ī hamēmālān abāmīhā padīš, \*a-s pad tan ī pasēn D.43  
 ahlawdād be kunēnd, ud wināh ud kirbag ī ruwānig  
 [a-s] kirbag mizd dahēnd u-s wināh pādīfrāh kunēnd.
- (3) mardōmān pad bē widerišnīh patēt pēs ōy abāyēd kardan  
 kē-s dād ud zand warm ud [kē] az wināh ud kirbag  
 āgāhtar, u-s wināh ēwag ēwag be abāyēd ōšmurdan.
- (4) harw hān ī tuwānīg a-s be abāyēd wizārdan; ka tuwānīg  
 ud nē wizārēd, a-s patēt nēst, cē patēt cīs-ē  
 atuwānīg bawēd.

15. MSS 'Ps. 16. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'L; D. and M. emend to rad (lt').  
 17. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 18. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'twb'nykyh.

(5) 'Ps wn's ZY hmym'l'n hwšnwt BR' 'p'yt' krtn' 'Ps hc-s  
BYN hmym'l PWN ptyt' BR' 'p'yt' YXWWNt' BR' \*SLYTWNtn'<sup>19</sup> \*t'dw'n<sup>20</sup>  
 ['p'yt' YXBWNt'] MHS ZK BYN lt' ZY NPSH' PWN ptyt'  
 BR' 'p'yt' YXWWNt' W cygwn šwd k'm YD'YTWNyt' \*'-s<sup>21</sup> twcšn'  
 BR' ['L] šwd 'p'yt' YXBWNt' PWN ZNH k'l 'YK 'Ds  
 dws'lm ZY NYŠH' W prcnd<sup>22</sup> BR' L' 'ZLWN't'

c GBR'-I 'MT wn's-I XD b'l 'BYDWNyt' PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt'  
 W 'MT 2 b'l 'BYDWNyt' PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt' W 'MT  
 3 b'l 'BYDWNyt' PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt' W 'MT 4 b'l  
 'BYDWNyt'<sup>23</sup> PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt' 4 wm b'l '-s<sup>24</sup> ZK ZY krt'  
 4 w'd L'WXL 'L bwn YXWWNyt'

(5) u-s wināh ī hamēmālān hušnūd be abāyēd kardan, u-s az-is D.44  
 andar hamēmāl pad patēt be abāyēd būd; bē \*gādan \*tāwān  
 [abāyēd dād], cē-s hān andar rad ī xwēs pad patēt  
 be abāyēd būd, ud čiyōn sōy kām dānēd, \*a-s tōzišn  
 be [ō] sōy abāyēd dād, pad ēn kār kū tā-s  
 dōšāram ī zan ud frazand bē nē sawād.

c mard-ē ka wināh-ē ēw bār kunēd, pad patēt bawēd;  
 ud ka dō bār kunēd, pad patēt bawēd; ud ka  
 sē bār kunēd pad patēt bawēd; ud ka čahār bar  
 kunēd, pad patēt bawēd; čahārom bār a-s hān ī kard  
 čahār-wāy abāz ō bun bawēd.

19. BK SLYTWNt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J SLYTNT'. 20. BK t'hw'n; MR<sub>1</sub>, J t'hw.  
 21. MSS 'Ps. 22. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK przwnd. 23. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'BYDWNx2'.  
 24. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-i'.

- d (1) GBR'-I BYN 3<sup>25</sup> YWM MN hm'k wn's ZYs<sup>26</sup> krt' PWN  
 hwltk' PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt' BR' \*wc'lt'<sup>27</sup> 'XL k'mkyh' TWBc ZK  
 wn's KN 'BYDWNyt' \*'DYNs<sup>28</sup> hm'k 4 w'd<sup>29</sup> L'WXL 'L bwn YXWWNyt'
- (2) W ptytykyh 'MT KN 'BYDWNd '-s<sup>24</sup> nzdyt' MN mlgc'n PWN  
 ptyt' 'p'yt' YXWWNt' 'XL 'p'ryk wn's PWN ptyt' 'p'yt' YXWWNt'
- (3) bwt' dstwbl MNWs gwpt' 'YK MN 'pst'k' 'ytwm' pyt'k' 'YK  
 'MT YMRRWNyt 'YK 'yw-kltkyh' MN hm'k wn's ZYm yst'  
 PWN ptyt' XWHm '-s<sup>24</sup> ptyt krt' YXWWNyt'
- (4) bwt' dstwbl MNWs gwpt' 'YK BR' 'MT wn's ZYs krt'  
 \*'styt' 'ywk' 'ywk' BR' hng'lt'<sup>30</sup> W PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt'

- d (1) mard-ē andar sē rōz az hamāg wināh ī-s kard pad D.44  
 xwurdag pad patēt bawēd, be \*wizārd; pas kāmagihā did-iz hān D.44/45  
 wināh ōh kunēd, \*ēg-is hamāg čahār-wāy abāz ō bun bawēd.
- (2) ud patētīgih ka ōh kunēnd, a-s nazdist az margarzān pad  
 patēt abāyēd būd, pas abārīg wināh pad patēt abāyēd būd.
- (3) būd dastwar kē-s guft kū: "az abestāg ēdōn paydāg kū  
 ka gōwēd kū: "ēw-kardagihā az hamāg wināh ī-m jast  
 pad patēt hēm," a-s patēt kard bawēd."
- (4) būd dastwar kē-s guft kū: "bē ka wināh ī-s kard  
 estēd ēwag ēwag be hangārd ud pad patēt bawēd,

25. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J XD. 26. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Ps. 27. BK wc'lyt;  
 MR<sub>1</sub> wc'lt'n'. 28. M.'s emendation; BK 'yn'yyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'yns.  
 29. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hm'kw'y. 30. D.'s emendation; BK wyng'lt';  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J wyng'lyt'.

'yny'-s ptytykyh L' YXWWNyt' 'LHc

- e (1) MN 'pst'k pyt'kynyt' YK ZNH KR' \*<sub>2</sub><sup>31</sup> 'p'yt' krt'n'  
 'phšyh W 'šk'lyh ZY ptytykyh  
 (2) W 'phšyh ZK 'MT PWN mynšn' 'phš YXWWNyt  
 (3) W 'šk'lyh<sup>32</sup> ZK YXWWNyt' 'MT šlm \*<sub>1</sub>'d<sup>33</sup> sl L'WXL  
 LMYTWNyt' W wn's ZYs krt' \*'styt' 'ywk' 'ywk' L'YN  
 lt' ZY dstwbl YMRRWNyt' PWN ptyt' YXWWNyt'  
 (4) bwt' dstwbl MNWs 'ytn' gwpt' 'YK XN' PWN BR' wtylšnyh  
 'MT GBR' ZY NPSH BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> '-c' s'yt' XN' l'd  
 'YK 'D 'YŠ wn's ZYs nyh'nyk krt' YK'YMWNyt' L'YN

enyā-s patētīgīh nē bawēd." ōy-iz

D.45

- e (1) az abestāg paydāgēnīd kū: ēn harw \*do abāyed kardan:  
 abaxsīh ud āskāragīh ī patētīgīh.  
 (2) ud abaxsīh hān: ka pad mēnišn abaxs bawēd.  
 (3) ud āskāragīh hān bawēd ka šarm \*rāy sar abaz  
 abganēd ud wināh ī-s kard estēd ēwag ēwag pēs  
 rad, ī dastwar, gōwēd pad patēt bawēd.  
 (4) būd dastwar kē-s ēdōn guft kū: "ēd, pad be widerišnīh,  
 ka mard ī xwēs be kunēd, a-z šāyēd, ēd rāy,  
 kū tā kas wināh ī-s nihānīg kard estēd pēs

D.45/46

31.

32. J; MR<sub>1</sub> 'šk'lyh; BK wn'sk'lyh. 33. BK, J lpt' (i.e. LCDr);  
 MR<sub>1</sub> lt'; M. reads tar.

- dstwb'l ZY NPSH BR' YMRRWNyt' 'P-s MN bwn BR' 'ZLWN't  
 (5) MN 'pst'k pyt'k 'YK 'MT' ZK lt' ZY dstwbl  
 wn's ZY ZK mylk' PWN hwltk pyš hng'lyt'  
 'wc'lk'[-I] 'šk'lk' BR' 'BYDWNyt' mylk' dstwbl mlglc'n'  
 YXWWNyt'

- dastwar ī xwēs be gōwēd, u-s az bun be šawād.  
 (5) az abestāg paydāg kū ka hān rad, ī dastwar,  
 wināh ī hān mērag pad xwurdag pēš hangārēd  
 ōzārak[-ē] āškārag be kunēd, mērag dastwar margarzān  
 bawēd.

D.46

- a (1) g's'nb'l l'd pyt'k' 'YK 'MT BR' s'cyt' YDBXWNyt' 'ŠTHNyt  
W l'tyh' W l'st[y]h' YXBWNyt' '-s<sup>1</sup> krpk' 'ytwn YXWWNyt'<sup>2</sup>  
cygwn 'MTs 1,000 mys ZY z'tk' MNWs wlk' LWTB PWN dhsn' ZY  
'hlwb'd't' BR' 'L GBR' ZY 'hlwb' YXBWNt' XWHydy
- (2) MNW 'ŠTHNyt' MNW s'cyt' MNW YXBWNyt' '-s<sup>1</sup> hm ZNH krpk'  
KN YXBWNyt'
- (3) 'MT PWN 10 GBR' g's'nb'l-XD \*YDBXWNd<sup>3</sup> MN ZNH  
g's'nb'l 'D BR' 'L<sup>2</sup> ZK g's'nb'l KR' k'l W  
krpk' ZY MN ZK 10 GBR' 'ywk'-XD BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> h'mwdyn'  
'ytwn' b'hl YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs-n PWN dst ZY NPSH

a (1) gāhānbār rāy paydāg kū ka be sāzēd, yazēd, xwarēd  
ud rādīhā ud rāstīhā dahēd, a-s kirbag ēdōn bawēd  
čiyōn ka-s hazār mēs ī zādag kē-s warrag abāg pad dahišn ī  
ahlawdād be ō mard ī ahlaw dād hē.

D.46

(2) kē xwarēd, kē sāzēd, kē dahēd, a-s ham ēn kirbag  
ōh bawēd.

(3) ka pad dah mard gāhānbār-ēw \*yazēnd, az ēn  
gāhānbār tā be ō hān gāhānbār harw kār ud  
kirbag ī az hān dah mard ēwag-ē be kunēd hāmōyēn  
ēdōn bāhr bawēd, čiyōn ka-sān pad dast ī xwēs

D.46/47

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 3. M.'s emendation;  
MSS YXSNNd. Presumably a double error by the copyist: the ideogram  
YDBXWNd was read YXBWNd which was, as often, written mistakenly  
YXSNNd.

krt XWHydy W 'MT PWN 100 GBR' W 'MT 1,000

GBR' \*<sub>hm</sub><sup>4</sup> 'ytwn' YXWWNyt'<sup>4</sup>

- (4) W g's'nb'l l'd pyt'k' 'YK L'YN' MN 5 YWM  
 'MT BYN Y'TWNyt' hm'k' d'm ZY 'whrmzd ZK ZY hcdl  
 zmyk cygwn lwp'h W l(w)swk' W k'km W mwsk  
 W 'p'ryk hm'k' d'm ZY hepl zmyk cygwn MY' W  
 'wlwl W gwspnd W 'NŠWT' \*<sub>dmyt</sub><sup>5</sup> YXSNNd 'YK MN  
 mynwg ZY g's'nb'l BR' 'pz'dym W pyt'k' 'YK m[y]zd<sup>6</sup>  
 ZK ms W ŠPYL ZY g's'nb'l

- b (1) gyw'k<sup>1</sup>XD pyt'k' 'YK zltwhst' MN 'whrmzd pwrstyt' 'YK  
 hk(w)lc' hc-t' myzd krt'

kard hē, ud ka pad sad mard ud ka hazār

D.47

mard, \*<sub>ham</sub> ēdōn bawēd.

- (4) ud gāhānbār rāy, paydāg kū pēs az panj rōz  
 ka andar āyēd, hamāg dām ī ohrmazd, hān ī azēr  
 zamīg, čiyōn rōbāh ud rasūg ud kākōm ud mušk,  
 ud abārīg hamāg dām ī azabar zamīg, čiyōn āb ud  
 urwar ud gōspand ud mardōm, ēmēd dārēnd kū: "az  
 mēnōg ī gāhānbār be abzāyēm." ud paydāg kū mēzd  
 hān meh ud weh ī gāhānbār.

- b (1) gyāg-ē paydāg kū zardust az ohrmazd pursīd kū:  
 "hagrīz az-at mēzd kard?"

4. D.'s emendation; BK 'Pm 'ytwn' YXWWNyt'; MR<sub>1</sub> 'p'yt' YXWWNt';  
 J 'p'yt' YXWWNyt'. 5. M.'s emendation; MSS ''myt'.

6. BK; in MR<sub>1</sub> and J this word is written my'zd throughout.

- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' YKm krt' MH 'MTm gyh'n YXBWNt' '-m myzd-XD  
 BR' krt' 'MTm XY' 'L g'ywkmlt'<sup>7</sup> YXBWNt' '-m myzd-I  
 BR' krt 'MT LK zltwhst' MN 'M YLYDWNt XWHydy  
 '-m myzd-I BR' krt' 'MT-t dyn' MN L BR' ptglpt  
 '-m myzd-I BR' krt' myzd 'ytwn' s'hyk ['YK] 'NSWT'- 'n' KR'  
 k'l W d'tst'n' ZY pl'lwnyh' pr'c 'BYDWNd '-s'n' PWN bwn  
 myzd-I BR' kwnšn'  
 (3) MH pyt'k 'YK myzd-I PWN 3 GBR' '-s<sup>1</sup>  
 bywl plw'hl ZY 'šwk'n BR' 'wbs YXMTIWNd

- (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "m kard, čē ka-m gēhān dād, a-m mēzd-ē D.47  
 be kard; ka-m gyān ō gayōmard dād, a-m mēzd-ē  
 be kard; ka tō, zardušt, az mād zād hē,  
 a-m mēzd-ē be kard; ka-t dēn az man be padīrift,  
 a-m mēzd-ē be kard." mēzd ēdōn sāhīg [kū] mardōmān harw D.47/48  
 kār ud dādestān ī frārōnīhā frāz kunēnd, a-šān pad bun  
 mēzd-ē be kunišn.  
 (3) čē paydāg kū mēzd-ē pad sē mard, a-s  
 bēwar frawahr ī ašōwān be awiš rasēnd.

7. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK g'y'wmlt.



- (4) zltwhst' ZNH pwrst' MN 'whrmzd' YK myzd-I BR' 'L<sup>8</sup>  
 yzd'n YXMTWNyt' '-s<sup>9</sup> dhsk' MH
- (5) W 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 'ywk' dhsk' 'MT' w'l'n' 'p'yt'  
BYN myzd w'l'n YXWWNyt
- (6) 'Ps ZNHc dhsk'-XD 'MT' 'LHs'n' MNW myzd hm'y 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 'Ps'n' L'YN \*'n'styh<sup>10</sup> bwt' \*'styt' BYN myzd 'styh BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>
- (7) 'Ps ZNHc dhsk'-XD 'MT' GBR' ZY nywk' ZY ŠPYL ZY 'lc'nyk  
 MNW PWN myzd L' \*KRYTWNt<sup>11</sup> YK'YMWNyt' hmhw'st' BR' 'L ZK  
 myzd YXMTWNyt' 'Ps BR' MKBLWNd<sup>12</sup> 'Ps nywk' YXSNNd

- (4) zardušt ēn pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "mēzd-ē be ō  
 yazdān rasēd, a-s daxšag čē?" D.48
- (5) ud ohrmazd guft kū: "ēwag daxšag, ka wārān abāyēd,  
 andar mēzd wārān bawēd.
- (6) "u-s ēn-iz daxšag-ēw, ka awēšān kē mēzd hamē kunēnd,  
 u-sān pēs \*anāstīh būd estēd, andar mēzd āstīh be kunēnd.
- (7) "u-s ēn-iz daxšag-ēw; ka mard ī nēk, ī weh ī arzānīg,  
 kē pad mēzd nē \*xwand ēstēd, hamxwāst be ō hān  
 mēzd rasēd, u-s be padīrēnd u-s nēk dārēnd."

8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '- ' YXMTWNyt' '- '.

10. M.'s emendation; MSS 'n'styh-I. 11. M.'s emendation;  
 BK 'nKRYTWNd; MR<sub>1</sub> KRTWNd; J KRYTWNd. 12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MKBLWNx<sub>2</sub>.

- (8) 'Ps ZNHc pwr̄sy't' 'YK myzd ZY BR' 'L ŠDY'n' YXMTWNyt'  
'-s<sup>13</sup> dhsk MH
- (9) 'Ps gwpt' 'YK 'bl ZY h'mwn ZY w'l'n' BYN 'p'yt' \*wlwck<sup>14</sup>  
'BYDWNyt' 'ywk' LWTH TWB kwhssn' W k'lyc'l BYN myzd 'BYDWNd  
'NŠWT' ZY SLY' BYN myzd YXMTWNd W hm'y 'MT 'ytwn' YXWWNyt'  
myzd' BR' 'L ŠDY'n' mt' YXWWNyt'

- (8) u-s ēn-iz pursīd kū: "mēzd ī be ō dēwān rasēd, D.49  
a-s daxšag čē?"
- (9) u-s guft kū: "abr ī hāmōn ī wārān andar abāyēd, \*wirōzag  
kuñed; ēwag abāg did kōxšišn ud kārezār andar mēzd kunēnd;  
mardōm ī wad andar mēzd rasēnd. ud hamē ka ēdōn bawēd,  
mezd be ō dēwān mad bawēd".

13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Ps. 14. BK wyl ykš; MR<sub>1</sub>, J wwylykyh; M. reads  
[uδ] vēr [uδ] say.

- (1) BB' ZNH 'YK 'pwl'n'dyk' ZY 7<sup>1</sup> s'lk' yst' L'  
 'p'yt' krtn' ZK ZY 8 s'lk' KN 'p'yt' krtn'
- (2) NYŠH MNWs yst' krt' YK'YMWNyt' '-s<sup>2</sup> hwlsyt'  
 W 'ths ZY wlhl'n nyd'dšn' L' 'p'yt' krtn' 'Ps'n'  
 'wstwplyt' L' 'p'yt' ystn' W 'ŠTHNtn' 'Ps'n' yčšn' ZY  
 PWN zwhl L' 'p'yt' krtn' XN' l'd MHS'n BR' 'L  
 gwmbt' L' ŠBKWNsn' 'Ps'n' g's'nb'l KN 'p'yt' ystn'  
 'Ps'n' \*lpytpyn'<sup>3</sup> 'MT BYN hm'y YDBXWNd  
 'p'yt' ystn' 'L bylwn p'ths' XWH'd 'MT' L'  
 'ZLWNd KR' ZK myzd<sup>4</sup> MNWs 'pryng'n' pt-s  
 'p'yt' gwptn' PWN pyšg'syh' L' YXSNNd<sup>5</sup> ZNH cygwn

- (1) dar ēn: kū aburnāyag ī haft sālāg yašt nē D.49  
 abāyēd kardan; hān ī hašt sālāg ōh abāyēd kardan.
- (2) zan kē-s yašt kard ēstēd, a-s xwaršēd  
 ud ātaxš ī warhrān niyāyišn nē abāyēd kardan, u-šān  
 ustōfrīt nē abāyēd yaštan ud xwardan, u-šān yazišn ī  
 pad zōhr nē abāyēd kardan, ēd rāy čē-šān be ō  
 gumbad nē hilišn; u-šān gāhānbār ōh abāyēd yaštan, D.49/50  
 u-šān \*rapihwin, ka andar hamē yazēnd,  
 abāyēd yaštan ō bērōn, padixšā hēnd ka nō  
 sawēnd; harw hān mēzd kē-s āfrīnagān pad-iš  
 abāyēd guftan, pad pēšgāhīhā nē dārēnd, ēn čiyōn

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 6. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '2'. 3. M.'s emendation;  
 BK 'lptpyn' (Misprint in D. 'lptpt'); MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'lpytpkyn'.  
 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J my'zd. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J YXSNNd.

g's'n'b'l W nwkn'b<sup>6</sup>l W s'lyk'n' W plwltyk'n' W  
'wstwplyt

b ZNHc 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt' 'YKm 'L  
GBR'- 'n W 'L NYŠH- 'n'<sup>7</sup> KR' 2 plmwt' 'YK yst'  
BR' 'BYDWNyt' 'YK BR' 'L GBR'- 'n XN' l'd MH  
NYŠH'n' 'XL MN 15 ŠNT' swd \*'XDWNtn'<sup>8</sup> ŠPYL  
MDMHNyt' 'YK w'ck' \*KRYTWNtn'<sup>9</sup> W yst' krtn' MH L'  
'YŠ MN 'NSWT'- 'n' 'hlwb' W glwtm'nyk L' YXWWNyt  
MNWš g's'n'<sup>10</sup> L' wlm<sup>11</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'hlwb' zltwhst'  
BR' ZK 'NSWT' MNW PWN yst' krtn' 'wn's W  
MND'M BR' YXBWNyt' W YMRRWNyt' 'YK L l'd

gāhānbar ud nōg-nābar ud sālīgān ud frawardīgān ud  
ustōfrīt.

D.50

b ēn-iz ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft kū: 'm ō  
mardān ud ō zanān harw dō framūd, kū: 'yašt  
be kunēd!' kū be ō mardān, ēd rāy cē  
zanān pas az pānzdah sāl sōy \*griftan weh  
sahēd kū wāzag \*xwāndan ud yašt kardan; cē nē  
kas az mardōmān ahlaw ud garōdmānīg nē bawēd  
kē-š gāhān nē warm kard, ahlaw zardušt,  
bē hān mardōm kē pad yašt kardan awināh, ud  
cis be dahēd, ud gōwēd kū: 'man rāy

6. M.'s emendation; BK nwkn''bl; MR<sub>1</sub>, J nwkn'ybl. 7. BK adds hwk'.

8. MSS krtn', probably an error ('BYDWN ~ 'XDWN) for griftan.

9. MSS PLXWNtn i.e. xwastan "to trample", an obvious mistake for xwāndan "to recite". 10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK g'y'n. 11. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> 'LH.

- c yst' BR' 'BYDWNyt' ZK yst' gytydy KN hlyt KRYTWNd  
 BB' ZNH 'YK 'MT ŠLYT'-'n' W \*twb'n<sup>12</sup> hwt'y'n'  
 'NSWT' 'k'mk'wmnd PWN k'l ZY \*hw'st'lyh<sup>13</sup>  
 BYDWNd 'MT' ZK k'l ZY hw'st'lyh 'BYDWNd  
 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> ŠPYL 'ywp 'MT str' W zmyk BR'  
 ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub> W BR' 'ZLWNd W l'st' 'YK MND'M-I  
 skrypt' MNW hcdl dst' ZY p'ths''n k'l ZY  
 hw'st'lyh 'BYDWNyt'
- d (1) BR' MN 'pst'k' pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L  
 zltwhst' 'ytwn' gwpt' 'YK ycsn' ZY 'LH 'YŠ  
 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> ZY 'MT \*'BYDWNyt'<sup>14</sup> 'pygwm'n XWH'ydy 'YK BR' ['L]

- yašt be kunēd"; hān yašt'gētīg ōh xrīd'xwanēnd. D.50
- c dar ēn: kū ka pādixšāyān ud \*tuwān xwadāyān D.51  
 mardōm akāmagōmand pad kār ī \*xwāstārīh  
 kunēnd, ka hān kār ī xwāstārīh kunēnd,  
 kardan weh, ayāb ka šahr ud zamīg be  
 hilēnd ud be šawēnd, ud rāst kū čis-ē  
 skeft kā azēr dast ī padixšā[y]ān kār ī  
 xwāstārīh kunēd.
- d (1) be az abestāg paydāg kū ohrmazd be ō  
 zardušt ēdōn guft kū: "yazišn ī ōy kas  
 kunēd, ī ka \*kunēd, abēgumān hē kū be ō

12. M's emendation; MSS 'wb'n. 13. BK hwstb'lyh;  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J hwstwb'lyh. 14. MSS 'BYDWNd.

whst' YXMTWNYdy

- (2) zltwhst' gwpt' kt'l ZK ycsn'
- (3) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ycsn' ZY d't'l 'whrmzd 'BYDWNyt  
MH PWN ZNH KR' 'YŠ hmd'tst'n' 'YK ycsn' ZY  
d't'l 'whrmzd KN 'p'yt krtn'
- (4) W p'hlyc ZY gwspnd'n' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> MH \*'MT<sup>15</sup> lwb'n'  
l'd L' hmd'tst'n 'DYNc tn' l'd hmd'tst'n' MH  
pyt'k' 'YK 'MT gwspnd'n' PWN MY' W w'stl ŠLYT'  
MN gwspnd hwlšn' W wstlg YXWWNyt'
- (5) W y'tkgwb'yh ZY dlgs'n' 'BYDWNyt' MH PWN  
XN' KR' 'YŠ hmd'tst'n' 'YK y'tkgwb'yh ZY

wahišt rasē."

D.51

- (2) zardušt guft: "kadār hān yazišn?"
- (3) ohrmazd guft kū: "yazišn ī dādār ohrmazd kunēd,  
čē pad ēn harw kas hamdādestān, kū yazišn ī  
dādār ohrmazd ōh abāyēd kardan.
- (4) ud pahrēz ī gōspandān kunēd, čē \*ka ruwān  
rāy nē hamdādestān, ēg-iz tan rāy hamdādestān;  
paydāg kū ka gōspandān pad āb ud wāstar pādixšāy,  
az gōspand xwarišn ud wastarag bawēd.
- (5) ud jādaggōwih ī driyōšān kunēd, čē pad  
ēd harw kas hamdādestān, kū jādaggōwih ī

D.52

dlgws'n' <sup>16</sup> 'p'yt' krtn' W MND'M BR' 'L dstwbl'n  
 YXBWNtn' MH PWN XN' KR' 'YŠ hmd'tst'n 'YK  
 MND'M BR' 'L dstwbl'n 'p'yt<sup>16</sup> k'l W d'tst'n ZY  
 ms-swtyh' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>

(6) MH PWN XN' KR,<sup>17</sup> 'YŠ hmd'tst'n' 'YK ms-d'tst'nyh  
 KR' 'YŠ KN 'p'yt' nkylytn'

(7) 'MT GBR' MNWs<sup>18</sup> PWN sthm 'BYDWNd gyw'k BR' ŠBKWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 W BR' 'ZLWNyt W dwsp'ths',<sup>19</sup> k'l ZY \*'LH<sup>20</sup> 'YŠ plm'dynd  
 ['YK] 'LH<sup>21</sup> 'YŠ MNWs MN ZK ZY 'LH kwnšn'  
 str' W zmyk \*'wyl'nyh<sup>22</sup> W 'NSWT'- 'n lys W zyd'n'  
 PWN hw'stk' YXWWNyt' ZK GBR' MNW<sup>23</sup> ZK str'

driyōšān abāyēd kardan ud čiš be o dastwarān  
 dādan, čē pad ēd harw kas hamdādestān kū  
 čiš be o dastwarān abāyēd; kār ud dādestān  
 meh-sūdīhā kunēnd.

D.52

(6) čē pad ēd harw kas hamdādestān, kū hamdādestān kū meh-dādestānīh  
 harw kas ōh abāyēd nigerīdan.

(7) ka mard kē-š pad stahm kunēnd, gyāg be hilēd  
 ud be šawēd, ud dušpādixša[y]ān kar ī \*ōy kas framāyēnd  
 [kū]: "ōy kas kē-š az hān ī ōy kunišn  
 šahr ud zamīg \*awērānīh, ud mardōmān rēš, ud ziyān  
 pad xwāstag bawēd, hān mard kē hān šahr

16. These twenty words are lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 17. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK k'l.

18. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'MT's. 19. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dwsp'ths'n. 20. MSS 'L.

21. M.'s reading; BK 'LH 'L; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'L 'L. 22. MSS 'w'yl'nyh.

23. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MN.

- W zmyk BR' ŠBKWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'MTs str' W zmyk L'  
 ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub> XWHydy krtn' ZY<sup>24</sup> ZK k'l l'd 'LH  
 ZK lys W zyd'n W 'wyl'nyh PWN str' W zmyk' W  
 'NSWT'-'n' L' twb'n' YXWWNt' XWHydy krtn' W 'LH  
 PWN k'm-wc'l 'MTs bym MN mlgyh L'YT' ZK  
 k'l W d'tst'n L' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> '-s<sup>25</sup> lys' W zyd'n ZY  
 'NSWT'-'n' ZY BYN<sup>26</sup> ZK str' 'L bwn YXWWNyt'  
 (8) MHs ms-d'tst'nyh<sup>27</sup> 'p'yt'<sup>28</sup> nkyltyn' MH 'whrmzd  
 W 'mhrspnd'n ms-d'tst'nyh<sup>29</sup> nkylynd<sup>30</sup> W \*YD'YTWNd<sup>31</sup>  
 \*YK<sup>32</sup> PWN ms-d'tst'nyh swt' ZY gyh'n l'd ZK MND'M  
 'BYDWNd<sup>33</sup> MNWs [swd ZY] 'NSWT'-'n' hc-s YXWWNyt

ud zamīg be hilēd"; ud ka-s šahr ud zamīg nē

D.52

hišt hē kardan ī hān kār rāy, ōy

hān rēs ud zyān ud awērānīh pad šahr ud zamīg ud

mardōmān nē tuwān būd hē kardan; ud ōy

D.52/53

pad kām-wizār, ka-s bīm az margīh nēst, hān

kār ud dādestān nē kunēd, a-s rēs ud zyān ī

mardōman ī andar hān šahr ō bun bawēd.

- (8) čē-s meh-dādestānīh abāyēd nigērīdan, čē ohrmazd  
 ud amahraspandān meh-dādestānīh nigērēnd, ud \*dānēnd  
 kū pad meh-dādestānīh sūd ī gēhān rāy hān čis  
 kunēnd, kē-s sūd ī mardōmān az-iš bawēd.

24. MSS have also 'LH. 25. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 26. Lacking in BK.

27. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK d'tst'n. 28. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'p'dst'. 29. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK d'tst'ngyh. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK nkylyn'd. 31. M.'s emendation;  
 BK, J YXWWNyt'; MR<sub>1</sub> YXWWNt'. 32. M.'s emendation; MSS 'MT.

33. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>.



- (9) MH w'l'n 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> W KBD mltwm PWN w'l'n  
 YMYTWNyt' KBD 'NSWT' lwt' BR' YBLWNd KBD  
 'NSWT' PWN MY' YMYTWNyt'<sup>34</sup> W 'XLc XN' l'd  
 \*,YK<sup>35</sup> w'l'n' krtn' swt'wmndtl 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n'  
 krtn' ZY w'l'n l'd 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n' LWTH  
 'hlmn' W ŠDY'n' kwhššn' W k'lyc'l km L' 'BYDWNd
- (10) MN 'pst'k pyt'k' 'YK 'MT 'n'yl dšwmn' Y'TWNd W  
 PWN str' ZY 'yl'n' wltk' W zyd'n' ZY KBD  
 YCBHNd krtn' W 'ltyst'l 'LHs'n L'WXL d'stn' l'd BR'  
 \*,L<sup>36</sup> 'LHs'n 'ZLWNyt' KBD \*YXWWNd<sup>37</sup> MNW<sup>38</sup> 'ltyst'l  
 KBD YKTLWNd W 'XLc ms-d'tst'nyh l'd 'n'yl BR'

- (9) čē wārān kunēnd, ud was mardōm pad wārān  
 mīrēd, was mardōm rōd be barēnd, was  
 mardōm pad āb mīrēd, ud pas-iz ēd rāy  
 \*kū wārān kardan sudōmandtar, ohrmazd ud amahraspandān  
 -kardan ī wārān rāy ohrmazd ud amahraspandān abāg  
 ahreman ud dēwān kōxšišn ud kārezar kam nē kunēnd.

D.53

- (10) az abestāg paydāg kū ka anēr dušmen āyēnd, ud  
 pad sahr ī ērān wardag ud zyān ī was  
 kāmēnd kardan, ud artēštār awēšān abāz dāstan rāy be  
 \*ō awēšān sawēd, was \*bawēnd kē artēštār  
 was ōzanēnd, ud pas-iz, meh-dādestānīh rāy, anēr be

D.54

34. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YMYTWNt'. 35. MSS 'MT'. 36. MSS wl.  
 37. MSS YXWWNyt'. 38. MSS 'MT'.

- Y'TWNd W 'ths ZY wlhl'n' W GBR' ZY 'hlwb'  
 BR' YKTLWNd W PWN 'yl'n' str' wltk' W zyd'n  
 'BYDWNd<sup>33</sup> 'ltyst'l MNW<sup>39</sup> ZK k'lyc'l BR' L' 'BYDWNyt'  
 W 'LYKWNyt' mlg'lc'n ZK MNW 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Ps BYN  
 k'lyc'l BR' YKTLWNd 'hlwb' YXWWNyt'  
 (11) ZNH ms-d'tst'nyh \*MNWc<sup>40</sup> GBR' 'p'yt' nkylytn'  
 'MTs 'n'yl dwšmn PWN str' \*gwm'lt<sup>41</sup> 'Ps PWN str'  
 zyd'n' W wšwpšn' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Ps BNPSH bym ZY<sup>42</sup>  
 mlgyh L'YT' W str' PWN dwšmn BR' ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub> W BR'  
 'ZLWNyt' 'LH L'WXL d'stn' twb'n' W PWN 'ths ZY wlhl'n'  
 W GBR' ZY 'hlwb' W gwspnd'n W MY' W 'wlwl zyd'n'

āyēnd ud ātaxš ī warhrān ud mard ī ahlaw

D.54

be ōzanēnd, ud pad ērān šahr wardag ud zyān  
 kunēnd, artēštār kē hān kārēzār be nē kunēd  
 ud wirēzēd margarzān; hān kē kunēd, u-š andar  
 kārēzār be ōzanēnd, ahlaw bawēd.

- (11) ēn meh-dādestānīh, kē—z mard abāyēd nigērīdan,  
 ka-š anēr dušmen pad šahr \*gumārd, u-š pad šahr  
 zyān ud wišōbišn kunēd, u-š xwad bīm ī  
 margīh nēst, ud šahr pad dušmen be hilēd ud be  
 šawēd, ōy abāz dāstan tuwān, ud pad ātaxš ī warhrān  
 ud mard ī ahlaw ud gōspandān ud āb ud urwar zyān

33. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>.

39. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;

BK MN. 40. M.'s emendation; MSS MNc. 41. M.'s emendation;

BK gwm'lynd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J gwm'lytn'. 42. BK has mlg'lc'n after ZY.

- YXWNYt' ZK GBR' twcšn' 'p'yt' krt'n' 'Pm XN'  
 l'd gwpt' 'YK 'MTs bym ZY mlg'yh L'YT'  
 L,<sup>43</sup> p'ths' BR' 'MT' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 (12) MN<sup>44</sup> 'pst'k' pyt'k' 'YK GBR' ZY str' 'MTs  
 BNPSH pšyc'-XD zyd'n' ZY 'YŠ-'n' 1,000<sup>45</sup>,  
 p'ths' 'MT hdyb'lyh L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'MTs BNPSH  
 swt' W 'NSWT'-'n' bym-\*XD<sup>46</sup> PWN tn' wl'wmnd [L' p'ths']  
 BR' 'MT hw'stk' BR' YXBWNYt' W 'LHŠ'n' \*hdyb'l'wmndyh<sup>47</sup>  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>48</sup> W 'MTs bym-\*XD<sup>46</sup> PWN tn' wl'wmnd  
 W 'YŠ-'n' bym-\*XD<sup>46</sup> PWN tn' 'ywl L' p'ths' BR'  
 'MT BNPSH tn' 'psp'lyt' ['YK] 'LHŠ'n' hdyb'l'wmndyh

bawēd, hān mard tōzišn abāyēd kardan; u-m ēd

D.54

rāy guft kū,ka-s bīm ī margīh nēst, a

nē padixsā bē ka kunēd.

- (12) az ābestāg paydāg kū mard ī šahr ka-s

D.55

xwad pašiz-ēw, zyān ī kasān hazār, a

padixsā ka hayyārīh nē kunēd; ka-s xwad

sūd, ud mardōmān bīm-\*ēw pad tan warōmand, [nē padixsā]

bē ka xwāstāg be dahēd ud awēšān \*hayyārōmandīh

kunēd; ud ka-s bīm-\*ēw pad tan warōmand,

ud kasān bīm-\*ēw pad tan ēwar, nē pādixsā bē

ka xwad tan abespārēd [kū] "awēšān hayyārōmandīh

43. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK l'd. 44. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MH. 45. MSS y' 1,000.

46. MSS bym ZY. 47. D.'s emendation; BK hdyb'lyh mnd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J

hdyb'l'wmnd. 48. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'BYDWNd.

- 'BYDWNm 'MTs bym\*-XD<sup>46</sup> PWN mlgyl 'ywl W 'YŠ-'n-c  
 bym\*-XD<sup>46</sup> PWN mlgyl 'ywl p'ths,<sup>49</sup> 'MT L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 (13) W pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd 'MT 'NSWT'- 'n ZY PWN  
 ZNH 'wb'm BR' 'L 'wb'm ZY 'ytwn' skrypt'  
 \*blyhyny<sup>50</sup> W YXBWNt' ' plw'hl ZY 'NSWT'- 'n' ZY  
 PWN ZNH 'wb'm PWN glcšn' pyš 'whrmzd ZY  
 hwt'y YK'YMWN't' XWH'd  
 (14) 'whrmzd ZY hwt'y 'LHs'n' plw'hl PWN ZNH<sup>51</sup> 2  
 MND'M hwnsnd<sup>52</sup> krt' XWH'd 'ywk' ZK 'MT-s  
 gwpt' 'YK krpk' MNW LKWM 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> '-t'n mzd  
 W p'td'sn' wys YXBWNm W 'ywk' ZK 'MT gwpt'

kunēm"; ka-s bīm-<sup>\*</sup>ēw pad margīh ēwar, ud kasān-iz  
 bīm-<sup>\*</sup>ēw pad margīh ēwar, pādixšā ka nē kunēd.

D.55

- (13) ud paydāg kū ohrmazd ka mardōmān ī pad  
 ēn āwām be ō āwām ī ēdōn škeft  
 \*brēhēnīd ud dād, a frawahr ī mardōmān ī  
 pad ēn āwām pad garzišn pēs ohrmazd ī  
 xwadāy ēstād hēnd.  
 (14) ohrmazd ī xwadāy awēsān frawahr pad ēn dō  
 čis hunsand kard hēnd: ēwag hān,ka-s  
 guft kū: "kirbag kē ašmā kunēd, a-tān mizd  
 ud pādāšn wēs dahēm",ud ēwag hān,ka guft

49. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J 'p'thwhs'. 50. MSS bl'hyny<sup>t</sup>. 51. Lacking in BK.

52. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hwnsnd.

'YKt'n GBR' ZK BR' \*blyhynm<sup>53</sup> PWN ZK  
 g's MNW LKWM MN ZK 'n'kyh BR' bwcyt'  
 'LH 'MTs yzd'n' ZK ZY 'p'y<sup>54</sup> pt-s pyt'k'  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'MT tn' MN ZK k'l BR' YBLWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 PWN ZK MND'M wn'sk'l YXWNYt MH plw'hl  
ZY 'LHs'n' 'NSWT'- 'n' PWN ZK cym hwnsnd  
 bwt' XWH'd 'MT 'whrmzd 'ytwn' gwpt'

kū: "-tān mard hān be \*brēhēnēm pad hān  
 gāh kē ašmā az hān ānāgīh be bōzēd;  
 ōy ka-s yazdān hān ī abayēd pad-iš paydāg  
 kard, ka tan az hān kār be barēd,  
 pad hān čiš wināhgār bawēd";čē frawahr  
 ī awēšān mardōmān pad hān čim hunsand  
 būd hēnd, ka ohrmazd ēdōn guft.

D.56

53. BK bl'hnm; MR<sub>1</sub>, J bl'hynm. 54. MSS 'p'dst'.

- a (1) BB' ZNH 'YK 'lc'wmdyh ZY 'thš ZY wlhl'n  
 YTYBWNst[n]' l'd gyw'k'-XD pyt'k' 'YK zltwhst' MN  
 'whrmzd pwrst' 'YK gyh'n ŠPYL 'ywp 'thš ZY wlhl'n  
 (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 'thš ZY wlhl'n ŠPYL 'YK gyh'n  
 (3) zltwhst' pwrst' 'YK MH l'd  
 (4) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK PWN ZNH cym l'd MH XT 'thš  
ZY wlhl'n' L' bwt XWH't' gyh'n wyn'lt'n' L' YXWWNt'<sup>1</sup>  
 XWHydy W gyw'k'-XD<sup>2</sup> pyt'k' 'YK zltwhst' BR' 'L wst'sp' ZY  
 MLK'-'n-šh gwpt' 'YK PWN KR' g's W 'DN' 'thš ZY  
 wlhl'n YTYBWN MN 'thš ZY wlhl'n' nš'stn' NPSH tn'

- a (1) dar ēn: kū arzōmandīh ī ātaxš ī warahrān  
 nišāstan rāy, gyāg-ēw paydāg kū zarduxšt az  
 ohrmazd pursīd kū: "gēhān weh ayāb ātaxš ī warahrān?"  
 (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "ātaxš ī warahrān weh kū gēhān".  
 (3) zarduxšt pursīd kū: "čē rāy?"  
 (4) ohrmazd guft kū: "pad ēn čim rāy čē agar ātaxš  
 ī warahrān nē būd hād, gēhān winārdan nē būd  
 hē." ud gyāg-ēw paydāg kū zarduxšt be ō wištāsp ī  
 sāhān-sāh guft kū: "pad harw gāh ud zamān ātaxš ī  
 warahrān nišān, az ātaxš ī warahrān nišāstan xwēš tan

D.56

D.56/57

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWNyt'. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; XD lacking in BK.

- L'WXL 'L YXSNN MH hkwlc' zywndk BYN gyh'n' L'  
 KTLWNt' XWHydy L' MNW pthyw' W twb'ngl  
 W L' MNW PWN swt' swt'-hw'st'l 'MTm 'ths ZY wlhl'n  
 L' YXBWNt' XWHydy MH 'ths ZY wlhl'n l'd 'MT  
 PWN LYLY' <sup>3</sup>\*Y'TWNt' W \*'ZLWNt'<sup>3</sup> s'yt' 'ths ZY  
 wlhl'n' l'd 'MT' 'ldswng BYN h'nk' m'hm'nyh YXWWNyt  
 b ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK cygwn <sup>1</sup>by'sp'n[n] \*lssn \*'lwnd<sup>1</sup>  
 yzd'n-c lssn' 'L m'n ZY 'ths ZY wlhl'n'  
 c (1) 'ths ZY wlhl'n 'ytwn' 'pd PWN PRG-LYLY'  
 'MT BR' 'plweynd 'hlmn BR' MXYTWNyt' W hwnwsk'n'  
 ZY 'hlmn' W \*ysk<sup>1</sup> ZY 9 W 90<sup>2</sup> W 900 W 9,000 W

abāz ma dār, cē hagrīz zīndag andar gēhān nē

D.57

mānd hē, nē kē padēx ud tuwāngar

ud nē kē pad sūd sūd-xwāstār —ka-m ātaxs ī warahrān

nē dād hē, cē ātaxs ī warahrān rāy ka

pad sab \*āmad ud \*sūd sāyēd, ātaxs ī

warahrān rāy ka ardišwang andar xānag mehmānīh bawēd".

- b ēn-iz paydāg kū cīyōn bayāspān[ān] \*rasišn \*arwand,

yazdān-iz rasišn ō mān ī ātaxs ī warahrān

- c (1) ātaxs ī warahrān ēdōn abd, pad nēm-sab

ka be abrōzēnd, ahreman be zanēd, ud hunuṣagān

ī ahreman ud yask ī nō ud nawad ud nō sad ud nō hazār ud

D.57/58

### 3. MSS Y'TWNyt' W 'ZLWNyt'.

1. M.'s reading; BK by'sp'n 'wlyšn 'L wwwd; MR<sub>1</sub> by'sp 'ww'n 'wlyšn'  
 'L wwwd; J by'sp 'ww'n ls'n' 'L wwwd.

1. BK sy'k; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'sk. 2. BK, J hwnwsk; MR<sub>1</sub> hwnsk a corruption of  
 the figures for 90 presumably under the influence of the earlier  
 hwnwsk'n'.

9 bywl BR' MXYITWNyt'

- (2) 'MT bwd<sup>3</sup> 'L 'ths XNXTWNd MN ZK kwstk' 'YK  
w't' Y'TWNyt' ZK 'ths ZY wlhl'n'<sup>4</sup> 1,000 ŠDY'  
BR' MXYITWNyt' <sup>4</sup> W 2 'nd y'twk' W plyk
- (3) W 'MT L' PWN nym-LYLY' 'plwcynd 1,000 ŠDY' BR'  
MXYITWNyt' W 2 'nd y'twk' W plyk
- (4) W 'tlwk'<sup>5</sup> 'MT PWN nym-LYLY' 'plwcynd 1,000 ŠDY'  
BR' MXYITWNyt' W 2 'nd y'twk' W plyk
- (5) W 'MT L' PWN nym-LYLY' 'plwcynd tm<sup>6</sup> W t'lykyh  
PSKWNYt' W km BR' 'BYDWNyt'

d (1) gyw'k'-XD pyt'k' 'YK 'ths 'ytwm' 'lc'wmnd

nō bēwar be zanēd.

D.58

- (2) ka bōy ō ātaxš nihēnd az hān kustag kū  
wād āyēd, hān ātaxš ī warahrān [hazār dēw  
be zanēd] ud dō and jādūg ud parīg.
- (3) ud ka nē pad nēm-šab abrōzēnd, hazār dēw be  
zanēd ud dō and jādūg ud parīg.
- (4) ud ādurōg ka pad nēm-šab abrōzēnd, hazār dēw  
be zanēd ud dō and jādūg ud parīg.
- (5) ud ka nē pad nēm-šab abrōzēnd, tom ud tārīgīh  
brīnēd ud kam be kunēd.
- d (1) gyāg-ēw paydāg kū ātaxš ēdōn arzōmand

3. So MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK BR'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also L'L'. 4. D.'s restoration, from §3; after wlhl'n' MR<sub>1</sub> has also 'L gyh'n W mynwg'n'; J has 'L gyh'n myng'n'. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'tlwk'. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J twm.



- 'whrmzd<sup>1</sup> ZK ZY 'thš tn' W XY,<sup>2</sup> MN w'lwmm  
 W \*mynšn<sup>3</sup> ZY NPSH' BR' blyhyny't' 'Ps bl'h W GDH  
 MN lwsn'yh<sup>4</sup> ZY 'sl<sup>5</sup>-lwsnyh BR' blyhyny't'  
 (2) 'Ps PWN<sup>6</sup> 5 BR' krt' 'ywk' ZK ZY BYN glwtm'n  
 pyš BNPSH swcyt' 'Ps gwh'l ZY 'NŠWT'- 'n' pt-š ŠPYL 'BYDWNyt'  
 W 'ywk' ZK ZY-š BYN tn' ZY 'NŠWT'- 'n' BR' YXBWNt'  
 'ywk' ZK MNWS ŠDY' ZY \*spncgl<sup>7</sup> pt-š MXTWNyt'  
 W 'ywk' ZK ZY-š BYN MY' W 'wlwl BR' YXBWNt'  
 'ywk' ZK ZY-š BR',<sup>8</sup> 'L gytyg YCBHNst' YXBWNt'  
 (3) pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd LWTH 'mhrspnd'n' hncmn<sup>9</sup> krt'

ohrmazd hān ī ātaxš tan ud gyān az wārom

D.58

ud \*mēnišn ī xwēš be brēhēnīd, u-š brāh ud xwarrah  
 az rōšnīh ī asar-rōšnīh be brēhēnīd.

- (2) u-š pad panj be kard. ēwag hān ī andar garōdmān  
 pēš xwad sōzēd, u-š gōhar ī mardōmān pad-iš weh kunēd;  
 ud ēwag hān ī-š andar tan ī mardōmān be dād;  
 ēwag hān kē-š dēw ī \*spanjagr pad-iš zanēd;  
 ud ēwag hān ī-š andar āb ud urwar be dād;  
 ēwag hān ī-š be ō gētīg kāmīst dād.

D.58/59

- (3) paydāg kū ohrmazd abāg amahraspandān hanjaman kard

1. The phrase tn' ZY 'NŠWT'- 'n W follows in MSS but these words seem to be interpolated and confuse the meaning of the sentence.

2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; y'n'. 3. MSS mwnšn'. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK lwšnyyh.

5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'slyh. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK BR'. 7. MSS spncldw'k'.

8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK BYN. 9. MSS hncmn'k (dittography for initial k of krt' following).

W 'thš-c PWN hncmn' bwt'

- (4) 'Ps L'YN' 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n' sl BR' nkwn krt' W gldst'
- (5) 'mhrspnd'n pyl'mwn<sup>10</sup> 'thš ns('st' XWHd 'Ps'n' gldst'
- (6) 'MTš XZYTWNt' 'YK 'mhrspnd'n-c \*gldynd<sup>11</sup> L'YN' 'whrmzd  
BR' \*'st't' W gldst'
- (7) 'Ps BR' 'L 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK LK hw'pl<sup>12</sup> BR' 'ZLWNydy  
MN ZNH gyh'n ZY 'n'kyh'wmnd BR' 'L glwtm'n ZY  
'pytyd'lk' W L LTMH BR' ŠBKWNydy
- (8) 'Pm PWN 'p'lw n blšnyh YBLWNx<sub>2</sub> BYN m'n ZY  
'NSWT'- 'n' 'MT' ktk'-hwt'y BR' XLMWNYt' '-m PWN srd'lyh

ud ātaxš-iz pad hanjaman būd.

D.59

- (4) u-š pēš ohrmazd ud amahraspandān sar be nigūn kard ud griyist.
- (5) amahraspandān pērāmōn ātaxš nišast hēnd u-šān griyist.
- (6) ka-š dīd kū amahraspandān-iz \*griyēnd, pēš ohrmazd  
be estād ud griyist.
- (7) u-š be ō ohrmazd guft kū: "tō, xwābar, be šawē  
az ēn gēhān ī anāgīhōmand be ō garōdmān ī  
apetyārag, ud man ēdar be hilē.
- (8) "u-m pad abārōn barišnīh barēnd; andar mān ī  
mardōmān, ka kadag-xwadāy be xufsēd, a-m pad sālārīh

10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK pylmn. 11. MSS dl'dynd for gldynd. 12. \*PWN  
added by M.

- dhšn' \*PWN<sup>12</sup> znšn ŠBKWN-x<sub>2</sub> 'Pm 'LHs'n bl'h 'BYDWNd  
 W h'nk' nkylytn' l'd BYN 'L h'nk' YBLWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Pm BR'  
 LMYTW[N]d 'Pm BR' YKTLWNd
- (9) dtygl ZK 'MT' MN ZK gyw'k' 'YK p'hlyc'  
 13 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> \*,-m<sup>14</sup> BR' 'L \*XRN<sup>15</sup> gyw'k YBLWNd 'Pm p'hlyc<sup>13</sup>  
 L' 'BYDWNd W LTMH stlt' 'wptym<sup>16</sup>
- (10) stygl ZK 'MTm yh ZY dlwnd PWN dst'n PWN  
 nzdykyh BR' dwb'lynd W L<sup>17</sup> MN 'LHs'n' yhšn ktk-ms'd  
 gnd \*'wbs \*BR' YXMTWNyt<sup>17</sup> 'Pm wym'lyh YXWWNyt' W lymn'yh  
 'ŠTHNm
- (11) 4 wm ZK 'MTs yh ZY y'twk PWN 'tyst BYN

dahišn, \*pad zanišn hilēnd; u-m awēšān brāh kunēnd, D.59  
 ud xānag nigerīdan rāy andar ō xānag barēnd, u-m be  
 abganēnd u-m be ōzanēnd. D.60

- (9) "dudīgar hān, ka az hān gyāg kū pahrēz  
 kunēnd, \*a-m be ō \*any gyāg barēnd, u-m pahrēz  
 nē kunēnd, ud ēdar stard ōftēm.
- (10) "sidīgar hān,ka-m jeh ī druwand pad daštān pad  
 nazdīkīh be dwārēnd, ud man az awēšān jehišn kadag-masāy  
 gand \*awiš be rasēd, u-m wēmārīh bawēd ud rēmanīh  
 xwarēm.
- (11) "čahārom hān,ka-s jeh ī jādūg pad ādišt andar

13. 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> ... p'hlyc' not in BK. 14. MSS 'Pm. 15. MSS ZK.  
 16. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'wpt'm. 17. MSS have L ... BR' 'wbs YXMTWNyt,  
 which seems an impossible construction.

- ŠBKWNx<sub>1</sub> W wls \*wyl'cynd<sup>18</sup> W \*gys<sup>19</sup> \*'wlwinynd<sup>20</sup> W L ZK ZY  
 'LHs'n wls W lym 'ŠTHNm
- (12) W 5wm ZK 'MT 'pwl'n'dyk' Y'TWNd 'Pm \*hyndkyh<sup>21</sup>  
 W lymnyh 'wbš LMYTWNd W L MN 'LHs'n \*hyndkyh<sup>22</sup>  
 W lymnyh 'ŠTHNm
- (13) 6wm ZK 'MT<sup>23</sup> L \*MN \*'hnl k'l<sup>23</sup> 'ywkšwst' ZY  
 lymn QDM YBLWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Pm w't PWN PWMH' dmynd<sup>24</sup> L' PWN  
 dm W 'hwnsndyh' W L' PWN k'm ZK 'ywkšwst' t'pwm
- (14) 7wm ZK 'MT PWN wl ZY ps'ht 'MTm bwht' W  
 'yl'ht' pyt'k' BR' krt' ywdt-d'tst'n XWH'd 'YKš L'-c  
 PWN cym W d'tst'n krt'

hilēd, ud wars \*wirāzēnd ud \*gēs ōrūnēnd, ud man hān ī D.60  
 awēšān wars ud rēm xwarēm.

- (12) "ud panjom hān, ka aburnāyag āyēnd, u-m \*xīndagīh  
 ud rēmanīh awiš abganēnd, ud man az awēšān \*xīndagīh  
 ud rēmanīh xwarēm.
- (13) "šašom hān, ka \*man \*az \*āhangar kār ayōxsust ī  
 rēman abar barēnd, u-m wād pad dahān damēnd, nē pad  
 dam, ud ahunsandīhā ud nē pad kām hān ayōxsust tābom.
- (14) "haftom hān, ka pad war ī passāxt, ka-m bōxt ud  
 ēraxt paydāg be kard, jud dādestān hēnd, kū: 'š nē-iz D.60/61  
 pad čim ud dādestān kard'.

18. MSS wc'lynd. 19. MSS g's. 20. MSS 'wlwinynd.

21. D.'s emendation; MSS 'ywk'. 22. D.'s emendation; MSS hynyh.

23. Emended so as to be parallel with §15 below; MSS 'MT 'LHs'n  
slwk k'l; M. emends to ka avēšān gulūlgarān "when those armourers".

24. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dm'nd.

- (15) \*8wm 'MTm MN k'l W wlc' BR' YBLWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Pm  
mynwgyh' BR' 'L \*gytydy<sup>25</sup> YBLWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Pm dlwnd'n'  
W 'hlwb'n' hdyb'lyh 'yw'-twm twb'n krt'n'
- (16) 'Pš ZNHc gwpt' 'YK 'whrmzd BR'-m 'L gytydy 'L YXBWN  
PWN gyh'n cygwn stl W m'h W hwlšyt' lwšnyh 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
Lyc PWN tn-XD KN 'BYDWNm
- (17) 'whrmzd 'MTš glcšn' ZY 'thš BR' 'šnwt' YXWNT' '-š<sup>26</sup>  
BR' 'L 'mhrspnd'n gwpt' 'YK 'MT 'thš glcšn' PWN ZNH  
'dwyнк' hm'y 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W L d'm ywdt<sup>27</sup> MN 'thš BR'  
'L gytydy YXBWNT[n]' L' twb'n' cygwn PWN ŠPYL W  
swt'wmndtl d'lyt'

- (15) "haštom ka-m az kār ud warz be barēnd, u-m  
mēnōgīhā be ō \*gētīg barēnd, u-m druwandān  
ud ahlawān hayyārīh ēw-tom tuwān kardan!"
- (16) u-š ēn-iz guft kū: "ohrmazd, be-m ō gētīg ma dah,  
pad gēhān čiyōn star ud māh ud xwaršēd rōšnīh kunēd,  
man-iz pad tan-ēw ōh kunēm."
- (17) ohrmazd ka-š garzišn ī ātaxš be āšnūd būd, a-š  
be ō amahraspandān guft kū: "ka ātaxš garzišn pad ēn  
ēwēnag hamē kunēd, ud man dām jud az ātaxš be  
ō gētīg dād[an] nē tuwān, čiyōn pad weh ud  
sūdōmandtar dārēd —

D.61

25. BK gytygyh'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J gytydyh'. 26. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'.  
27. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.

- (18) 'MT ZNH mwst' W gylk' PWN<sup>28</sup> 'ths BR' ŠBKWNm  
 W d'm BR' 'L gytydy YXBWNm 'ywp' 'ths BR' 'L gytydy  
 L' YXBWNm 'Ps mwst' W gylk' L' YXWNYt MH L [MN] 'ths  
ZNH mwst' W gylk' 'ytwn' twb'n \*YBLWNt<sup>29</sup> 'MTs BR' 'L  
 gytydy L' YXBWNm
- (19) W 'mhrspnd'n gwpt' 'YK 'MT' d'm BR' 'L gytydy YXBWNydy  
 ŠPYL W swt'wmndtl cygwn 'MT 'ths glcšn' L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 W d'm BR' 'L gytydy L' YXBWNydy BR' LK 'whrmzd  
 'ths YNSEWN 'Ps PWN wlhl'nyh BYN m'n YTYBWN  
 \*,ytwn'-s<sup>30</sup> LNH hdyb'l'wmndyh KN 'BYDWNm 'Ps \*,twr<sup>31</sup>  
ZY gwšnsp<sup>32</sup> PWN YDH<sup>33</sup> ZY NPSH \*YNSEWNt<sup>34</sup> 'Ps BYN m'n' [PWN]

- (18) ka ēn must ud gilag pad ātaxš be hilēm, D.61  
 ud dām be ō gētīg dahēm, ayāb ātaxš be ō gētīg  
 nē dahēm, u-š must ud gilag nē bawēd? cē man [az] ātaxš  
 ēn must ud gilag ēdōn tuwān \*burd ka-š be ō  
 gētīg nē dahēm".

- (19) ud amahraspandān guft kū: "ka dām be ō gētīg dahē D.61/62  
 weh ud sūdōmandtar, čiyōn ka ātaxš garzišn nē kunēd  
 ud dām be ō gētīg nē dahē. bē tō, ohrmazd,  
 ātaxš stan u-š pad warahrānīh andar mān nišān;  
 \*ēdōn-iš amāh hayyārōmandīh ōh kunēm". u-š ādur  
 ī gušnasp pad dast ī xwēš \*stad u-š andar mān [pad]

28. BK has also BR'. 29. MSS YBLWNd. 30. MSS have also ZYs.

31. D.'s emendation; MSS 'ytwn'. 32. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gwšsp.

33. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> d'm. 34. MSS YNSEWNm.

- wlhl'nyh YTYBNst' 'Ps 'twr' ZY \*plwbg<sup>35</sup> W ZKc ZY bwlcyn'mtr'  
 PWN \*YDH ZY NPSH<sup>36</sup> BR' YTYBNst' 'Ps 'ywk' 'ywk' 'pryn'  
QDM krt'<sup>37</sup> 'YK lwšnyh ZY d't'l W nywkyh ZY d't'l  
 YXWNYt' BYN m'n ZY NPSH
- (20) 'Ps BR' 'L 'thš gwpt' 'YK PWN 'NSWT'- 'n nywkyh  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> BYN hm'k m'n' W BYN hm'k wys W BYN  
 hm'k znd W BYN hm'k MT' W 'LHš'n LK bwlcynd  
 MNW MY' MNW 'wlwl W MNW 'hlwb'n plw'hl 'MT'  
 zwhl BR' 'L LK YBLWNd W 'MT' '[y]sm pr'c 'L LK  
 YXSNNd hwšk' ZY PWN lwšnyh nkylyt'
- (21) 'XLc 'thš PWN tn' BR' 'L<sup>38</sup> gytydy YXBWnt[n]' BYN L'

warahrānīh nišāst, u-š ādur ī \*farrōbāg ud hān-iz ī burzēnmīhr D.62  
 pad \*dast ī xwēš be nišāst, u-š ēwag ēwag āfrīn  
 abar kard kū: "rōšnīh ī dādār ud nekīh ī dādār  
 bawēd andar mān ī xwēš."

- (20) u-š be ō ātaxš guft kū: "pad mardōmān nekīh  
 kunē, andar hamāg mān ud andar hamāg wis ud andar  
 hamāg zand ud andar hamāg deh; ud awēšān tō burzēnd,  
 kē āb, kē urwar ud kē ahlawān frawahr, ka  
 zōhr be ō tō barēnd, ud ka ēsm frāz ō tō  
 dārēnd, hušk, ī pad rōšnīh nigerīd".
- (21) pas-iz ātaxš pad tan be ō gētīg dād[an] andar nē

35. MSS plwb'. 36. J PWN WYDH NPSH; BK PWN d'tn NPSH; D. reads  
PWN NPSH YDH. 37. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> krtn'. 38. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.

\*'st't' 'Dš 'whrmzd pwst' LWTH BR' krt' 'Ps PWN  
 BB' ZY whst' ŠLYT' BR' krt' 'Ps wzl-XD pr'c 'wbs  
 YXBWnt' 'Ps plmw't' 'YK KR' MNWš LK hc-š L' hwsnwt'  
 XWHydy PWN ZNH \*wzl<sup>39</sup> BR' 'L dšshw LMYTWNyt'

(22) 'Ps 'XL PWN YXBWNtn' 'L gytydy hmd'tst'n' bwt'

e (1) gyw'k'-XD p'yt'k' 'YK 'MT 'thš ZY wlhl'n  
 YTYBWNyt' 'thš ZY 'd'st'l<sup>1</sup> W 'p'hlyc' end wysyst'  
 twb'n \*'-š BR' cynšn'

(2) bwt' dstwbl MNWš 'ytwn' gwpt' 'YK 1,000 W 'ywk'  
 BR' cynšn'

(3) MNW 'thš-I BR' cynyt' W BR' 'L 'twlwk<sup>3</sup> ZY 'thš ZY

estād, tā-š ohrmazd pušt abāg be kard, u-š pad D.62

dar ī wahist pādixšāy be kard; u-š wazr-ēw frāz awiš D.63

dād, u-š framūd, kū: "harw kē-š tō az-iš nē hušnūd  
 hē, pad ēn \*wazr be ō dušox abganēd!"

(22) u-š pas pad dādan ō gētīg hamdādestān bud.

e (1) gyāg-ē paydāg kū: "ka ātaxš ī warahrān  
 nišānēd, ātaxš ī adāstār ud apahrēz čand wēšist  
 tuwān \*a-š be čīnišn".

(2) būd dastwar kē-š ēdōn guft kū: "hazār ud ēwag  
 be čīnišn."

(3) kē ātaxš-ē be čīnēd, ud be ō ādurōg ī ātaxš ī

39. M.'s emendation; MSS wlz.

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'd'st'lyh. 2. MSS '-'. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'twrlk'.



- wlhl'n YBLWN<sub>1</sub> '-s<sup>4</sup> 90<sup>5</sup> krpk'
- (4) MNW PWN swtkyh<sup>6</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt' YXWWNt'<sup>7</sup> dstwbl  
MNWS 'ytwn' gwpt 'YK mlg'lc'n YXWWNyt'
- (5) 'ths ZY wlhl'n XN' 'MT PWN swtkyh<sup>6</sup> W XN'  
'MT PWN nkylšn' W KR' cygwn BR' YKTLWNyt'  
\*'ywlyh',<sup>8</sup> mlg'lc'n YXWWNyt'
- (6) 'MT KN cynyt'<sup>9</sup> nzdst' 'ths ZK 'p'yt cynytn'  
\*ZY-s<sup>10</sup> bym MN ns'y pwhtn'
- (7) W dtygl ZK MNWS \*hyhl<sup>11</sup> pts 'PPWNd
- (8) W stygl ZK MNWS slgyn' ZY \*hyhl'wmnd<sup>12</sup> pts 'PPWNd
- (9) W 4wm ZK MNWS<sup>13</sup> dwsynk' pts 'PPWNd

warhrān barēd, a-s nawad kirbag

D.63

- (4) kē pad sūdaghīh be ōzanēd, būd dastwar  
kē-s ēdōn guft kū: "margarzān bawēd".
- (5) ātaxs ī warhrān ēd ka pad sūdaghīh,ud ēd  
ka pad nigerišn,ud harw čiyōn be ōzanēd,  
\*ēwarīhā margarzān bawēd.
- (6) ka ōh čīnēd, nazdist ātaxs hān abāyēd čīnīdan  
ī-s bīm az nasā pōxtan.
- (7) ud dudīgar hān kē-s \*hixr padis pazēnd.
- (8) ud sidīgar hān kē-s sargēn ī \*hixrōmand padis pazēnd.
- (9) ud čahārom hān kā-s dōsēnag padis pazēnd.

D.64

4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK s'. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK swtwkyh.  
7. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWNyt'. 8. BK 'ywlyyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J w'ywlyyh.  
9. MSS cynytn'. 10. MSS 'D. 11. MSS 's1. 12. MSS 's1'wmwnd.  
13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'MTs.

- (10) 5wm ZK MNW 'kwl ptš przynd
- (11) 6wm ZK ZY MN zlykl'n
- (12) 7wm 'symgl'n
- (13) 8wm MN cyl'ngl'n
- (14) 9wm MN tnwl
- (15) 10wm MN dyg
- (16) y'cdhwm MN hlbndk'n W \*dhywk'n'n<sup>14</sup>
- (17) 12wm MN pyš mhst'n<sup>15</sup> hwnyd'kgl'n
- (18) 13wm MN 'swb'l'n' TB-n'
- (19) 14wm MN k'l ZY<sup>16</sup> 'p'ryk
- (20) W 'MTš 1,000 W 'ywk' 'thš BR' cynyt' PWN ZK

- (10) pañjom hān kē āgūr paḍiṣ paḇēnd. D.64
- (11) ṣaṣom hān ī az zarrīgarān.
- (12) haftom asēmgarān.
- (13) haṣtom az čēlāngarān.
- (14) nōhom az tanūr.
- (15) dahom az dēg.
- (16) yāzdahom az xarbandagān ud \*dahigānān.
- (17) dwāzdahom az pēš mahistān huniyāgarān.
- (18) sīzdahom az aswārān nēwān.
- (19) čahārdahom az kār ī abārīg.
- (20) ud ka-š hazār ud ēwag ātaxš be čīnēd, pad hān

14. BK dhybndk'n; MR<sub>1</sub> dh'bndk'n': probably both forms are corruptions of dahigānān under the influence of preceding xarbandagān.

15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK mhsyt'n'. 16. MSS BR'.

'DN' PWN wlhl'nyh BR' ŠLYT' YTYBWNst' W 'MT p'hlyc  
 'L 'stwb'n' YXBWNt'<sup>17</sup> KR' g's W g's'nb'l zwhl ZY  
 DKY' BR' twb'n' YXBWNt'

(21) 'Ps p'tlwc' PWN '[y]sm W bwd 'ytwn' twb'n d'stn'  
 ZY-s tn' 'nd 'YT cnd GBR'-I mdy'nk'

(22) 'MT KN YTYBWNyt' 'MTs ZNH hm'k 'ytwn' krtn' L'  
 twb'n' ,<sup>18</sup> L' ŠLYT' YTYBWNst'

(23) 'MT-s mlg'lc'n' krt' \*'styt' ' L' p'ths' ns'st'

(24) 'MT L'YN' 'ths YTYBWNyt' 'XL mlg'lc'n' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 'MTs zywsn' W d'st'lyh L' MN MND'M ZY mlg'lc'n'  
 '-s<sup>19</sup> n'mk'nyh BR' 'p'yt' wstn' W BR' ŠBKWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>20</sup>

zamān pad warhrānīh be pādixsā nišāst, ud ka pahrēz  
 ō āstawān dād, harw gāh ud gāhānbār zōhr ī  
 pāk be tuwān dād.

D.64/65

(21) u-s pādrōz pad ēsm ud bōy ēdōn tuwān dāstan,  
 ī-s tan and ast čand mard-ē mayānag.

(22) ka ōh nišānēd ka-s ēn hamāg ēdōn kardan nē  
 tuwān, a nē padixsā nišāst.

(23) ka-s margarzān kard estēd, a nē padixsā nišāst.

(24) ka pēs ātaxs nišānēd, pas margarzān kunēd,  
 ka-s zīšn ud dāstārīh nē az čis ī margarzān,  
 a-s nāmagānīh be abāyēd wastan ud be hišt.

17. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 18. ' lacking in BK. 19. MSS 'Ps.

20. J; MR<sub>1</sub> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>; BK ŠBKWNd.

- f (1) W py<sup>t</sup>'k 'YK 'thš 'ytwn' 'lc'wmnd 'whrmzd BR' 'L  
 zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK lwb'n<sup>1</sup> ZK ZY MNW ŠPYL MDMHNyt 'MT  
 BR' XZYTW[N]ydy
- (2) W zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK ZK ZY<sup>2</sup> klyš[']sp
- (3) 'whrmzd lwb'n' ZY klyš[']sp B'YXWNst' W lwb'n ZY klyš[']sp  
 XZYTWNt' 'n'kyh ZY-s BYN dšhw XZYTWNt' YK'YMWN't l'd BR' 'L  
 zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK k'c L<sup>3</sup> hylpt'-I bwt XWH'm \*YKm<sup>4</sup> twb'n-XD  
 PWN pwst' XWHydy zywsn B'YXWNst[n]' l'd PWN gyh'n hm'y  
 SGYTWNt XWHm W gyh'n' L zyst' PWN cšm bwt' XWHydy W gyh'n<sup>5\*</sup> MN  
 \*wlc ZY L<sup>5</sup> tlyst XWHydy

- f (1) ud paydāg kū ātaxš ēdōn arzōmand, ohrmazd be ō D.65  
 zarduxšt guft kū: "ruwān hān ī kē weh sahēd ka  
 be wēnē?"
- (2) ud zarduxšt guft kū: "hān ī krisš[asp]". D.66
- (3) ohrmazd ruwān ī krisš[asp] xwāst, ud ruwān ī krisš[asp]  
 dīd; anāgīh ī-s andar dušox dīd ēstād rāy be ō  
 zarduxšt guft kū: "kāč man hērbad-ē būd hēm kū-m tuwān-ēw  
 pad pušt hē. zīšn xwāst[an] rāy pad gēhān hamē  
 raft hēm, ud gēhan man zīšt pad čašm būd hē ud gēhān az  
 \*warz ī man tarsīd hē."

1. The gloss kwnšn gyw'k bwd plw'hl 'YT' is added mechanically after the word lwb'n (kwnšn is lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J; gyw'k is surely a mistake for XY' ~ gyān); see Comm. 18.n.35. 2. BK has also MNW. 3. D.'s reading; see Comm. 18.n.38. 4. MSS MNWm.  
 5. Nyb.'s emendation; BK, W have MNW LB ZY L; MR<sub>1</sub>, J MN lzwł; see Comm. 18.f. .

- (4) W 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK BR' YK'YMWN lwb'n ZY klys'sp'  
 MHm zyst' PWN csm XWHydy Mht 'ths ZY L BRH YKTLWNt'  
 'Pt' p'hlyc' L' krt'
- (5) W lwb'n ZY klys'sp' gwpt' 'YKm BR' 'mwlc 'whrmzd  
 'Pm ZK ZY p'swm 'hw'n YXBWN 'Pm glwtm'n BR' YXBWN  
 'c' ZY slwwbl BR' 'wct' ZY 'sp-'wp'l ZY GBR'- 'wp'l 'Ps  
 dnd'n 'nd cnd b'cwk' ZY L YXWWNt 'Ps gws 'nd cnd  
 l4 nmt' YXWWNt' 'Ps \*'s<sup>6</sup> 'nd cnd wltyn-XD YXWWNt  
 'Ps slwb' 'nd cnd s'k'<sup>7</sup> PWN b'l'd bwt'
- (6) 'Pm cnd \*PWN<sup>8</sup> YWM PWN pwst' hm'y tcyt' XWHm 'Dm sl

- (4) ud ohrmazd guft kū: "be ēst, ruwān ī krišāsp,  
 čē-m zist pad časm hē, čē-t ātaxš ī man pus ōzad,  
 ut pāhrēz nē kard."
- (5) ud ruwān ī krišāsp guft kū: "m be āmurz, ohrmazd,  
 u-m hān ī pāšom axwān dah, u-m garōdmān be dah!  
 az ī sruwar be ōzad, ī asp-ōbār ī mard-ōbar. u-s  
 dandān and čand bāzūg ī man būd, u-s gōš and čand  
 čahārdah namad būd, u-s \*as and čand wardyūn-ēw būd,  
 u-s srū and čand sāk pad bālāy būd.
- (6) "u-m čand \* pad rōz pad pušt hamē tazīd hēm tā-m sar

D.66

D.66/67

6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO '-'. 7. See Comm. 18.n37. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK PRG.

BR' 'L dšt' \*'XDWNt<sup>9</sup> kt'-XD 'L gltn' zt' 'Pm BR'  
YKTLWNt'

- (7) W XTm ZK 'c' L' 'wct'<sup>10</sup> XWHydy '-s<sup>6</sup> hm'k' d'm  
ZY LK 'pshyny't' XWHydy W LK hkwlc c'lk' ZY 'hlmm  
L' YD'YTWNst' XWHydy
- (8) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK BR' YK'YMWn Mht 'ths ZY L BRH 'wct'
- (9) klys'sp' gwpt' 'YK 'whrmzd ZKm p'swm 'hw'n W glwtm'n'  
YXBWN MHm gndlp BR' 'wct'<sup>11</sup> MNWš PWN XD b'l l2  
MT' BR' ywt'
- (10) 'MTm BYN dnd'n ZY gndlp BR' nkylyt' '-s<sup>6</sup> mltwm ZY  
mwltk' BYN dnd'n' 'kwst' \*'st't' 'Ps lys ZY L 'XDWNt

be ō dast grift, gad-ēw ō gardan zad, u-m be  
ōzad.

D.67

- (7) "ud agar-om hān az nē ōzad hē, a-š hamāg dām  
ī tō abesihēnīd hē, ud tō hagrīz čārag ī ahreman  
nē dānist hē."
- (8) ohrmazd guft kū: "be ēst! čē-t ātaxš ī man pus ōzad".
- (9) krišāsp guft kū: "ohrmazd, hān-om pāšom axwān ud garōdmān  
dah, čē-m gandarw be ōzad, kē-š pad ēw bār dwāz dah  
deh be jūd.
- (10) "ka-m andar dandān ī gandarw be nigerīd, a-š mardōm ī  
murdag andar dandān āgust ēstād; u-š rēš ī man grift,

9. Taking krt' (all MSS) as a mistaken reading of earlier \*'XDWNt  
for the identical ideogram 'BYDWNt.

10. MSS

'wcwt'. 11. BK 'wc'.

'Ps BR' zlyh \*kšyt'<sup>12</sup> XWHm 'Pm'n' 9 lwc' sp'n BYN  
 zlyh k'lyc'l d'st' W 'XL L MN gndlp p'tyd'wndtl  
 YXWWNt XWHm

- (11) 'Pm tyh ZY LGLH ZY gndlp' 'XDWNt 'Pm 'D sl clm BR'  
 'hht 'Pm<sup>13</sup> dst' W LGLH ZY gndlp' pts bst' 'Pm zlyh BR'  
 'L b'l \*kšyt'<sup>14</sup> 'Pm BR' 'hlwlg 'psp'lt' 'Pm 15 'sp'  
 kwst' W 'ŠTHNt'

- (12) W PWN 's'yk'<sup>15</sup> ZY stwl BR' hwpt XWHm W gndlp  
 'hlwlg ZY dwst' kšyt' 'Ps<sup>16</sup> XN' ZY L NYŠH kšyt' 'Ps 'B' W  
 d'yk ZY L \*kšyt'<sup>17</sup>

u-š be zrēh \*kešīd hēm, u-mān nō rōz-šabān andar  
 zrēh kārēzār dāšt; ud pas man az gandarw pādyāwandtar  
 būd hēm.

D.67/68

- (11) "u-m teh ī pāy ī gandarw grift, u-m tā sar čarm be  
 āhixt, u-m dast ud pāy ī gandarw padīš bast, u-m zrēh be  
 ō bār \*kešīd, u-m be āxrūrāg abespārd. u-m panzdah asp  
 kušt ud xward.
- (12) "ud pad āsāyag ī stōr be xuft hēm, ud gandarw  
 āxrūrāg ī dōst kešīd, u-š ēd ī man zan kešīd, u-š pid ud  
 dāyag ī man \*kešīd.

12. BK kš'yt'; IO kst'; J kwšyt'; MR<sub>1</sub> kwst'. 13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, W; BK 'Ps.  
 14. BK kš'yt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J kwšyt'; IO kst'. 15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J (Nyb.'s reading);  
 BK 'yšk'; West reads aīsakō (wēšag?) "dense thicket". 16. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK, IO 'Pm. 17. Nyb.'s emendation; MSS kwšyt'.

- (13) W hm'k 'NSWT' <sup>18</sup>L MN <sup>18</sup>hwlm \*gwhl'ynyt' <sup>19</sup>XWHm W 'hst'  
 XWH'm W KR' g'm 1,000 g'm BR' yst' XWHm W ZK  
 ZY MN LGLH' ZY L BR' yst' KR' MHS ptkpt' '-s' <sup>20</sup>'ths BYN  
 'wpst' BR' 'L zlyh 'ZLWNt' XWH'm 'Pm 'LHS'n L'WXL  
 [Y]XYTYWNt XWHd 'Pm gndlp 'XDWNt' W 'wct'
- (14) XTm BR' L' 'wct' XWHydy 'hlmn' QDM d'm ZY LK  
 p'ths' bwt' XWHydy
- (15) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK BR' YK'YMWn MHm zyšt' PWN  
 cšm [XWHydy] Mht 'ths ZY L BRH 'wct'

- (13) "ud hamāg mardōm man az xwarm \*guhrāyēnīd hēm, ud āxist D.68  
 hēm ud harw gām hazār gām be ʔast hēm, ud hān  
 ī az pāy ī man be ʔast harw čē-s pahikaft a-s ātaxš andar  
 ōbast. be ō zrēh šud hēm u-m awēšān abāz  
 āwurd hēnd, u-m gandarw grift ud ōzad. D.69
- (14) "agar-om be nē ōzad hē, ahreman abar dām ī tō  
 pādixšā būd hē."
- (15) ohrmazd guft kū: "be ēst, čē-m zišt pad  
 čašm [hē], čē-t ātaxš ī man pus ōzad."

18. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO LNH. 19. MSS gwh'l'ynyt'. 20. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK, IO '-'.



- (16) klys'sp' gwpt' 'YK 'whrmzd whst' W glwtm'n' BR' YXBWN MHm  
 l'sd'l YKTLWNt'<sup>21</sup> XWHm MNW PWN tn' 'ytwm LB' bwt'<sup>22</sup> XWH'd  
 'MT hm'y SGYTWNt' XWH'd 'NSWT'-n PWN XN' d'st' 'YKs'n  
 hcdl stl<sup>23</sup> W m'h 'Ps'n' hcdl 'ws hwlsyt' SGYTWNyt' 'Ps'n  
 MY' ZY zlyh 'D 'L snwk<sup>24</sup> YXWwNyt'  
 (17) 'Ps'n L 'D 'L zng bwt' XWHm 'Pm <sup>25</sup>PWN zng<sup>25</sup> BR'  
 MXYTWNT XWHd 'LHs'n' 'wpst' XWH'd 'Ps'n kwp' ZY PWN  
zmyk sk'st'  
 (18) W XTm 'LHs'n' 'wpst'n' l'sd'l L' 'wct' XWH'd 'hlmm

- (16) krišāsp guft kū: "ohrmazd wahišt ud garōdmān be dah, čē-m D.69  
 rāhdār ōzad hēm, kē pad tān ēdōn wuzurg būd hēnd  
 ka hamē raft hēnd, mardōmān pad ēd dāst kū-sān  
 azēr star ud māh, u-sān azēr ōš xwarsēd rawēd, u-sān  
 āb ī zrēh tā ō snūg bawēd.  
 (17) u-sān man tā ō zang būd hēm, u-m pad zang be  
 zad hēnd, awēšān ōbast hēnd u-sān kōf ī pad  
 zamīg skāst.  
 (18) ud agar-om awēšān ōbastān rāhdār nē ōzad hēnd, ahreman

21. BK SGYTWNt'. 22. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO BR'. 23. J; other MSS  
stwl. 24. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO d'nk. 25. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO prznd.

- QDM d'm ZY LK p'ths' bwt' XWHydy
- (19) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK BR' YK'YMWN MHm zyst' PWN csm  
XWHydy Mht' 'ths ZY L BRH 'wct'
- (20) klys'sp' gwpt 'YK 'whrmzd whst-m W glwtm'n BR' YXBWN  
'MTm w't' lht' 'Pm stwb' krt' ŠDY'n' w't' BR' plypt' 'Ps'n BR'  
'L<sup>26</sup> w't' gwpt' 'YK MN KR' d'm-dhšn' LK' p'tyd'wndtl '-s<sup>27</sup>  
'ytn' \*mynyt<sup>28</sup> 'YK 'YŠ MN L p'tyd'wndtl L'YT' klys'sp' QDM  
ZNH zmyk SGYTWNyt W ŠDY'n' W 'NSWT'-'n tl mynyt'  
W LKyc MNW w't'<sup>29</sup> XWHydy '-t' tl \*mynyt'<sup>30</sup>

abar dām ī tō pādixšā būd hē".

D.69

- (19) ohrmazd guft kū: "be ēst, čē-m zišt pad čašm

D.70

hē, čē-t ātaxš ī man pus ōzad."

- (20) krisāsp guft kū: "ohrmazd, wahišt-om ud garōdmān be dah,  
ka-m wād raxt u-m stō kart. dēwān wād be frēft, u-šān be  
ō wād guft kū: 'az harw dām-dahišn, tō pādyāwandtar ;a-s  
ēdōn \*mēnēd kū: 'kas az man pādyāwandtar nēst! krisāsp abar  
ēn zamīg rawēd ud dēwan ud mardōmān tar mēned,  
ud tō-iz kē wād hē, a-t tar \*mēned'.

26. Lacking in BK, IO. 27. J; MR<sub>1</sub> dwš; BK, IO w'h. 28. MSS  
myn[w]gyh. 29. BK '-t'. 30. MSS mynwyt.

- (21) w't' 'MTs ZK shwn 'snwt 'ytwn' s'ht' BR' SGYTWNt'  
 \*,-s<sup>31</sup> hm'k d'l W dlht' ZYs QDM l's bwt' XPLWNt'  
 'Ps hm'k zmyk' ZY-s QDM l's bwt' '-s<sup>32</sup> \*pyr'wnyhyt<sup>33</sup> krt'  
 W t'lykyh BR' \*,'st't'
- (22) W 'MT 'L L mt' MNW klys'sp' XWHm '-s<sup>32</sup> LGLH ZY L<sup>34</sup>  
 MN zmyk' QDM d'stn' L' twb'n' bwt' W L 'hst' XWHm  
 'Pm PWN zmyk BR' YXBWNt' 'Ps PWN KR' 2 LGLH<sup>35</sup> PWN  
 mls \*,'st't' XWHm 'Ds pst'-XD<sup>36</sup> BR' krt' 'YK L'WXL 'L

- (21) "wād ka-s hān saxwan āšnūd, ēdōn saxt bē raft D.70  
 \*ā-s hamāg dār ud draxt ī-s abar rāh būd kand,  
 u-s hamāg zamīg ī-s abar rāh būd a-s \*pērāwanīhīd kard,  
 ud tārīgīh be estād.
- (22) "ud ka ō man mad kē krisāsp hēm, a-s pāy ī man  
 az zamīg abar dāstan nē tuwān būd ud man āxist hēm  
 u-m pad zamīg be dād, u-s pad harw dō pāy pad D.70/71  
 marš estād hēm, tā-s pašt-ēw be kard kū: 'abāz ō

31. MSS ZYs. 32. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO '-'. 33. BK, W, with Nyb.'s reading (see gloss. below); MR<sub>1</sub>, J pyr'wyhyt'; alternative hypothetical reading of the whole doubtful phrase 'Ps hm'k zmyk' ZYs QDM l's bwt' \*,'swpt' [W] \*hngyht' krt'' "and by it all the ground which was in its path was \*disturbed and \*stirred up". 34. Lacking in BK. 35. BR LYLY'. 36. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO pwst'-XD.

- hcdl zmyk 'ZLWNm ZK ZY 'whrmzd plmwt' 'YK  
zmyk W 'sm'n YXSNN 'BYDWNm '-m BR' L' ŠBKWN-x<sub>1</sub>  
 (23) W XTm ZK MND'M L' krt' XWHydy 'hlmn' QDM d'm  
ZY LK p'ths'd YXWWNt' XWHydy  
 (24) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK BR' YK'YMWN MHm zyst' PWN čsm  
 XWHydy MHt 'ths ZY L BRH MXYTWNt'<sup>37</sup>  
 (25) klys'sp' gwpt' 'YK 'whrmzd whšt' W glwtm'n BR' YXBWN  
 MH MN dyn' 'ytn' pyt'k' 'YK 'MT dh'k' MN bnd  
 l'hyt'<sup>38</sup> '-s<sup>39</sup> c'lk' BR' L \*,'yny',<sup>40</sup> 'YŠ B'YXWNst' L' twb'n'  
 ZK cym l'd '-m whšt' W glwtm'n BR' YXBWN  
 (26) W XTm whšt' W glwtm'n L' s'yt' YXBWNt' '-m

azēr zamīg šawēm; hān ī ohrmazd framūd, kū,

D.71

zamīg ud āsmān dār! kunēm a-m be nē hilēm?

- (23) "ud agar-om hān čiš nē kard hē, ahreman abar dām  
 ī tō pādixšāy būd hē".  
 (24) ohrmazd guft kū: "be ēst, čē-m zišt pad časm  
 hē, čē-t ātaxš ī man pūs zad".  
 (25) krisāsp guft kū: "ohrmazd, wahišt ud garōdmān be dah,  
 čē az dēn ēdōn paydāg kū ka dahāg az band  
 rahēd, a-s čārag bē man enyā kas xwāst nē tuwān;  
 hān čim rāy a-m wahišt ud garōdmān be dah.  
 (26) "ud agar-om wahišt ud garōdmān nē šāyēd dād, a-m

37. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MXYTWNyt'; IO MXYTWN. 38. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, IO l'yhyt'.

39. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO '-'. 40. MSS 'XRN.

'm'wndyh W pylwcklyh ZYm BYN zywndkyh bwt'  
 '-m L'WXL YXBWN MH 'MTm ZK 'ytwn' 'm'wndyh W  
 pylwcglyh ZY 'MT zywndk' \*YXWWNt'<sup>41</sup> XWHm '-m YXWWNt'  
 L'WXL YXBWNydy 'hlmm' LWTH ŠDY'n' BR' YKTLWNm  
 t'lykyh MN dwshw' XPLWNm nywkww W lwsn' BR'  
 'BYDWNm 'Ps \*tnyh,<sup>42</sup> BYN KN YTYBWNm<sup>43</sup> W BYN KN  
 SGYTWNm<sup>44</sup>

- (27) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK XN'-t L' YXBWNm lwb'n ZY klys'sp MH  
 'NSWT'-'n wn's 'BYDWN-x<sub>2</sub>W 'D 'MT 'NSWT'-'n \*'yny,<sup>45</sup> wn's  
 L' 'BYDWNd LK zywndk' L'WXL L' s'yt' krtn' W 'p'ryk-c  
 'NSWT' L'WXL zywndk' L' \*s'yt'<sup>46</sup> krtn' MH lyst'hyc' 'ytwn

amāwandīh ud pērōzgarīh ī-m andar zīndagīh būd

D. 71

a-m abāz dah; čē ka-m hān ēdōn amāwandīh ud

pērōzgarīh ī ka zīndag \*būd hēm a-m būd

D. 71/72

abāz dahē, ahreman abāg dēwān be ōzanēm,

tārīgīh az dušox kanēm, nēkōg, ud rōšn be

kunēm, u-s \*tanīhā andar ōh nišīnēm ud andar ōh

rawēm."

- (27) ohrmazd guft kū: "ēd-it nē dahēm, ruwān ī krisāsp, čē  
 mardōmān wināh kunēnd, ud tā ka mardōmān \*ēnyā wināh  
 nē kunēnd, tō zīndag abāz nē šāyēd kardan, ud abārīg-iz  
 mardōm abāz zīndag nē \*šāyēd kardan; čē ristāxēz ēdōn

41. MSS YXBWNt'. 42. MSS tnXD (cf. Sd.Bd. 20.48 va tanhā dar  
 ānṣā benišīnam). 43. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO YTYBWNyt. 44. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK, IO SGYTWNyt. 45. MSS h'n. 46. D.'s emendation; MSS ŠDY'.

- k[w]n[y]nd<sup>47</sup> 'MT hm'k 'NSWT' 'wn's BR' YXWWNd  
 (28) 'NSWT' 'MT BR' YMYTWNd 'Ps'n' lwb'n' dlwnd '-s'n  
 hm'k 's'nyh ŠBKWN-x<sub>2</sub> 'Ps'n hm'k 'n'kyh W dwšhw'lyh  
 'BYDWNT YXWWNyt  
 (29) 'MT klys'sp' krt'lyh ZY NPSH PWN ZNH 'dwynt' gwpt'  
 YXWWNt' yzd'n ZY mynwg'n' W yzd'n ZY gtytg'n'  
 BR' gldst' XWHd W zltwhst' ZY spyt'm'n BR' gldst' W gwpt'  
 'YK 'MT L' plypt'l XWHydy L plypt'l PWN csm  
 XWHydy 'whrmzd BYN lwb'n ZY klys'sp' MH 'MT'  
 klys'sp' PWN tn' 'wmnd W y'n'wmnd L' YXWWNt'<sup>48</sup> XWHydy  
 MND'Mc ZY d'm ZY LK PWN gtydy \*'stsn L' bwt' XWHydy

k[u]n[ē]nd ka hamāg mardōm awināh be bawēnd.

D. 72

- (28) "mardōm ka be mīrēnd, u-sān ruwān druwand, a-sān  
 hamāg āsānīh hilēnd, u-sān hamāg anāgīh ud dušxwārīh  
 kard bawēd."

- (29) ka krišāsp kardārīh ī xwēš pad ēn ēwēnag guft  
 būd, yazdān ī mēnōgān ud yazdān ī gētīgān  
 be griyist hēnd, ud zarduxst ī spitāmān be griyist, ud guft  
 kū: "ka nē frēftār hē, man frēftār pad čašm  
 hē, ohrmazd, andar ruwān ī krišāsp, čē ka  
 krišāsp pad tanōmand ud gyānōmand nē būd hē,  
 čiš-iz ī dām ī tō pad gētīg estišn nē būd hē."

D. 73

47. BK krt' 'D. 48. BK YXWWNyt.

- (30) 'MT zltwhst' h'mws \*L'WXL<sup>49</sup> \*,'st't' 'ths BR' 'L  
LGLH \*,'st't' 'Ps wn'sk'lyh ZY klys'sp'<sup>50</sup> BYN \*BNPŠH<sup>51</sup> BR'  
gwpt' 'Ps gwpt' 'YKs L BR' 'L<sup>52</sup> whst' L' ŠBKWNm
- (31) W 'ths ZNH 'nd gwbsn' gwpt' BR' YK'YMN't' W  
gws'wlwn yzdt' BR' 'L LGLH \*,'st't' 'Ps gwpt' 'YK L BR'  
'L dwshw' L' ŠBKWNm MHS PWN L nywkyh KBD krt
- (32) gws'wlwn ZNH 'nd MRY' gwpt' BR' \*,'st't' W zltwhst' BR'  
'L LGLH \*,'st't' 'Ps BR' 'L 'ths nm'c bwt' 'Ps gwpt' 'YK  
p'hlyc' ZY LK 'BYDWNm W krt'lyh ZY LK BYN gyh'n BR'  
YMRWNm W 'L wst'sp W y'm'sp' BR' YMR[R]WNm 'YK  
BR' nkylt' 'YK 'ths cygwn \*,'kynyh'<sup>53</sup> krt' 'MT' klys'sp'<sup>54</sup>

- (30) ka zarduxst xāmōs abāz būd estād, ātaxs be ō  
pāy estād, u-s wināhgārīh ī krišāsp andar \*xwad be  
guft, u-s guft kū: "-s man be ō wahišt nē hilēm."
- (31) ud ātaxs ēn and gōwišn guft be ēstād, ud  
gōšūrwān yazd be ō pāy estād u-s guft kū: "man be  
ō dušox nē hilēm, čē-s pad man nekīh was kard."
- (32) gōšurwān ēn and saxwān guft be estād, ud zarduxst be  
ō pāy estād, u-s be ō ātaxs namāz burd, u-s guft kū:  
"pahrēz ī tō kunēm, ud kardārīh ī tō andar gēhān be  
gōwēm, ud ō wištāsp ud jamāsp be gōwēm kū:  
'be nigerēd kū ātaxs čiyōn \*akēnīhā kard ka krišāsp

D.73

D.73/74

49. MSS LWTH. 50. IO; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> klyssp; J kylyssp'. 51. MSS  
NPŠH. 52. Lacking in BK, IO. 53. Nyb.'s emendation; BK  
'knyn'yh'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'kyn'yh'. 54. IO; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J klyssp.

PWN ptyt BR' krt' 'Ps BR' 'mwlcyt'

- (33) zltwhst' pwsyt' MN 'whrmzd 'YK nzdyst'-lsyt

ZK MNW \*wl'cyh<sup>55</sup>

- (34) W 'whrmzd gwpt 'YK<sup>56</sup> ZK ZY klys'sp'

- (35) W zltwhst' gl'n' MDMHNyst' 'Ps BR' 'L 'whrmzd  
gwpt' 'YK<sup>56a</sup> 'MT klys'sp' k'l 'NSWT'-YKTLWNt' bwt'

MH l'd nhwst'-lsyt' ZK 'LH 'BYDWNydy

- (36) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YKt gl'n 'L MDMHNyt' zltw[h]st'

MH 'MT klys'sp'<sup>57</sup> L' bwt' XWHydy 'Ps ZNH 'nd k'l

L' krt' XWHydy ZY gwpt' \*,st't' L' LK W L'

\*,yc<sup>58</sup> d'm ZY L<sup>59</sup> \*,stsn' L' bwt' XWHydy

pad patēt be kard u-š be āmurzīd."

D. 74

- (33) zarduxst pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "nazdist-rasīd

hān kē \*wirāzēh?"

- (34) ud ohrmazd guft kū: "hān ī krišāsp."

- (35) ud zarduxst garān sahist, u-š be ō ohrmazd

guft kū: "ka krišāsp kār mardōm-ōzad būd,

čē rāy naxust-rasīd hān ōy kunē?"

- (36) ohrmazd guft kū: "t garān ma sahēd, zarduxst,

čē ka krišāsp nē būd hē, u-š ēn and kār

nē kard hē ī guft estād, nē tō ud nē

\*ēč dām ī man estišn nē būd hē."

55. MSS wl'cyh. 56. MSS have also 'MT' (D. emends to MNW).

Then the next thirteen words are lacking in BK (i.e. to n.56a).

57. MR<sub>1</sub>, IO; BK, J klyšsp. 58. D.'s emendation; MSS 'c'.

59. BK L'.



- g (1) W pyt'k' YXWWNyt' 'YK PWN hwys swtyh 'YŠ  
L' 'wstwb'l
- (2) W pyt'k' YXWWNyt' 'YK wn's ZY hmym'l'n 'MTs hmym'l  
hwsnwt \*'-s<sup>1</sup> wc'lt' YXWWNyt' pyt'k' 'YK \*y<sup>2</sup>zd'n'c<sup>2</sup>  
ms-d'tst'nyh KN nkylynd
- (3) W pyt'k' YXWWNyt' 'YK 'MT' yzdt'-I \*hdyb'l<sup>3</sup> '-s<sup>1</sup>  
BR' 'L dwšhw' L' ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (4) W pyt'k' YXWWNyt' 'YK 'MT-s yzdt'-XD hmym'l '-s<sup>1</sup>  
BR' 'L whst' L' ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (5) 'MT MN 'ths ZY wlhl'n YTYBWNst[n]' GBR' ZNH'  
swt'mndyh XWHydy 'MTs ZK ZY yzdt' hdyb'lyh BR' 'L

g (1) ud paydāg bawēd, kū pad xwēs sūdīh kas  
nē awestwār.

D.75

- (2) ud paydāg bawēd kū wināh ī hamēmālān ka-s hamēmāl  
hušnūd, \*a-s wizārd bawēd; paydāg kū \*yazdān-iz  
meh-dādestānīh ōh nigerēnd.
- (3) ud paydāg bawēd, kū ka yazd-ē hayyār, a-s  
be ō dušox nē hilēnd.
- (4) ud paydāg bawēd kū ka-s yazd-ēw hamēmāl, a-s  
be ō wahišt nē hilēnd.
- (5) ka az ātaxs ī warhrān nišāst[an], mard ēn  
sūdōmandīh hē, ka-s hān ī yazd hayyārīh, be ō

1. BK, IO '-'. 2. MSS yzdt'-c. 3. MSS hdyb'lyh

dwšhw' L' 'ZLWNyt' 'DYN-c'-s 'lc' L' pyt'k'  
 h gyw'k'-XD pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YKm 'ths ZY  
 wlhl'n'<sup>1</sup> '-m<sup>2</sup> 'lc L' gwpt' W XT-s 'lc' YMRRWNm  
 '-s<sup>3</sup> hm'k' 'p'tyh bwn W hm'k 'hl'dyh pyt'kyh<sup>4</sup> bl  
 W hm'k spyn'k mynwg d'm ZY gytydy \* 'st'sn 'lc'

dušox nē šawēd; ēg-iz-iš arz nē paydāg.

D. 75

h gyāg-ēw paydāg kū ohrmazd guft kū: "m ātaxš ī  
 warhrān, a-m arz nē guft; ud agar-iš arz gōwem,  
 a-s hamāg abādīh bun, ud hamāg ahlāyīh paydāgīh bar,  
 ud hamāg spenāg mēnōg dām ī gētīg estišn arz ".

1. The words GBR' ZY hwt'y ZY 'hlwb' follow wlhl'n' in all MSS, but are probably a scribal addition. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO 'Pm.
3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO 'Ps. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO pyt'k.

gyw'k'-XD pyt'k' 'YK ktk'-hwt'y W ktk-b'nwk' 'MT  
BYN h'nk' BR' YMYTWNd LCDr BB' ZY bylwn BR' L' 'p'yt'  
 bwltn' MHS GDH ZY h'nk' LWTH BR' 'ZLWNyt'

gyāg-ēw paydāg kū kadag-xwadāy ud kadag-bānūg ka  
 andar xānag be mīrēnd, tar dar ī bērōn be nē abāyēd  
 burdan, čē-š xwarrah ī xānag abāg be šawēd.

D. 76

- (1) gyw'k'-XD pyt'k' 'YK GBR'-I 'MT BR' KRYTWNyt'  
 'YK XTm ZNH nywkyh YXWWNyt 'wstwplyt'-XD BR' 'BYDWNm  
 ' 'MT'c-s L' YXWWNyt' '-s<sup>1</sup> BR' 'p'yt' krtn' MH yzd'n<sup>2</sup>  
 swt'-dhšn' XWHd L' k'mk'-dhšn' W nylmt' ZY 'NSWT'-n'  
 yzd'n ŠPYL YD'YTWNd
- (2) bwt' dstwbl MNWs 'ytwn' gwpt' 'YK [GBR'-I 'MT BR' KRYTWNyt'  
 'YK]<sup>3</sup> XTm ZNH nywkyh L' YXWWNyt' ' L' 'BYDWNm p'ths' YXWWNyt'  
 'MT L' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (3) 'MTs<sup>4</sup> 'wstwplytk'<sup>5</sup> KRYTWNt' '-s<sup>1</sup> LXM'-yc W XS W spl[h]m  
 W \*st'p<sup>6</sup> W 'ndcnd ZY PWN ZK 'wcynk' BYN 'p'yt' L' p'ths'd  
 BR' 'MT YXBWNyt

- (1) gyāg-ēw paydāg kū mard-ē ka be xwānēd D.76  
 kū: "agar-om ēn nekīh bawēd, ustōfrīt-ēw be kunēm",  
 a ka-iz-is nē bawēd, a-s be abāyēd kardan, cē yazdān  
 sūd-dahišn hēnd, nē kāmag-dahišn, ud nīrmad ī mardōmān  
 yazdān weh dānēnd.
- (2) būd dastwar kē-s ēdōn guft kū [mard-ē ka be xwānēd  
 kū:] "agar-om ēn nekīh nē bawēd, a nē kunēm", pādixsā bawēd  
 ka nē kunēd.
- (3) ka-s ustōfrītag xwand, a-s nān-iz ud māy ud sprahm  
 ud \*sudāb ud and cānd ī pad hān uzēnag andar abāyed, nē pādixsāy D.76/77  
 bē ka dahēd.

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 2. BK has also ZY W after yzd'n. 3. M. adds words in parenthesis. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MNWs. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'wstwplytk'. 6. MSS swdwb, interpreted as sūdāb by D.; M. notes that 'the word is written st'p, PRDd.p.175.2; or styp, GBd.117.16; NirS.f.4Or.11' (ch.20, n.4, p.403).

- (4) W 'MTs'n 'wstwplyt' yst' ZK 'NŠWT' MNWS yst' L' krt' \*,styt'  
 'ywp's dl'd'n' 'ŠTHNt \*,styt' W ZKc MNWS 'plk' L'WXL YXWWNyt  
 L' p'ths' YXBWN't W ZK ZY 'LHŠ'n' 'ŠTHNd 'nd cnd 'ŠTHNd  
 'LH [...]' L' YXWWNyt W ZNH dlwn-yc 'ytwn' YXWWNyt W 'MT  
 'LHŠ'n L' mt' YK'YMWNd BR' 'L KLB' W w'd 'p'yt' YXBWNt'

- (4) ud ka-sān ustōfrit yast, hān mardōm kē-s yast nē kard estēd, D.77  
 ayāb-is drayān xward estēd, ud hān-iz kē-s apparag abāz bawēd  
 nē pādixsā dād; ud hān ī awēsān xwarēnd, and čand xwarēnd,  
 ōy[...] nē bawēd; ud ēn drōn-iz ēdōn bawēd, ud ka  
 awēsān nē mad ēstēnd, be ō sag ud wāy abāyēd dād.

7. Some words seem to be missing.

- a (1) BB'<sup>1</sup> ZNH 'YK [MNW] kwnmlc'-XD BR' YKTLWNyt'  
 '-s<sup>2</sup> tn'pwhl-XD krpk'
- (2) MNW GBR'-I dlwnd ZY mlg'lc'n BR' YKTLWNyt'  
 '-s<sup>2</sup> tn'pwhl-XD krpk'
- (3) MNW m'l-I PWN pl BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s<sup>2</sup> tn'pwhl-XD krpk'
- (4) W MNW wk-XD BYN MY' 'XDWNyt' BR' YKTLWNyt'<sup>3</sup>  
 W MN MY' BR' YXYTYWNyt' '-s<sup>2</sup> tn'pwhl-I krpk'  
 'MT BYN MY' YKTLWNyt' W 1,500 <sup>4</sup>BR' YKTLWNyt' ['-s]  
 tn'pwhl-I [krpk]<sup>4</sup>
- (5) MNW mwlk' BR' YKTLWNyt'<sup>3</sup> ['-s] 90 krpk'

- (1) dar ēn kū [kē] kunmarz-ēw be ōzanēd, D.77  
 a-s tanāpuhl-ēw kirbag.
- (2) kē mard-ē druwand ī margārzān be ōzanēd,  
 a-s tanāpuhl-ēw kirbag.
- (3) kē mār-ē pad parr be ōzanēd, a-s tanāpuhl-ēw kirbag.
- (4) ud kē wak-ē andar āb gīrēd, be ōzanēd  
 ud az āb be āwarēd a-s tanāpuhl-ē kirbag;  
 ka andar āb ōzanēd ud hazār ud panj sad be ōzanēd, [a-s] D.77/78  
 tanāpuhl-I [kirbag].
- (5) kē mōrag be ōzanēd [a-s] nawād kirbag.

1. MSS BB'-I. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 3. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YBLWNyt':  
 4. BK tn'pwhl-I BR' YKTLWNyt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J tn'pwhl-I BR' YBLWNyt'.

- (6) [MNW] m'l-I BR' YKTLWNyt'<sup>3 5</sup> MTs 'pst'k pts<sup>6</sup> YMRWNyt  
 '-s tn'pwhl-XD krpk'<sup>5</sup> MTs 'pst'k' pts L' YMRWNyt<sup>7</sup>
- (7) 'MT 12 BR' YKTLWNyt'<sup>3</sup> '-s tn'pwhl-I krpk'
- (8) \*MT<sup>8 9</sup> gcdwmb' W \*pykwk W \*kšwg W \*tst'kw<sup>9</sup>  
 100 BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s tn'pwhl-XD krpk'
- (9) 'MT p'cwk' ZY \*gwhglt-XD<sup>10</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt' 12 krpk'
- (10) W \*MNW<sup>11</sup> \*hlp'k'-XD<sup>12</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt'<sup>3</sup> '-s XD BYRX<sup>13</sup> dlhn'd  
 yst' ZY \*ms<sup>14</sup> ZY \*slwt' ZY g's'n'<sup>15</sup>

- (6) [kē] mār-ē be ōzanēd, ka-š abestāg padīš gōwēd, D.78  
 a-š tanāpuhl-ēw kirbag; ka-š abestāg padīš nē gōwēd,
- (7) ka dwāzdah be ōzanēd, a-š tanāpuhl-ē kirbag.
- (8) \*ka gazdumb ud \*pēgōg ud \*kašawag ud \*taštākwar  
 sad be ozaned a-š tanapuhl-ēw kirbag
- (9) ka pāzug ī \*gūhgard-ēw be ōzanēd, dwāzdah kirbag.
- (10) ud \*kē \*harbāg-ēw be ōzanēd, a-š ēw māh drahnāy  
 yašt ī \*meh, ī \*srōd ī gāhān.

5. These seven words are lacking in BK. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J QDM.

7. After this BK has 12 tn'pwhl-I krpk' written in a later hand.

8. MSS 'MTs. 9. These words are tentative readings; see Comm. 21

n.6. BK, IO gcdwmb' W wyl W ''lwk' tšn 'ywl 100; MR<sub>1</sub> gcdwbwm W wyl  
W ''lwk' tšn wswl 100; J gcdwbwm W wyl W ''lwk' tšn w'ywl 100.

M. emends to gzdwmb klbyš wzg w kšwk y swl 100 / gazdumb karbiš vazay  
uδ kašūk ī sur sad (p.404, n.1) "100 scorpions, or lizards, or frogs,  
 living in holes". 10. BK gwnd glt'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J gnd gltyn'; M. reads  
gwh wlt'n pazūk ī gūh vardan "the weevil creeping in filth".

11. D.'s emendation; MSS MN. 12. D.'s emendation; MSS sl'p'k'-XD.

13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK byr'y. 14. MSS MY'. 15. D.'s emendation; BK  
slwn g'd'n'; MR<sub>1</sub> wstl g's'n'; J wstlw g's'n'.

- (11) MNW <sup>16\*</sup>klcng ZY dlyd'p<sup>16</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt<sup>3</sup> '-s<sup>17</sup> tn'pwhl-I krpk'
- (12) MNW KLB' [klp]nk-XD<sup>18</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt' \*,-s<sup>19</sup> XD BYRX<sup>13</sup> dlhn'd  
yšt' ZY \*ms<sup>14</sup> ZY slwt' ZY g's'n
- (13) MNW \*kšwk-XD<sup>20</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s tn'pwhl-XD krpk'
- (14) MNW<sup>21</sup> mks<sup>22</sup> ZY \*klm-lyc<sup>23</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s 10 YWM  
yšt' ZY \*ms<sup>14</sup> ZY slwt' ZY g's'n'
- (15) MNW 100 \*ywc<sup>24</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s ŠNT' dlhn'd yšt' ZY \*ms<sup>14</sup>  
ZY slwt' ZY g's'n'
- (16) MNW g[w]lbk'-XD<sup>25</sup> ns'y-\*YBLWN<sup>26</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s krpk'

- (11) kâ \*karzang ī \*drayāb be ōzanēd, a-s tanāpuhl-ē kirbag. D.78
- (12) kē sag [karb]unag-ēw be ōzanēd, a-s ēw mäh drahnāy  
yašt ī \*meh, ī srōd ī gāhān.
- (13) kē \*kašawag-ēw be ōzanēd, a-s tanāpuhl-ēw kirbag. D.78/79
- (14) kē magas ī \*kirm-rēz be ōzanēd, a-s dah rōz  
yašt ī \*meh, ī srōd ī gāhān.
- (15) kē sad \*yōz be ōzanēd, a-s sāl drahnāy yašt ī \*meh,  
ī srōd ī gāhān.
- (16) kē gurbag-ēw nasā-\*bar be ōzanēd a-s kirbag

16. MSS klck' 100 y'k; M. emends to \*xarcang 150; see Comm. n.9.
17. Lacking in BK. 18. BK klb'y nk-XD; MR<sub>1</sub>, J klb' nk-XD.  
M. emends to \*karbūy-ē. 19. M.'s emendation; MSS 'Ps.
20. MSS kswkwy'k; M. emends to \*kasōk-ē. 21. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; Lacking  
in BK. 22. J; BK mws; MR<sub>1</sub> mkyh. 23. M.'s emendation; MSS  
klmlyb. 24. M.'s emendation; MSS ywwc. 25. M. reads garzay-ē.
26. MSS ns'y-PSKWN, i.e. nasā-brīn which could be a mistake for  
nasā-bar; M. emends to garzay-ē \*viš-ašgan.



- 'ytwn' YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs gwlg 4 ZY sgl  
 XWHydy W gwlg ywc' W gwlg sgl 'MT BR' YKTLWNyt'<sup>27</sup>  
 ' 'nd cnd tn'<sup>28</sup> ZY sgl ZY gwl[g]yk<sup>28</sup> sncyt  
 '-s ZK tn'pwhl krpk'  
 (17) W MNW 2 \*s's<sup>29</sup> 'ywp' 2 kdyk<sup>30</sup> BR' YKTLWNyt'<sup>31</sup>  
 '-s XD<sup>32</sup> YWM yst' ZY \*ms<sup>14</sup> ZY slwt' ZY g's'n'  
 b (1) ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK zltwhst' MN 'whrmzd pwrstyt'  
 'YK MN 'hlmn hlpstl'n' MH <sup>1\*</sup>dglndtl PWN \*gyh'n \*zywyt'<sup>1</sup>

ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ka-s gurg čahār ī šagr

D.79

hē; ud gurg yōz ud gurg šagr ka be ōzanēd,

a and čand tan ī šagr ī gur[g]īg sanjēd,

a-s hān tanāpuhl kirbag.

- (17) ud kē dō \*sās ayāb dō kayak be ōzanēd,

a-s ēw rōz yašt ī meh ī srōd ī gāhān.

- b (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū zardušt az ohrmazd pursīd

kū: "az ahreman xrafstarān čē \*dagrandtar pad \*gēhān \*zīwēd?"

27. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK YKTLWNt. 28. M.'s reading; the words ZY sgr ZY gwl[g]yk are misplaced in MSS, following '-s ZK tn'pwhl. 29. M.'s emendation, following D.'s suggestion; MR<sub>1</sub>, J s's; BK yšyh. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gdyg. 31. J; BK YKTLWNt'; MR<sub>1</sub> YBLWNyt'. 32. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK XN'.  
 1. MSS dglwndtl PWN XY' zywstn'.

- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK mwl W m'l W 'LHs'n KR' 'ywk'  
 1'd 1,000 ŠNT' \*zywyt'<sup>2</sup> mwl PWN 1,133 ŠNT'<sup>3</sup>  
 \*QDM<sup>4</sup> m'l pl BR' lwdyt' 'MTs pl BR' lwst' \*YK'YMWNYt<sup>5</sup>  
 'DYN m'l slwb' BR' lwdyt' MN ZK ZY 'hlmn hlpstl  
 w[y]s'wmnd 'ndcnd ['YK 'MT] glck' ZY \*XD<sup>6</sup> 'ngwst' BR'  
 YKTLWNYt' '-s<sup>7</sup> YWM yst' ZY ms ZY slwt' ZY g's'n' YXWWNYt'  
 (3) MNW zwzg'-XD BR' YKTLWNYt'<sup>8</sup> '-s 5 tn'pwhl wn's YXWWNYt  
 (4) MNW 'wdlk-XD 'ywp lwp'h-I BR' YKTLWN'yt  
 'ywp' lswk'-XD '-s 2 tn'pwhl W PRG wn's

- (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "mōr ud mār; ud awēšān harw ēwag D.79  
 rāy, hazār sāl \*ziwēd, mōr pad hazār ud sad ud sīh ud sē sāl.  
 \*abar mār parr be rōyēd; ka-s parr be rōst \*ēstēd, D.80  
 ēg mār srū be rōyēd. az hān ī ahreman xraftsar  
 wišōmand and čand [kū ka] garzag ī \*ēw angust be  
 ōzanēd, a-s rōz yašt ī meh ī srūd ī gāhān bawēd.  
 (3) kē zūzag-ēw be ōzanēd, a-s panj tanāpuhl wināh bawēd.  
 (4) kē udrag-ēw ayāb rōbāh-ē be ōzanēd,  
 ayāb rasūg-ēw, a-s dō tanāpuhl ud nēm wināh.

2. BK zywnd; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub> with previous ten words (in J. they are written on the margin). 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWNt'. 4. MSS L'WXL. 5. MSS YXWWNYt', which M. omits. 6. MSS glck'-XD ZY. 7. IO has also XD. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YKTLWNt.

- (5) MNW KLB'-XD BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s<sup>9</sup> 4 tn'pwhl wn's  
 (6) MNW bplk'-XD 'pyk BR' YKTLWNyt' '-s 150 tn'pwhl wn's

- (5) "kē sag-ēw be ōzanēd, a-s čahār tanāpuhl wināh. D.80  
 (6) "kē babrag-ēw ābīg be ōzanēd, a-s sad ud panjāh tanāpuhl wināh".

9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, IO '-'.

- (1) <sup>1</sup>BB' ZNH<sup>1</sup> 'YK zltwhšt' MN 'whrmzd pwrst' 'YK d'n'k  
W hlwsp'k's XWHydy
- (2) W 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK d'n'g W hlwsp'k's XWHm
- (3) W zltwhšt' gwpt' 'YKt \*d'n'kyh<sup>2</sup> cygwn 'YT'
- (4) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YKm d'n'kyh 'ytwn' 'YT' 'MT hm'k pym  
ZY KR' MND'M BYN 'L y'mk'-XD YNSBWd<sup>3</sup> \*,<sup>4</sup> L 'ywk' 'ywk'  
ywdt'kyh' BR' YD'YTWNm gwpt' 'YK \*MN<sup>5</sup> pyst'n ZY MNW  
W 'MT hm'k MY' ZY PWN gyh'n BYN 'L \*XD<sup>6</sup> gyw'k'

- (1) dar ēn, kū zardušt az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "dānāg ud harwisp-āgāh hē?" D.80
- (2) ud ohrmazd guft kū: "dānāg ud harwisp-āgāh hēm."
- (3) ud zardušt guft kū:—"t dānāgīh čiyōn ast?"
- (4) ohrmazd guft kū: "-m dānāgīh ēdōn ast ka hamāg pēm D.80/81  
ī harw čiš andar ō jāmag-ēw stanēnd, \* a man ēwag ēwag  
judāgīhā be dānēm guft kū \* az pestān ī kē;  
ud ka hamāg āb ī pad gēhān andar ō \* ēw gyāg

1. MSS BB'I ZNH. 2. D.'s emendation; MSS d'n'k ZY. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YNSBWd, which M. reads dwsynd "drawn". 4. M.'s reading; MSS ZY. 5. D.'s reading; MSS MNW. 6. MSS XN'.

ŠBKWN-x<sub>2</sub> L<sup>7</sup> 'ywk' 'ywk' ywdt'k BR' YD'YTWNm<sup>8</sup> gwpt'  
 'YK MN kt'l h'nyk' W 'MT hm'k 'wlwl ZY PWN  
 hm'k gyh'n'<sup>9</sup> hwlt BR' 'ps'lynd 'ywk' 'ywk' L'WXL 'L  
 gyw'k' ZY NPSH YD'YTWNm<sup>8</sup> XNXTWNt'

hilēnd, man ēwag ēwag judāg be dānēm guft

D.81

kū az kadār xānīg; ud ka hamāg urwar ī pad

hamāg gēhān xwurd be afsārēnd, ēwag ēwag abāz ō

gyāg ī xwēs dānēm nihād."

7. IO; lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YD'YTWNm. 9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.

- (1) zltwhst' gwpt'<sup>1</sup> 'YK<sup>1</sup> d't'l hlwsp'<sup>2</sup> 'k's XWHydy W hm'k MND'M  
 \*YD'YTWNydy<sup>3</sup> 'hlwb'n MN gytydy BR' wtylynd lwb'n ZY  
 'LHs'n' 'L 'YK YXMTWNyt
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK <sup>4</sup>LYLY' ZK gyw'k 'YK 'MTs XY'  
 BR' 'ZLWNyt' '-s<sup>5</sup> L'YSH YK'YMWNyt' \*'hlwb lwb'n<sup>\*6</sup>  
 ZK gyw'k<sup>7</sup> YTYBWNyt' wstlg ZY spyt' d'lyt' ZNH shwn'  
 YMRRWNyt 'YK nywk'-m bwt' 'MTm k'l W krpk' krt' XWHydy  
 'whrmzd NPSH XWHm 'Pm PWN k'mk ZY NPSH nywkyh pts<sup>8</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
 (3) 'Ps LYLY' ZY pltwm ZK 'nd nywkyh BR' \*nm'dynd<sup>9</sup> cygwn

- (1) zardušt guft kū: "dādār, harwisp-āgāh hē ud hamāg čis D.81  
 dānē; ahlawān az gētīg be widerēnd, ruwān ī  
 awēšān ō kū rasēd?"
- (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "sē šab hān gyāg kū ka-s gyān  
 be šawēd, a-s sar ēstēd,\*ahlaw ruwān\*  
 hān gyāg nišīnēd, wastarag ī spēd dārēd, ēn saxwan D.82  
 gōwēd kū: 'nēk-om būd ka-m kār ud kirbag kard hē,  
 ohrmazd xwēs hēm, u-m pad kāmag ī xwēs nēkīh pad-is kunēd.'"
 (3) u-s šab ī fradom hān and nēkīh be \*nimāyēnd čiyōn

1. Lacking in BK. 2. J; BK hlwst'; MR<sub>1</sub> h'lwpt'. 3. D.'s suggested emendation; BK YD'YTWD 'h; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YD'YTWNx<sub>2</sub> '-s.  
 4. IO has also YWM; cf. Š19 3 lwc-sp'n. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-.  
 6. MSS 'hlwb'n, presumably a haplography; a singular, not a plural, subject is required. 7. BK repeats last eleven words. 8. BK repeats pts. 9. MSS nm'dyn'd.

- GBR'-I MNW ['D] zywndk YXWWNt<sup>10</sup> '-s<sup>5</sup> BYN gyh'n nywktl YXWWNt'
- (4) LYLY'c ZY dtygl W stygl '-s 'ytwn' YXWWNyt'
- (5) LYLY' ZY stygl PWNc \*g's<sup>11</sup> 'ytwn MDMHNyt cygwn hm'k  
 'wlwl ZY BYN gyh'n' hwbwdtl<sup>12</sup> BR' 'L XN' gyw'k YXYTYWNt XWHydy  
 W BYN ZK spl[h]m ZY hwbwdyh YTYBWNyt' W YMRRWNyt  
 'YK ZNH bwd 'ytwn' hwbwd W 'ytwn' BSYM ZY w't'  
 'L wynyk ZY L \*YXYTWNyt<sup>13</sup> 'Pm hk(w)lc' PWN gtydy  
 hwbwdyh cygwn ZNH L' XZYTWNt'
- (6) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ZK w't' W bwd MN whst' YXYTYWNt'
- (7) 'MT lwb'n' BYN ZK w't' BR' nkylyt' knyck'-XD XZYTWNyt

mard-ē kē [tā] zīndag būd a-s andar gēhān nēktar būd.

D.82

- (4) šab-iz ī dudīgar ud sidīgar a-s ēdōn bawēd.
- (5) šab ī sidīgar, pad-iz \*gāh, ēdōn sahed čiyōn hamāg  
 urwar ī andar gēhān hubōytar be ō ēd gyāg āwurd hē,  
 ud andar hān spra[h]m ī hubōyīh nišīnēd, ud gōwēd  
 kū: "ēn bōy ēdōn hubōy ud ēdōn xwaš ī wād  
 ō wēnīg ī man \*āwarēd, u-m hagrīz pad gētīg  
 hubōyīh čiyōn ēn nē dīd."
- (6) ohrmazd guft kū: "hān wād ud bōy az wahišt āwurd."
- (7) ka ruwān andar hān wād be nigerēd, kanīzag-ēw wēnēd

10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWNyt'. 11. BK, J PWNc g'h; MR<sub>1</sub> PWN c'h.  
 12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hwbdtl. 13. M.'s emendation; MSS YXSNNt.

MNWS<sup>14</sup> hm'k tn'<sup>15</sup> lwšn' 'p'dšnyk' 'Pš klp' 'ytwn' nywkwk  
 ZYš hk(w)lc' MN d'm ZY 'whrmzd tn'-XD [MN] ZK<sup>16</sup> nywkwtl  
 L,<sup>17</sup> XZYTWNt,<sup>18</sup>

- (8) 'Pš pwsyt' 'YK knyck' MNW<sup>19</sup> NPŠH XWHydy  
 (9) knyck' YMRRWNyt' 'YK ywb'n ZY hwm[y]nšn' hwgwbšn'  
 hwkwnšn' L kwnšn' ZY LK XWHm LK NPŠH XWHm  
 (10) W lwb'n YMRRWNyt' 'YK MN krt' ZY MNW LK 'ytwn' ms  
 W ŠPYL W pylwcgl W nywkwk' W 'byš cygwn L MDMHN'yt'  
 (11) knyck' YMRRWNyt' 'YK \*MN<sup>20</sup> krt' ZY LK L 'ytwn' XWHm  
 cygwn LK MDMHN'yt'

kē-š hamāg tan rōšn ud abāyišnīg, u-š kirb ēdōn nēkōg  
 ī-š hagrīz az dām ī ohrmazd tan-ēw [az] hān nēkogtar  
 nē dīd."

D.82/83

- (8) u-š pursēd kū: "kanīzag, kē xwēš hē?"  
 (9) kanīzag gōwēd kū: "juwān ī hum[ē]nišn, hugōwišn  
 hukunišn, man kunišn ī tō hēm, tō xwēš hēm."  
 (10) ud ruwān gōwēd kū: "az kard ī kē tō ēdōn meh  
 ud weh ud pērōzgar ud nēkōg ud abēš, čiyōn man sahed?"  
 (11) kanīzag gōwēd kū: "\*az kard ī tō man ēdōn hēm  
 čiyōn tō sahed.

14. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'MTs. 15. BK has lwbšn' lwšn after tn'.  
 16. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ZYs. 17. IO; lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 18. IO;  
 BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J XZYTWNyt. 19. J; BK et al. MN. 20. D.'s emendation;  
 MSS MNW.



- (12) 'MT<sup>21</sup> LK 'LH XZYTWnt' MNWš ŠDY'-yckyh<sup>22</sup> krt'  
 'Ps \*k'mk<sup>23</sup> ZY dwst'n L' \*hnc'pt'<sup>24</sup> 'Ps BB' BYN bst  
 'Ps MND'Mc BR' L' YXBWnt' ' LK YTYBWNst' XWHydy  
 'Pt' yčšn' krt' 'Pt' GBR' ZY 'hlwb' MND'M YXBWnt' MNW  
 MN nzydyk' W MNW [MN] dwl mt' W L nywkww YXWWnt' XWHm  
 'Pt'<sup>25</sup> nywktl BR' krt' XWHm 'p'dšnyk YXWWnt' XWHm  
 'Pt' 'p'dšnyktl BR' krt' XWHm PWN k'l W krpk' ZY LK  
 krt' 'D tn' ZY psyn' ['MT] 'NŠWT'-'n BYN gytydy  
 yčšn' ZY 'whrmzd 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> L YWM YWM nywk'tl YXWWNyt'  
 (13) lwb'n pltwm g'm ZY pr'c XNXTWNyt ZK gyw'k 'YK  
 stl PWN hwmt' BR' XNXTWNyt' dtygl g'm ZK gyw'k 'YK

- (12) "ka tō ōy dīd kē-š dēw-ēzagīh kard  
 u-š \*kāmag ī dōstān nē \*hanjāft, u-š dar andar bast  
 u-š čiš-iz be nē dād, a tō nišast hē  
 u-t yazišn kard, u-t mard ī ahlaw čiš dād kē  
 az nazdīk ud kē [az] dūr mad, ud man nēkōg būd hēm,  
 u-t nēktar be kard hēm, abāyišnīg būd hēm  
 u-t abāyišnīgtar be kard hēm pad kār ud kirbag ī tō  
 kard. tā tan ī pasēn, [ka] mardōmān andar gētīg  
 yazišn ī ohrmazd kunēnd, man rōz rōz nēktar bawēd."

D.83

D.83/84

- (13) ruwān fradom gām ī frāz nihēd hān gyāg kū  
 star, pad humat, be nihēd, dudīgar gām hān gyāg kū

21. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 22. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ŠDY'yckh. 23. MSS k'm'k. 24. M.'s emendation; BK hnc't; MR<sub>1</sub> htwh't; BK has also XT'. 25. M.'s reading; BK, J QDM 'Pt; MR<sub>1</sub> MH 'Pt.

- m'h PWN hwht'<sup>26</sup> BR' XNXTWNyt' stygl g'm ZK gyw'k 'YK  
 hwlsyt' PWN hwwlst'<sup>27</sup> BR' XNXTWNyt' W lwm g'm BYN  
 glwtm'n ZY lwsn' BR' XNXTWNyt
- (14) W lwb'n ZY 'hlwb'n ZY \*L'YN<sup>28</sup> MN<sup>29</sup> 'LH MN gytydy  
 BR' 'ZLWNt'<sup>30</sup> XWHd W BYN glwtm'n XWH'd '-s bwd ZY BSYM  
 'L ptylk \*YXYTYWNd<sup>31</sup> W YMRRWNd 'YK drwst' Y'TWNt' XWHydy  
 W ŠPYL Y'TWNt' XWHydy MN gytydy ZY \*'n'kyh'wmnd<sup>32</sup>  
 ZY \*pytyd'lk'wmnd<sup>33</sup> 'L ZNH gyw'k ZY 'n'n'kyh ZY 'pytyd'lk'  
 W \*dglnd<sup>34</sup> 'DN' LK nywk' YXWWNyt
- (15) 'whrmzd YMRRWNyt 'YKs MRY' hc-s 'L pwsyt'  
 MH mtr'<sup>35</sup> W \*dws'lm<sup>36</sup> ZY tn' l'd 'MT MN tn' BR'

māh, pad hūxt, be nihēd, sidīgār gām hān gyāg kū  
 xwarsēd, pad huwaršt, be nihēd, ud čahārom gām andar  
 garōdmān, ī rōšn, be nihēd.

D.84

- (14) ud ruwān ī ahlawān ī \*pēs az ōy az gētīg  
 be šud hēnd ud andar garōdmān hēnd a-s bōy ī xwaš  
 ō padirag \*āwarēnd ud gōwēnd kū: "drust  
 āmad hē, ud weh āmad hē az gētīg ī \*anagihōmand  
 ī \*pētyāragōmand ō ēn gyāg ī ananāgih ī apetyārag,  
 ud \*dagrand zamān tō nēk bawēd."
- (15) ohrmazd gōwēd kū: "s saxwan az-iš ma pursēd,  
 čē mihr ud \*dōšāram ī tan rāy ka az tan be

26. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hwwht'. 27. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J hwlst'. 28. MSS LY'N.  
 29. M.'s reading; MSS MNW. 30. MSS 'ZLWNyt'. 31. MSS  
YXSNNd. 32. MSS 'n'kyh'wmnd. 33. MSS pytyd'lk'wmnd.  
 34. MSS dglwnd. 35. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MHN'. 36. M.'s reading; BK  
dwh'lm; MR<sub>1</sub>, J dwhšlm.

- Y'TWNt'<sup>37</sup> '-s<sup>38</sup> dwšhw'l YXWNT' 'Ps hwlsn' YXBWNyt'
- (16) lwb'n YMRRWNd<sup>39</sup> 'YK hwlsn' nhwst' kt'm YXBWNm
- (17) 'whrmzd YMRRWNyt' 'YK pym ZY 'sp' W mzg W MŠY'  
 W XS<sup>40</sup> ZY sylyn' 'ywp' MŠY' ZY mytywkwzlm krt'  
 \* 'styt' YXBWNyt' nhwst YXBWNyt' MŠY' ZY mytywkwzlm<sup>41</sup> MH  
 lwb'n ZY 'hlwb'n 'MT MN gytydy BR' 'ZLWNt'<sup>42</sup> XWHd '-s'n  
 'D tn' ZY psyn' hwlsn' ZNH 'YT'
- (18) zltwhšt' ZNHc pwršyt' MN 'whrmzd 'YK 'MT ZK ZY  
 dlwnd BR' YMYTWNyt' lwb'n' BR' 'L 'YK dwb'lyt'
- (19) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 3 lwc-šp'n ZK gyw'k 'YK  
 'MTs XY' BR' 'ZLWNyt' '-s km'l \* 'styt' YTYBWNst'

āmad, a-š dušxwār būd; u-š xwarišn dahēd!"

D.84

- (16) ruwān gowēnd kū: "xwarišn naxust kadām dahēm?"

- (17) ohrmazd gowēd kū: "pēm ī asp, ud mazg ud rōyn

D.85

ud may ī šīrēn, ayāb rōyn ī mēdyōzarm kard

estēd, dahēd; naxust dahēd rōyn ī mēdyōzarm, cē

ruwān ī ahlawān ka az gētīg be šud hēnd, a-šān

tā tan ī pasēn xwarišn ēn ast."

- (18) zardušt ēn-iz pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "ka hān ī

druwand be mīrēd, ruwān be ō kū dwarēd?"

- (19) ohrmazd guft kū: "sē rōz-šabān hān gyāg kū

ka-š gyān be šawēd a-š kamāl estēd nišast.

37. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK Y'TWNyt. 38. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 39. BK; D. follows

MR<sub>1</sub>, J YMRWNyt. 40. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK XY'. 41. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK mytkzlm.

42. D.'s reading; BK 'ZLWNt'.

W wstlg ZY dlytk' W pwt<sup>43</sup> ZY PWN dw<sup>44</sup> swpt<sup>44</sup>  
 \* 'styt'<sup>45</sup> '-s<sup>46</sup> nhwpt' YK'YMWNYt' W ZNHc YMRWNyt' YK  
 \*SLY'-c-wm<sup>47</sup> bwt' 'MTm k'l W krpk' L' krt' 'hlmn' NPŠH XWHm  
 'L kt'l zmyk 'ZLWNm W MNW B'YXWNm W MNW ZNH 'n'kyh MN L  
 L'WXL YXSNNyt'

- (20) 'Ps sp' ZY pltwm \*ZK<sup>48</sup> 'nd 'n'kyh BR' nm'dynd cygwn  
 GBR'-I MNW 'D zywndk YXWWNt '-s<sup>46</sup> BYN gyh'n SLYtl YXWWNt'<sup>49</sup>  
 (21) W LYLY'c ZY dtygl W stygl '-s 'ytwn' YXWWNYt'  
 (22) LYLY' ZY stygl PWNc g'h 'ytwn' MDMHNYt cygwn 'MT' BYN

ud watarag ī darrīdag ud pūdāg ī pad dō suft

D.85

estēd a-s nihuft ēstēd, ud ēn-iz gōwēd kū:

\* 'wad-iz-om būd, ka-m kār ud kirbag nē kard; ahreman xwēs hēm;  
 ō kadār zamīg šawēm, ud kē xwāhēm, ud kē ēn anāgīh az man  
 abāz dārēd?'"

- (20) u-s šab ī fradom \*hān and anāgīh be nimāyēnd čiyōn  
 mard-ē kē, tā zīndag būd, a-s andar gēhān wattar būd.  
 (21) ud šab-iz ī dudīgar ud sidīgar a-s ēdōn bawēd.  
 (22) šab ī sidīgar, pad-iz gāh, ēdōn sahēd čiyōn ka andar

D.85/86

43. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ptk'. 44. M.'s reading; MSS dwtpwt. 45. MR<sub>1</sub>, J  
 ystyt'; BK yst'. 46. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 47. M.'s emendation; MSS  
 SLY'c 'Pm. 48. M.'s emendation; BK 'h; MR<sub>1</sub>, J '-s. 49. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK YXWWNYt'.

sn̄yhl<sup>50</sup> W gnd<sup>51</sup> ZY PWN gyh'n BR' 'L XN' gyw'k'  
 YXYTYWNt' XWHydy 'Ps 'LH' BYN ŠKBXWNyt' 'MTs ZK gnd 'L  
 wynyk' ptkpyt' YMRRWNyt' 'YK w't' ZNH gnd ZY 'ytwn' skypt' MN  
 'YK YXYTYWNt ZYm hkwlc' PWN gytydy gnd ZY cygwn ZNH 'L wynyk'  
 L' ptkpt'

- (23) W ZK w't' MN dwshw' gnd ZY 'hlmn' 'MT BR' nkylyt'  
 BYN ZK w't' \*, -c<sup>52</sup> kwnšn' ZY NPŠH XZYTWNyt' ZYs hkwlc MN  
 hlpstl'n ZY 'hlmn d'm'n zystl W lymn'tl MN ZK L' \*XZYTWNt'<sup>53</sup>  
 (24) 'Ps pwsyt' 'YK LK MNW NPŠH XWHydy

snēxr, ud gand ī pad gēhān be ō ēd gyāg D.86

āwurd hē, u-s ōy andar nibāyēd; ka-s hān gand ō

wēnīg pahikafēd, gōwēd kū: "wād ēn gand ī ēdōn škeft az

kū āwurd, ī-m hagriz pad gētīg gand ī čiyōn ēn ō wēnīg

nē pahikaft?"

- (23) ud hān wād az dušox, gand ī ahreman! ka be nigerēd  
 andar hān wād, \*a-z kunišn ī xwēš wēnēd, ī-s hagriz az  
 xrafstarān, ī ahreman dāmān, zištar ud rēmantar az hān nē \*dīd.  
 (24) u-s pursēd kū: "tō, kē xwēš hē?"

50. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK sn'hl. 51. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gwnd. 52. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS MN. 53. M.'s reading; MSS XZYTWNyt'.

- (25) W kwnšn' YMRRWNyt 'YK ywb'n ZY dwšm[yhšn' ZY dwšgwbsn'<sup>54</sup> ZY  
dwškwšn' \*L<sup>55</sup> kwnšn' ZY LK XWHm
- (26) W dlwnd YMRRWNyt 'YK MN krt' ZY MNW<sup>56</sup> LK 'ytwn'  
SLY' W bekyn' W lymn W gndk W pwtk' W 'pylwckl W  
byš'wmnd<sup>57</sup> XWHydy cygwn L MDMHNYt
- (27) kwnšn' YMRRWNyt 'YK MN krt' ZY LK 'ytwn' XWHm cygwn  
LK MDMHNYt 'MT LK 'LH XZYTWnt'<sup>58</sup> MNWs ycšn' krt'  
'Ps<sup>59</sup> GBR' ZY 'hlwb' MND'M YXBWNt' ' LK BB' BYN  
'SLWN-x<sub>2</sub> 'Pt dwst'n 'c'lt' XWH'd 'Pt MND'M BR' L' YXBWWnt'  
W SLY' bwt' XWHm 'Pt' SLYt1 BR' krt' XWHm zyst' bwt  
XWHm 'Pt zyst1 BR' krt' XWHm PWN wn's ZY LK krt'

- (25) ud kunišn gōwēd kū: "Juwān ī dušm[ēhišn, ī dušgōwišn, ī D.86  
duškunišn, man kunišn ī tō hēm."
- (26) ud druwand gōwēd kū: "az kard ī kē tō ēdōn  
wad ud bazagēn ud rēman ud gandag ud pūdag ud apērōzgar ud  
bēšōmand hē, čiyōn man sahed?" D.87
- (27) kunišn gōwēd kū: "az kard ī tō ēdōn hēm čiyōn  
tō sahed. ka tō ōy dīd kē-s yazišn kard,  
u-s mard ī ahlaw čis dād, a tō dar andar  
bast u-t dōstān āzārd hēnd u-t čis be nē dād;  
ud wad būd hēm, u-t wattar be kard hēm; zišt būd  
hēm, u-t zištār be kard hēm pad wināh ī tō kard.

54. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J dwšwynšn'. 55. M.'s emendation; MSS dyn', perhaps a mistake for mn', i.e. man written phonetically. 56. D.'s addition; lacking in MSS. 57. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK b'swmnd. 58. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK XZYTWt'. 59. Lacking in BK.

- 'D tn' ZY psyn' 'MT' 'hlmm BR' mlncyn[yn]d ' L  
 YWM YWM SLYt1 YXWWNyt' , \*dwb'lyt'<sup>60</sup> 'L dwšhw'
- (28) W dlwnd YMRRWNyt 'YK 'MTm sl BR' blynynd 'ywp-m PWN  
 tgr BR' PSKWNd W BR' YKTLWNd 'ywp-m \*wltk<sup>61</sup> pyš BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 \*'DYNm<sup>62</sup> PWN SKYN'<sup>63</sup> BR' PSKWNd '-m<sup>64</sup> ŠPYL MDMHNyt cygwn PWN  
 ZNH l's \*'YKm<sup>65</sup> gnc' \*w'cyt<sup>66</sup> YK'YMWNyt '-m BR' 'L dwšhw  
 'p'yt 'ZLWNt' k'mkyh' L' \*'ZLWNm<sup>67</sup>
- (29) 'Ps \*wyzlyš<sup>68</sup> ŠDY' bnd 'L gltn<sup>69</sup> LMYTWNyt'<sup>70</sup> 'Ps kwnšn' ZY NPSH  
 \*shmky'n'yh'<sup>71</sup> W bymky'n'yh' pyš \*'styt' bym ZY kwnšn' ZY NPSH  
 l'd pyš wyzlyš<sup>68</sup> SDY' 'ytwn' \*dwb'lyt'<sup>72</sup> cygwn 'sp ZY t'ht' \*'styt'

tā tan ī pasēn, ka ahreman be murjēr[ēn]d, a man

D.87

rōz rōz wattar bawēd". a \*dwārēd ō dušox.'

- (28) ud druwand gōwēd kū: "ka-m sar be brīnēnd, ayāb-om pad  
 tigr be brīnēnd ud be ōzanēnd, ayāb-om \*wardag\* pēš be kunēnd  
 ēg-om pad kārđ be brīnēnd, a-m weh sahēd čiyōn pad  
 ēn rāh, \*kū-m ganj \*wāzīd ēstēd; a-m be ō dušox  
 abāyēd šud, kāmagīhā nē \*šawēm.'
- (29) u-s \*wizarēš dēw band ō gardan abganēd, u-s kunišn ī xwēš  
 \*sahmgēnīhā ud bīngēnīhā pēš estēd. bīm ī kunišn ī xwēš D.87/88  
 rāy pēš wizarēš dēw ēdōn \*dwārēd čiyōn asp ī tāxt estēd

60. D.'s emendation; MSS dwb'1. 61. MSS wltpyš; M. emends 'to

\*wl-TWP'H: var-jāmay: "mantle", comparing NP puše and var-puše  
 "veil, mantle". 62. MSS 'ynwm. 63. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK SKYN'y.

64. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Pm. 65. MSS 'YK MN gncw 'pcyt. 66. MSS gnc'  
'pcyt; M. reads ganj aβaziδ. 67. MSS 'ZLWNyt. 68. D.'s

emendation; MSS yz's. 69. MR<sub>1</sub>, J glyw'. 70. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;

BK LMYTWyt'. 71. D.'s reading; BK yhmky'n'yh'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J shmky'n'yh'h.

72. M.'s emendation; MSS dwbyt.

- 'MT bym MN t'c'nk' l'd BYN \*'splys<sup>73</sup> \*tcyt'<sup>74</sup> ZKc 'L dwšhw  
'ytwn' tcyt'
- (30) \*lwb'n<sup>75</sup> pltwm g'm ZY \*pr'c<sup>76</sup> XNXTWNYt PWN dwsmt'<sup>77</sup> BR' XNXTWNYt  
W dtygl g'm PWN dwshwht<sup>78</sup> W stygl g'm PWN dwshwht<sup>79</sup> BR'  
XNXTWNYt W lwm g'm PWN dwshw' ZY t'lykyh BR' XNXTWNYt'
- (31) W dlwnd ZY L'YN' MN 'LH [MN] gytydy dwb'lst' YK'YMWNYt'<sup>80</sup>  
'-s PWN gnd BR' 'L ptylk' dwb'lynd
- (32) 'Ps YMRWNd 'Ykt SLY' bwt' [XWHydy] W SLY' Y'TWNT XWHydy MN  
ZK gytydy ZY 'n'kyh'wmnd ZY mlg'wmnd BR' 'L ZNH gyw'k'  
Y'TWNT XWHydy ZYt' ZK 'n'kyh BYN ZNH 'n'kyh hw'l YXWNT'

ka bīm az tāzānag rāy andar \*asprēs \*tazēd, hān-iz ō dušox D.88  
ēdōn tazēd.

- (30) \*ruwān fradom gām ī \*frāz nihēd pad dušmat be nihēd,  
ud dudīgar gām pad dušhuxt, ud sidīgar gām pad dušxwaršt be  
nihēd, ud čahārom gām pad dušox, ī tārīgīh, be nihēd.
- (31) ud druwand ī pēs az ōy [az] gētīg dwārist ēstēd,  
a-s pad gand be ō padīrag dwārēnd.
- (32) u-s gōwēnd kū: "-t wad būd [hē]! ud wad āmad hē az  
hān gētīg ī anāgīhōmand ī margōmand be ō ēn gyāg  
āmad hē ī-t hān anāgīh andar ēn anāgīh xwār būd."

73. M.'s reading; BK 'sp'l's; MR<sub>1</sub> 'YT'ls. 74. M.'s reading; MSS twcyt'. 75. M.'s reading; MSS SGYTWNSn (i.e. rawisn). 76. MSS BR'; see above §13 for parallel. 77. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dwsmt. 78. M.'s emendation; BK dwshwht; MR<sub>1</sub>, J dwshwht. 79. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dwshwht. 80. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YK'YMWNT.



- (33) 'hlmn' dl'dyt' 'YK dlwnd BR' 'L glystk' ZY L cym  
 [l'd] Y'TWNt XWHydy 'MT' LTMH BR' dl't W dwshw'lyh  
 W 'n'kyh ZY-t' pts 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> 'yny,<sup>81</sup> 'XRN MND'M L'YT'  
 'Pt' hm'k' 'n'kyh \*,YT'<sup>82</sup>
- (34) 'L lwb'n-c ZY dlwnd'n YMRRWNyt 'YKs<sup>83</sup> pwrssn' hc-s  
 'L 'BYDWNyt' 'Ps hwlšn' ZY pts 'lc'nyk YXBWWNyt'
- (35) W dlwnd'n YMR[R]WNd 'YKs gnd YXBWWNm ZY nwk' lyt' YK'YMWNYt'  
 wyh ZK<sup>84\*</sup> gnd \*,MTs<sup>84</sup> YXBWWNm 'ywp' ZK ZY L' nwk'  
 lyt' YK'YMWNYt
- (36) 'hlmn YMRRWNyt 'YKs gnd ZY nwk YXBWNyt MH lwb'n ZY  
 dlwnd'n' '-s'n 'D tn' ZY psyn hwlšn' ZNH ['YT']

- (33) ahreman drāyēd kū: "druwand, be ō gilistag ī man čim D.88  
 [rāy] āmad hē? ka ēdar bē dard ud dušxwārīh  
 ud anāgīh ī-t padīš kunēnd, ēnyā any čiš nēst,  
 u-t hamāg anāgīh\*ast." D.88/89
- (34) ō ruwān-iz ī druwandān gōwēd kū: "-s pursišn aziš  
 ma kunēd! u-s xwarišn ī padīš arzānīg dahēd!"
- (35) ud druwandān gōwēnd kū: "-s gand dahēm ī nōg rīd ēstēd?  
 weh hān \*gand \*ka-s dahēm, ayāb hān ī nē nōg  
 rīd ēstēd?"
- (36) ahreman gōwēd kū: "-s gand ī nōg dahēd, čē ruwān ī  
 druwandān, a-sān tā tan ī pasēn xwarišn ēn [ast]."

81. M. reads ēy-is by mistake. 82. MSS 'ytwn'. 83. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK 'YK. 84. M.'s reading; BK gndk' 'h; MR<sub>1</sub> gndk' '-s.

- (1) ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK lwb'n ZY 'hlwb'n 'XL MN ZK 'MT  
 XY' MN tn' BR' 'ZLWNyt' 'MT \*gwlg<sup>1</sup> W lwp'h W KLB,<sup>2</sup>  
 W w'd PSKWNd W ywdyn'd lwb'n ZY 'hlwb'n MND'Mc ZY dwshw'lyh  
 L' YXWWNyt' W lwb'n ZY dlwnd'n' 'XL MN ZK 'MTs'n  
 lwb'n MN tn' BR' 'ZLWNyt'<sup>3</sup> 'MTs gwlg W lwp'h W KLB'  
 W w'd tn' PSKWNd W ywdynd dlt'-XD W dwshw'lyh'-XD<sup>4</sup>  
 'ytwn KN YXWWNyt' 'YK K'L,<sup>5</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>
- (2) YMRRWNyt 'YK 'MT hm'k d'm ZY 'whrmzd L 'ŠTHNt XWHydy  
 \*'DYNm<sup>6</sup> ZNH p'tpl's W 'n'kyh KBD XWHydy W dl'd[y]t' BR' 'L tn'  
 YMRRWNyt 'YK tn' ZY dwc ZY dlwnd KBD hw'stk' LK  
 PWN gytydy BR' krt' \*'Ps<sup>7</sup> LZNH YWM BRH' W 'X

- (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū ruwān ī ahlawān, pas az hān ka D.89  
 gyān az tan be šawēd, ka \*gurg ud rōbāh ud sag  
 ud way brīnēnd ud jōyēnd, ruwān ī ahlawān čiš-iz ī dušxwārīh D.90  
 nē bawēd; ud ruwān ī druwandān, pas az hān ka-šān  
 ruwān az tan be šawēd, ka-š gurg ud rōbāh ud sag  
 ud way tan brīnēnd ud jōyēnd, dard-ēw ud dušxwārīh-ēw  
 ēdōn ōh bawēd kū wāng kunēd.
- (2) gōwēd kū: "ka hamāg dām ī ohrmazd man xward hē,  
 ēg-om ēn pādīfrāh ud anāgīh was hē," ud drāyēd be ō tan,  
 gōwēd kū: "tan ī duz ī druwand, was xwāstag tō  
 pad gētīg be kard, \*u-š im rōz pus ud brād

1. MSS mwlw; M. reads mury. 2. MSS KLB'y. 3. J; BK ZLWNyt.  
 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dwshw'lk'-XD. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK KLB'. 6. M.'s  
 emendation; MSS 'ynm. 7. MSS 'Pt.

W hwys'wn'd ZY LK pts ptk'lynd W LK PWN L  
 MNW lwb'n' XWHm \*'yc<sup>7</sup> MND'Mc nywkyh L' \*krt'<sup>8</sup> W 'LHs'n'  
 LK l'd MND'Mc nywkyh L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W dlwn'yc-XD PWN  
 lwb'n' ZY LK L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W L BYN dwshw' BYN dst'  
ZY ŠDY'- 'n'<sup>9</sup> glyd[n]<sup>10</sup> XWHm 'Pm 'D tn' ZY psyn' '-m  
 'n'kyh 'p'yt' wt'lt'n' W LK KLB' W w'd W gwlg  
 W lwp'h LTMH ywdynd 'Pt hw'stk' ZYt' krt' '-t MND'Mc  
 BR' 'L plyd't' L' YXMTWNyt' KR' MNW wn's 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 '-s<sup>11</sup> ZNH p'tpl's

ud xwēsāwand ī tō padīš pahikārēnd: ud tō pad man,  
 kē ruwān hēm, \*ēc čiš-iz nēkīh nē \*kard, ud awēsān  
 tō rāy čiš-iz nēkīh nē kunēnd, ud drōn-iz-ēw pad  
 ruwān ī tō nē kunēnd; ud man andar dušox andar dast  
 ī dēwān griyā[n] hēm, u-m tā tan ī pasēn a-m  
 anāgīh abāyēd widārdan; ud tō sag ud way ud gurg  
 ud robāh ēdar jōyēnd; u-t xwāstag ī-t kard a-t čiš  
 be ō frayād nē rasēd!harw kē wināh kunēd,  
 a-s ēn pādifrāh.

D.90

8. MSS krtn'. 9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ŠDY'n. 10. BK, J; MR<sub>1</sub> gly''.  
 11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Ps.

- (1) 'hl'dyh 'ytwn' s'hyk W LB' W \*'lc'wmnd<sup>1</sup> gyw'k'-XD pyt'k' 'YK  
zltwhst' MN 'whrmzd pwsyt' 'YK cnd 'DN' L'WXL 'L plskrt  
'DN' 'YK<sup>2</sup> plskrt' krt' 'lyh YXWWNyt tn' ZY psyn'
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 3,000<sup>3</sup> ŠNT'
- (3) zltwhst' BR' tlyst' 'Ps gwpt 'YK 'DN' <sup>4</sup>ZY \*dglnd<sup>5</sup> L'WXL 'YT'
- (4) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ZNH 'DN' \*, -t<sup>4/6</sup> \*dglnd<sup>7</sup> 'L XN' MDMHNyt'  
MH lwb'n ZY 'hlwb'n 'D BYN glwtm'n XWH'd '-s'n ZNH 'nd  
'DN' ZY 3,000<sup>3</sup> ŠNT '-s'n 'nd \*dlhn'd<sup>8</sup> PWN csm  
'Ps 'ytwn' hw'l MDMHNyt cygwn knyck'-XD 'p'dšnyk' ZY 15  
ŠNTk' W GBR,<sup>9</sup> ZY ywb'n ZY wyst' s'lk'

- (1) ahlāyīh ēdōn sahīg ud wuzurg ud \*arzomand gyāg-ēw paydāg kū D.91  
zardušt az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "čand zamān abāz ō frašegird  
zamān, kū frašegird kardārīh, bawēd, tan ī pasēn?"
- (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "sē hazār sāl."
- (3) zardušt be tarsīd u-s guft kū: "zamān ī dagrand abāz ast!"
- (4) ohrmazd guft kū: "ēn zamān \*a-t dagrand ma ēd sahēd,  
čē ruwān ī ahlawān tā andar garōdmān hēnd a-šān ēn and  
zamān ī sē hazār sāl a-šān and drahnāy pad čašm  
u-s ēdōn xwār sahēd čiyōn kanizag-ēw abāyišnīg ī pānzdah  
sālag ud mard ī juwān ī wīst sālag

1. MSS 'lc'wmnd. 2. plskrt' 'DN' 'YK lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J.  
3. MSS have three hooks 𐬨 before the numeral 𐬨 (hazār) which can  
be read XD or 3; see Comm. 25 n.4. 4. These ten words lacking in  
BK, IO. 5. MSS dglwnd. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'Pt'; lacking in BK. 7. BK  
dglynd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J dglwnd. 8. BK dlhn'k; MR<sub>1</sub> dln'k'. 9. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK  
GBR'-I.

'MTs'n 'ywk LwTH TWB BYN 'L h'nk'-XD \*Y'TWNd<sup>10</sup> 'ps'n PWN  
 wstlg ZY nlm BR' hw'pynd W mylk 'L zyd'nk' PWN XY'  
 dwst' 'Ps'n ZK 'p'yt' 'YK LYLY' hk(w)lc lwsn' 'L YXWWN't  
 'Lhs'n'-c MNW 'hlwb' XWHd BYN glwtm'n' '-s'n BSYMyh W l'msn'  
 l'd ZYs'n' 'YT' '-s'n ZK 'p'yt' 'YK<sup>11</sup> hk(w)lc' ZK 'DN'  
 L' YXMTWNydy

ka-sān ēwag abāg did andar ō xānag-ēw \*āyēnd u-sān pad D.91  
 wastarag ī narm be xwābēnd ud mērag ō xiyānag pad gyān  
 dōst u-sān hān abāyēd kū: "sab hagrīz rōšn ma bawād!"  
 awēsān-iz kē ahlaw hēnd andar garōdmān a-sān xwaših ud rāmišn D.92  
 rāy ī-sān ast a-sān hān abāyēd kū "hagrīz hān zamān  
 nē rasē!"

10. MSS have 'MTs'n 'ywk' LwTH TWB BYN 'L h'nk'-XD (ZY) 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>;  
 in error M. omits 'MTs'n (and, purposely, BYN 'L) reading ēvak aḫāy  
diδ xānay kard ("when (?) they marry each other". See Comm. 25 n.6 .  
 If the defective ideog. BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> (𐭩𐭣𐭥𐭥) is emended to Y'TWNd  
 (𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥) the MSS reading yields good sense - though in late and  
 grammatically incorrect Pahlavi (i.e. -sān ... āyēnd ... -sān ...  
xwābēnd). 11. IO; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'MT.

- (1) ZNHc py't'k' 'YK \*TWR'<sup>1</sup> W 'sp' W hwm yzdt  
nplyn BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'MTs'n 'd'tyh' YXSNNd
- (2) W TWR' 'LH 'YŠ l'd<sup>2</sup> nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>'<sup>3</sup> 'Ps YMRRWNyt  
'YKt prznd 'L YXWWN't 'Pt dwslwbyh W 'p'ryk 'n'kyh LWTH  
KR' 'n'kyh YXWWN't MNWm<sup>4</sup> \*kwsydy<sup>5</sup> 'Pm pcydy<sup>6</sup> 'Pm 'L 'lc'nyk'n L'  
YXBWNydy W NYŠHc W \*pwsl'n<sup>7</sup> W 'škmb' ZY NPŠH' l'd  
p'hlycydy W YXSNNydy
- (3) 'sp \*'LH<sup>8</sup> 'YŠ nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> MNWs QDM YTYBWNyt 'YK QDM L  
YTYBWNst' 'L twb'n YXWWN't' MNW PWN<sup>9</sup> zwl W nylwk'<sup>9</sup> ZY L  
hdyb'lyh 'L ŠPYL'n L' 'BYDWNydy W dwšmn'n L'WXL L' YXSNNydy

- (1) ēn-iz paydāg kū: gāw ud asp ud hōm yazd D.92  
nifrīn kunēd ka-šān adādīhā dārēnd.
- (2) ud gāw ōy kas rāy nifrīn kunēd, u-š gōwēd  
kū: "-t frazand ma bawād, u-t dusrawīh ud abārīg anāgīh abāg  
harw anāgīh bawād, kē-m kušē u-m pazē u-m ō arzānīgān nē  
dahē, ud zan-iz ud \*pusarān ud aškamb ī xwēš rāy  
pahrežē ud dārē!"
- (3) asp \*ōy kas nifrīn kunēd kē-š abar nišīnēd kū: "abar man  
nišast ma tuwān bawād, kē pad zōr ud nērōg ī man  
hayyārīh ō wehān nē kunē, ud dušmenān abāz nē dārē!"

1. MSS TWR'y. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK L'. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'BYDWNym'.  
4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MNW L. 5. MSS kws'd. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK pc'd.  
7. MSS pwslyn; PÜ has pusarān. 8. BK 'L'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'L' L.  
9. BK zwł ZY nylk'; MR<sub>1</sub> zwhl W nylwk'.

(4) W hwmyzdt' \*<sup>10</sup> 'LH<sup>10</sup> 'YŠ l'd<sup>11</sup> nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> YMRRWNyt 'YKt przd  
 'L YXWWN't' 'Pt' dswlwbyhc W 'p'ryk 'n'kyh NPSH YXWWN't MNW  
 L BYN yčšn' k'l L' \*plm'dydy<sup>12</sup> W swl ZY 'B' 'whrmzd  
 BR' 'L L YXBWNt' 'dlw'lk' LWITH 'wzw'n' W 'YNH ZY hwy  
 ZY hm'k gwspnd<sup>13</sup> W gwspnd sltk'n<sup>14</sup> L' YDBXWNYdy BR' \*ywdydy<sup>15</sup>  
 MNW ZK swl ZY 'B' ZY L 'whrmzd BR' 'L L  
 YXBWNt L' YDBXWNYt BR' ywdyt' BYN m'n ZY 'LH' L'  
 YLYDWNyt' L' 'slwn' L' 'ltyšt'l W L' w'stlyws<sup>16</sup> BYN m'n ZY 'LH  
 YLYDWNd 'NŠWT' ZY cyhl ZY y'twk'n W \*wn'syt<sup>17</sup> \*dhšn' \*ZY<sup>18</sup> 'whrmzd

(4) ud hōmyazd \*ōy kas rāy nifrīn kunēd, gōwēd kū: "-t frazand D.93  
 ma bawād, u-t dusrawīh-iz ud abārīg anāgīh xwēs bawād, kē  
 man andar yazišn kār nē \*framāyē; ud sūr ī pid ohrmazd  
 be ō man dād, ērwārag abāg uzwān ud čašm ī hōy  
 ī hamāg gōspand ud gōspand sardagān, nē yazē, bē \*jōyē!  
 kē hān sūr ī pid ī man ohrmazd be ō man  
 dād nē yazēd, bē jōyēd, andar mān ī ōy nē  
 zāyēd nē āsrōn nē artēštār ud nē wāstaryōš, andar mān ī ōy  
 zāyēnd mardōm ī čīhr ī jādūgān, ud wināhēd dahišn ī ohrmazd,

10. MSS 'L. 11. 'YŠ l'd lacking in BK. 12. MSS plmydy.  
 13. After gwspnd BK has also L'. 14. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK stltk'n.  
 15. BK, J yws'; MR<sub>1</sub> ywsn'. 16. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK w'slwn'yh.  
 17. M.'s reading; BK wn'st'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J whyst'. 18. M.'s reading;  
 MSS dhšnyh.

\*klynyt'l<sup>19</sup> ZY MND'M tp'h<sup>20</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W k'l W d'tst'n KBD  
 pr'c 'XDWNyt' MND'Mc BR' 'L plc'm L' YXTYWNyt' 'Ps mynwgyh'  
 PWN ZK bnd 'SLWN'm ZYm twl ZY pl'sy'p<sup>21</sup> bst'

kirrēnīdār ī čiš tabāh kunēd, ud kār ud dādestān

D.93

was frāz gīrēd, čiš-iz be ō frazām nē āwarēd, u-s mēnōgīhā  
 pad hān band bandēm ī-m tūr ī frāsyāb bast.

19. BK gl'nyt'l; MR<sub>1</sub>, J glynyt'l. 20. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK twc'h.

21. BK pl's'p; MR<sub>1</sub>, J pl's''p.



- (1) ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK hng'm 'YT' 'MT' GBR' 'šmwhwk'-XD BR'  
 YMRRWNyt' ZK 'ywk' 'šmwhwk' MN 10 'šmwhwk' 'lc'wmndtl
- (2) W hng'm 'YT' \*'MT<sup>1</sup> 'ywk' 'šmwhwk' MN 100 'šmwhwk' 'lc'wmndtl
- (3) W hng'm 'YT' 'MT' 'ywk' 'šmwhwk' MN \*1,000<sup>2</sup> 'šmwhwk' 'lc'wmndtl
- (4) W hng'm 'YT' 'MT' 'ywk' 'šmwhwk' MN \*bywl<sup>3</sup> 'šmwhwk' 'lc'wmndtl
- (5) hng'm 'YT' 'MT' 'ywk' 'šmwhwk' MN kyšwl ZY hwnyls ywdt  
 MN 'NŠWT' 'lc'wmndtl
- (6) hng'm 'YT' 'MT' 'ywk' 'šmwhwk' MN hm'k' gyh'n' W<sup>4</sup> gytygyh'  
 'lc'wmndtl
- (7) ZK 'MT BR' YMRRWNyt' W slws dlwn' 'ŠTHNyt' '-s<sup>5</sup> MN 10 'lc'wmndtl

- (1) ēn-iz paydāg kū hangām ast ka mard ašəmvohū-ēw be D.93/94  
 gōwēd, hān ēwag ašəmvohū az dah ašəmvohū arzōmandtar.
- (2) ud hangām ast \*ka ēwag ašəmvohū az sad ašəmvohū arzōmandtar.
- (3) ud hangām ast ka ēwag ašəmvohū az \*hazār ašəmvohū arzōmandtar
- (4) ud hangām ast ka ēwag ašəmvohū az \*bēwar ašəmvohū arzōmandtar.
- (5) hangām ast ka ēwag ašəmvohū az kišwar ī xwanirah yūd  
 az mardōm arzōmandtar
- (6) hangām ast ka ēwag ašəmvohū az hamāg gēhān ud gētīgihā  
 arzōmandtar.
- (7) hān ka be gōwēd ud srōš drōn xwarēd, a-s az dah arzōmandtar.

1. BK MNW; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 2. M.'s emendation; MSS bywl.  
 Š3 is lacking in IO. 3. MSS 1,000. 4. MSS ZY. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK 'Ps.

- (8) W ZK 'MT BR' YMRRWNyt' W <sup>6</sup>pl'hwm 'ŠTHNyt' '-s ZK MN  
100 'lc'wmndtl
- (9) W ZK 'MT BR' YMRRWNyt' <sup>6</sup>BR' hwpsyt <sup>7</sup>'-s ZK MN 1,000 'lc'wmndtl
- (10) ZK 'MT wgl't YXWWNyt' 'L dtygl kwst' wltyt <sup>8</sup>'-s ZK  
MN bywl 'lc'wmndtl
- (11) 'MT PWN 'pdwm wltšn' [ZY XY'] <sup>9</sup>'-s BR' YMRRWNyt  
'-s MN kyšwl ZY hwnyls 'lc'wmndtl
- (12) 'MTs d'tst'n 'ytwn' YXWWNyt' 'MT ZK 'šmwhwk'-XD [YMRRWNyt'] BR'  
MN \*dwšhwyh <sup>10</sup>BR' 'L <sup>11</sup>hmystk'nykyh YXMTWNyt' '-s ZK MN KR'  
MND'M 'lc'wmndtl

- (8) ud hān ka be gōwēd ud parāhōm xwarēd, a-s hān az D.94  
sad arzōmandtar
- (9) ud hān ka be gōwēd be xufsēd, a-s hān az hazār arzōmandtar
- (10) hān ka wigrād bawēd ō dudīgar kust wardēd, a-s hān  
az bēwar arzōmandtar.
- (11) ka pad abdom wardišn [ī gyān] a-s be gōwēd,  
a-s az kišwar ī xwanirah arzōmandtar.
- (12) ka-s dādestān ēdōn bawēd ka hān ašəmvoḥū-ēw[gōwēd] bē D.95  
az \*dušoxīh be ō hammistagānīgīh rasēd, a-s hān az harw  
čiš arzōmandtar.

6. The words pl'hwm 'ŠTHNyt' ... BR' YMRRWNyt' are lacking in BK.

7. MSS hwptyt'. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK wlcyt. 9. ZY XY' lacking in MSS, probably by a scribal error of haplography. 10. M.'s emendation; MSS dwšhwyk. 11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.

- a     ZNHc pyt'k 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK KR'  
 k'l W krpk' ZYt' twb'n' XWH't' krtn' KR' hm lwck'l  
ZY mt \*'styt' BR' 'BYDWN MH 'MT YMR[R]WNYdy 'YK 'XL 'BYDWNm  
 YXWWNyt' 'MT \*'stwyd't<sup>1</sup> 'wbs YXMTWNyt' 'Pt BR' krtn' L' twb'n
- b     ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK GBR'-I 'MT YMRRWNyt 'YK 'Dm hw'stk'  
 1,000 bwndk YXWWNyt' krpk' L' 'BYDWNm W lwb'n L' \*'mwlcym<sup>2</sup>  
 '-s<sup>3</sup> PWN ZK gwbsn' \*'stwyd't<sup>4</sup> BR' <sup>5</sup> 'wbs<sup>6</sup> YXMTWNyt'  
 'Ps 'XL krtn' L' twb'n'
- c     ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt'  
 'YK PWN k'l W krpk' krtn' twhs'k' YXWWNydy MH

- a     ēn-iz paydāg: kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft kū: "harw     D.95  
 kār ud kirbag ī-t tuwān hād kardan, harw ham rōzgār  
 ī mad estēd be kun, čē ka gōwē kū: 'pas kunēm',  
 bawēd ka \*astwihād awiš rasēd, u-t be kardan nē tuwān."
- b     ēn-iz paydāg: kū mard-ē ka gōwēd kū: "tā-m xwāstag  
 hazār bowandag bawēd, kirbag nē kunēm ud ruwān nē \*āmurzēm,"  
 a-s pad hān gōwišn \*astwihād be awiš rasēd,  
 u-s pas kardan nē tuwān.
- c     ēn-iz paydāg: kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft     D.96  
 kū: "pad kār ud kirbag kardan tuxsāg bawē, čē

1. M.'s reading; MSS 'st' ZY wyd't'. 2. MSS 'mwlcwm. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J; BK '-'. 4. BK 'st' ZY wyd't; MR<sub>1</sub> 'stwyd't'. 5. BK has also  
 'L. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gwbsn'.

BYN XD YWM GBR' ZNH hm'k MND'M BR' 'wbs YXMTWNyt'  
 MN g's ZY \*pltwm<sup>7</sup> twb'ngl PWN y'n' ZY hwt'y'n hwp'  
 d'st' YK'YMWNYt' MN g's ZY c'st 'DN' MN hwt'y'n  
 \*,s<sup>8</sup> MN BB' L'WXL YXSNNd 'XL MN nym-YWM \*,s<sup>9</sup>  
 hw'stk' L'WXL 'L shyk'n 'XDWNd 'MT sp YXWWNYt' 's'n  
 BR' \*YKTLWNt<sup>10</sup> W w'd'n 'STHnt dstwbl'n' QDM c'st'<sup>11</sup> YK'YMWNYt'  
 cygwn wlhl'n' ZY 'twr'm'h' bwt' ['YK] mwlwyc' ZY \*,ndlwd<sup>12</sup>  
 'ZLWNd 's'n ZK \*'stwyd't<sup>1</sup> W zlm'nyh BR' 'wbs YXMTWN'yt'  
 'ws'wmd PWN tn' 'ws'wmd PWN zmyk 'wptynd W BR' YMYTWNd<sup>13</sup>  
 tn' ZY 'ws'wmd PWN tn' ZY 'ws'wmd 'n'kyh cym 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>

andar ēw rōz mard ēn hamāg čiš be awiš rasēd:

D.96

az gāh ī \*fradōm tuwāngar, pad gyān ī xwadāyān xub  
 dāšt ēstēd; az gāh ī čāšt zamān az xwadāyān  
 \*a-s az dar abāz dārēnd; pas az nēm-rōz a-s  
 xwāstag abāz ō sāhīgān gīrēnd; ka šab bawēd a-šān  
 be \*ōzad ud wayān xward. dastwarān abar čāšt ēstēd,  
 čiyōn warahrān ī ādurmah būd, [kū] murw-iz ī \*andarway  
 sawēnd a-šān hān \*astwihād ud zarmānīh be awiš rasēd,  
 ōšōmand pad tan, ōšōmand pad zamīg ōftēnd ud be mīrēnd.  
 tan ī ōšōmand pad tan ī ōšōmand anāgīh čim kunēd,

7. MSS plt'k'. 8. MSS 'Ps'. 9. MSS '-'. 10. MSS YKTLWNyt.  
 11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK č'syt. 12. M.'s emendation; BK PWN dln'd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J  
 PWN dl'n'd. 13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YMYTWd.

PWN ZNH cym \*twšyt'<sup>14</sup> 'YK 'Dm hw'stk' L' YXWWN't'  
 PWN ZNH cym \*twšyt'<sup>14</sup> 'YK 'Dm prcnd L' YXWWN't'  
 PWN ZNH cym \*twšyt'<sup>14</sup> 'YK 'Dm gwspnd BR' YMYTWN't  
 'MT 'k's PWN ZK ZY NPŠH hlt' YD'YTWNyt' 'YK 'wš'wmnd  
 YMYTWNyt' W 'PL' YXWWNyt TWR' 'PL' YXWWNyt 'sp' 'PL'  
 YXWWNyt' ZXB' W 'sym 'PL' YXWWNyt' GBR' ZY tkyk 'PL'  
 YXWWNyt' hlwsp' hyl ZY gytydy 'PL' YXWWNyt ZK 'ywk' 'PL'  
 L' YXWWNyt'<sup>15</sup> 'MT GBR' 'hl'dyh mynyt' k'l W krpk' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 W k'l W krpk' KBD 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>16</sup> 'hlwb'n MND'M YXBWNyt

pad ēn čim \*tuxsēd kū: "tā-m xwāstag nē bawād",

D.96

pad ēn čim \*tuxsēd kū: "tā-m frazand nē bawād"

pad ēn čim \*tuxsēd kū: "tā-m gōspand be mīrād."

ka āgāh, pad hān ī xwēs xrad dānēd kū ōšōmand

D.96/97

mīrēd ud xāk bawēd; gāw xāk bawēd, asp xāk

bawēd, zarr ud asēm xāk bawēd, mard ī tagīg xāk

bawēd, harwisp xīr ī gētīg xāk bawēd; hān ēwag xāk

nē bawēd, ka mard ahlāyīh mēnēd, kār ud kirbag kunēd,

ud kār ud kirbag was kard, ahlawān čis dahēd.

14. MSS twšt'. 15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWN't'. 16. BK 'BYDWNd;  
 MR<sub>1</sub> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W.

- (1) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK 'whrmzd BR' 'L zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK 'MT  
 'B' LWTH BRH W hylpt' LWTH h'wst' W \*hswl<sup>1</sup> LWTH  
 z'm't' DYN' W d'twblyh \*'-s<sup>2</sup> krt' W 'MT 'B' gwk'dy<sup>3</sup>  
 'ywk' LWTH W BRH gwk'dy 'ywk' LWTH wcyl BR' 'L<sup>4</sup>  
 'B' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W hw'stk' BR' 'L 'B' 'psp'l PWN ZNH  
 cym MH ZK nywkyh ZY 'B' PWN BRH 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> BRH hklc'  
 ZK nywkyh L'WXL twhtn' L' twb'n' MNWš MN 'pwl'n'dyh W  
 tlngyh BR' plwlt' 'D ZK 'MT' pwl'n'd YXWWNy<sup>t</sup> MNc  
ZNH w'ck' 'YK BRH 'D lš s'lk' plwlšn' MN 'B' '-c'  
 wndšn' 'B'<sup>4</sup> NPŠH 'D zywndk W hm'k k'l W krpk' ZY BRH  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'B' 'ytwn' cygwn 'MTš PWN YDH ZY NPŠH krt' XWHydy

- (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft kū: "ka D.97  
 pid abāg pus, ud hērbad abāg hāwišt, ud \*xwasur abāg  
 zāmād dādestān ud dādwarīh \*a-š kard, ud ka pid gugāy  
 ēwag abāg, ud pus gugāy ēwag abāg, wizīr be ō  
 pid kunēh, ud xwāstag be ō pid abespār, pad ēn  
 čim, čē hān nēkīh ī pid pad pus kunēd, pus hagrīz  
 hān nēkīh abāz tōxtan nē tuwān; kē-š az aburnāyīh ud D.97/98  
 tarunagīh be parward tā hān ka purnāy bawēd; az-iz  
 ēn wāzag kū: 'pus tā pānzdah sālāg parwarīšn az pid', a-z  
 windīšn pid xwēš tā zīndag, ud hamāg kār ud kirbag ī pus  
 kunēd, pid ēdōn čiyōn ka-š pad dast ī xwēš kard hē."

1. M.'s emendation, after D.'s suggestion (p.99, n.10); MSS wswk.

2. MSS 'Ps; M. reads az-is. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gwk'dyh. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.

- (2) zltwhst' ZNHc pwsyt' MN 'whrmzd' 'YK krpk' ZY BRH  
W BRTH 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> ['L] 'M' 'ywp 'B' YXWNNyt
- (3) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK KR' 2 'ywtwm YXWNNyt MH KR' 2  
'LH' XWH'd 'B' W 'M
- (4) W 'MT hylpt-c gwk'dy-XD<sup>5</sup> LWITH W h'wst' gwk'dy LWITH  
d'tst'n BR' 'L hylpt' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub><sup>6</sup> PWN ZNH cym MH hylpt  
ZY 'hlwb'n' PWN 'pst'k W znd<sup>7</sup> BR' 'L h'wst' gwpt'  
MNws pts MN tngyh ZY dwshw bwcyt' 'Ps pl'hwyh  
YXBWNNyt'<sup>8</sup> 'Ps PWN cynwt pwhl wt'lk' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> ['D] BR'  
'L whst' lsyt' h'wst'c KR' k'l W krpk'  
ZY ZK w'ck' 'BYDWNyt' ZY hylpt' hmwhh hylpt'

- (2) zardušt ēn-iz pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "kirbag ī pus D.98  
ud duxt kunēd [ō] mād ayāb pid bawēd?"
- (3) ohrmazd guft kū: "harw dō ēw-tom bawēd, čē harw dō  
ōy hēnd pid ud mād.
- (4) "ud ka hērbad-iz gugāy-ēw abāg ud hāwišt gugāy abāg,  
dādestān be ō hērbad kunēh pad ēn čim, čē hērbad  
ī ahlawān pad abestāg ud zand be ō hāwišt guft;  
kē-s padis az tangīh ī dušox bōzēd, u-s frāxīh  
dāhēd, u-s pad činwad puhl widārag kunēd [tā] be  
ō wahišt rasēd; hawišt-iz harw kār ud kirbag D.98/99  
ī hān wāzag kunēd, ī hērbad hammōxt, hērbad

5. BK gwk'dyyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J gwk'dy ZY. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'BYDWNym.  
7. BK zwnd. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXBWNNt.

- 'ytwn' YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs PWN dst' ZY NPSH krt' XWHydy  
W PWNc lst' 'hyc' hylpt' W h'wst' PWN 'ywb'l L'WXL \*'hycynynd<sup>9</sup>  
MH pyt'k 'YK hylpt' ŠPYL 'YK 'B' W 'M MH  
'B' plwlt'l ZY tn' W hylpt' plwlt'l ZY lwb'n MNW<sup>10</sup>  
lwb'n plwlt'l ŠPYL 'YK MNW tn' plwlt'l MH 'MT lwb'n  
mlg'lc'n YXWWNyt ' tn'c zywnstn' L' twb'n' MHS sl BR' PSKWNd  
(5) W 'MT' \*hswl<sup>11</sup> gwk'dy-I LWITH W d'm't gwk'dy-XD<sup>12</sup> LWITH  
d'tst'n 'L \*hswl<sup>11</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> MH L' hkw'lc' d'm't ZK ZY  
\*hswl<sup>11</sup> \*L'WXL<sup>13</sup> twhtn' L' twb'n' PWN ZNH cym MHS 'L d'm't  
YXBWNt<sup>14</sup> NYSHyh 'wbs d't MNWS ZNH hm'k' nywkyh hc-s  
s'[d]yt' YXBWNt'<sup>15</sup>

ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ka-s pad dast ī xwēs kard hē.

D.99

ud pad-iz ristāxēz hērbad ud hāwišt pad ēwbār abāz \*āxēzēnēnd;

čē paydāg kū hērbad weh kū pid ud mād, čē

pid parwardār ī tan ud hērbad parwardār ī ruwān; kē

ruwān parwardār weh kū kē tan parwardār, čē ka ruwān

margarzān bawēd, a tan-iz zīstan nē tuwān, čē-s sar be brīnend.

- (5) "ud ka \*xwasur gugāy-ē abāg ud dāmād gugāy-ēw abāg,  
dādestān ō \*xwasur kunēh, čē nē hagrīz dāmād hān ī  
\*xwasur \*abāz tōxtan nē tuwān, pad ēn čim, čē-s ō dāmād  
dād, zanīh awīš dād, kē-s ēn hamāg nēkīh az-iš  
sāyēd būd."

9. MSS 'hcynd; M. reads hāčēnānd "will be initiated". 10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MH. 11. M.'s emendation, as in n.1 above; MSS [w]swl.

12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J gwk'dy ZY; lacking in BK. 13. M.'s emendation; MSS

LWITH. 14. After YXBWNt MSS have the following gloss: W d'twblyh W mgwptyh [W] ltyh W mgwg'n'-hndl[c]ptyh W mgwpt'n'-mgwptyh W; see Comm.

29 n.5. 15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWNyt.



## Chapter 30

- (1) ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK 'nst[r]yk' BR' 'L 'kdyn'n'<sup>1</sup> L' p'thš'd  
MZBNWx<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>
- (2) \*MNW<sup>3</sup> MZBNWx<sub>1</sub> W 'LH MNWs ZBNNx<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup> PWN 'nst[r]yk'  
KR' 2 BYN lt' ZY mylk ZY wyhdyn' dwc' XWH'd
- (3) PWNc ZWZN ZYs YNSEBNx<sub>1</sub><sup>5</sup> dwc' \*XWH'd<sup>5</sup> d't'wbl'n dlws<sup>6</sup> BR' kwnšn'
- (4) 'MTs'n' 'kdyn' BR' \*'BYDWNt'<sup>7</sup> 'XL hm'k wn's ZYs  
'kdyn'yh l'd pts 'BYDWNt'<sup>8</sup> \*'n'c<sup>9</sup> ZY BNPSH' PWN  
'kdyn'yh 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'LH MNWs \*MZBNWt'<sup>10</sup> W 'LH MNWs<sup>11</sup>  
\*ZBNNt'<sup>12</sup> 's<sup>13</sup> 'ytwn' YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs  
PWN dst' ZY NPŠH krt' XWHydy

- (1) ēn-iz paydāg kū anšah[r]īg be ō agdēnān nē pādixšāy D.100  
frōxtan.
- (2) \*kē frošēd ud ōy kē-s xrīnēd, pad anšah[r]īg  
harw dō, andar rad ī mērāg ī wehdēn, duz hēnd.
- (3) pad-iz drahm ī-s stanēnd, duz hend; dādwarān drōš be kunišn.
- (4) ka-šān agdēn be \*kard, pas hamāg wināh ī-s  
agdēnīh rāy padīš kard, \*han-iz ī xwad pad  
agdēnīh griftan, ōy kē-s \*frōxt ud ōy kē-s  
\*xrīd a-s ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ka-s  
pad dast ī xwēs kard hē.

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hwdyn'n. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK mynwg'n. 3. M.'s  
emendation; MSS 'MT. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MZBNWx<sub>1</sub>. 5. MSS dwc'wmnd.  
6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dlyws. 7. M.'s emendation; MSS 'BYDWNd. 8. M.'s  
emendation; BK 'BYDWNd; MR<sub>1</sub> 'BYDWNymnd; J 'BYDWNymn. 9. M.'s  
emendation; MSS XN'c. 10. M.'s emendation; MSS MZBNWd.  
11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK mws. 12. MSS ZBNNd. 13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'.

- a (1) pyt'k 'YK ptytykyh<sup>1</sup> MND'M-I 'ytwn' 'lc'wmnd W shyk<sup>2</sup> 'YK  
zltwhst' MN 'whrmzd pwsyt' 'YK ZK MNW PWN tn' ZY  
'NSWT'-n BYN gyh'n krt'ltwm bwt' '-m lwb'n BR' nm'd  
(2) 'whrmzd lwb'n ZY ym MN 'p'htl nymk' BR' B'YXWNst'  
(3) PWN snwk' W 'lsn'yc' hm'y SGYTWNT 'Ps \*LBWŠY,<sup>3</sup> nhwpt'  
YK'YMWNT' ZY dlytk'<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>MNW MN<sup>5</sup> hm'k kwstk<sup>6</sup> swl'k' YXWWNT  
(4) 'Ps wstlg ptmwht YK'YMWNT' ZY bekyn' YXWWNT  
(5) 'Ps slm ZY MN 'whrmzd l'd 12 g'm MN 'whrmzd  
dwl YTYBWNst'  
(6) zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK 'whrmzd 'XN' MNW MNWš slm ZY MN

- a (1) paydāg kū patētīgih čiš-ē ēdōn arzōmand ud sahiḡ kū D100  
zardušt az ohrmazd pursīd kū: "hān kē pad tan ī  
mardōmān andar gēhān kardārtom būd a-m ruwān be nimāy." D.100/101  
(2) ohrmazd ruwān ī yim az abāxtar nēmag be xwāst.  
(3) pad snūg ud arešniz hamē raft u-š warr nihuft  
ēstēd ī darrīdag kē az hamāg kustag sūrāg būd.  
(4) u-š wastarag paymōxt ēstād ī bazagēn būd.  
(5) u-š šarm ī az ohrmazd rāy, dwāzdah gām az ohrmazd  
dūr nišast.  
(6) zardušt guft kū: "ohrmazd, ēd kē, kē-š šarm ī az

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK pyttykyh. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK s'hyk. 3. BK LBŠY;  
MR<sub>1</sub>, J LWBW'yh. 4. IO; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J dltk'. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MNWm.  
6. Lacking in IO.

LKWM l'd [12 g'm MN LKWM] dwl YTYBWNst'

- (7) W 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK XN' ym ZY wywngh'n'
- (8) zltwhst' gwpt' 'YKs MH<sup>7</sup> krt' ym ZY wywngh'n'<sup>7</sup>  
MNWs d'tst'n' 'ytwn' SLY,<sup>8</sup>
- (9) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YKm nzdst' MN gytyg'n' 'm dyn'<sup>9</sup> 'L ym nmwt'  
'MTs d'n'ktl 'p'dst' bwt' BR' 'L l's ZY 'hlmn' W ŠDY'n YK'YMWN't
- (10) 'Ps gwpt' 'YK<sup>10</sup> MY' L YXBWNt' zmyk L YXBWNt  
'wlwl L YXBWNt' gwspnd<sup>11</sup> L YXBWNt' hwlsyt'<sup>11</sup> L YXBWNt'  
m'h W stl L' YXBWNt' h'mwdyn' dhšn' ZY \*'sm'n'<sup>12</sup>  
L YXBWNt h'mwdyn' dhšn' ZY gytydy L d't'

ašmā rāy [dwāzdah gām az ašmā] dūr nišast?"

D.101

- (7) ud ohrmazd guft kū: "ēd yim ī wīwanghān."
- (8) zardušt guft kū: "-š čē kard yim ī wīwanghan  
kē-š dādestān ēdōn wad?"
- (9) ohrmazd guft kū: "-m nazdist az gētīgān im dēn ō yim nimūd;  
ka-š dānāgtar abāyist būd, be ō rāh ī ahreman ud dēwān ēstād.
- (10) "u-š guft kū: "āb man dād, zamīg man dād,  
urwar man dād, \*gōspand man dād, \*xwarsēd man dād  
māh ud star man dād, hāmōyēn dahišn ī \*asmān  
man dād, hāmōyēn dahišn ī gētīg man dād."

D.101/102

7. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; these four words lacking in BK. 8. BK has slwb'.

9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK BYN. 10. The following text of §10 up to the words  
'ytwn KDB' gwpt' is differently given by the two groups of MSS, BK, IO  
and MR<sub>1</sub>, J. Reading of BK, IO is retained; MR<sub>1</sub>, J reads 'Ps gwpt'  
'YK MY' L YXBWNt' zmyk L YXBWNt' 'wlwl L YXBWNt' hwlsyt' L YXBWNt' m'h  
L YXBWNt' stl L YXBWNt' W 's'm'n' L YXBWNt' gwspnd L YXBWNt' 'NSWT' L  
YXBWNt' h'mwdyn' dhšn' gyt'ydy L YXBWNt'. M. reconstructs the text -  
see Comm. 31 n.3. 11. gwspnd and hwlsyt' in reverse order in MSS  
12. MSS 's'm'n.

'Ps<sup>13</sup> 'ytwn' KDB' gwpt' 'YK ŠBKWN<sub>2</sub><sup>14</sup> XN' 'YK 'LH YXBWNt  
 BR' XN' 'YK cygwn YXBWNt' \*,'st't'<sup>15</sup> \*,'-s<sup>16</sup> L' YD'YTW[N]st W PWN  
 ZK KDB'-gwbsnyh '-s GDH W hwt'yyh hcs 'p'l bwt' 'Ps  
 tn' BR' 'L<sup>13</sup> wšwpšn' ZY dst' ZY ŠDY'n' \*mt'<sup>17</sup> 'p'ryk'<sup>18</sup>  
 \*,'-s<sup>19</sup> ['LH] MNW<sup>19</sup> NPSH.tn' ZK hwnl st'dyt' ZY-s<sup>20</sup> L'YT '-s  
 ZK ZY 'YT' 'ytwn' hcs BR' 'ZLWNyt cygwn MN ym BR' 'ZLWNt'<sup>22</sup>

- b (1) zltwhst' ZNHc pwsyt' MN 'whrmzd 'YK ym PWN gyh'n  
 nywkyh MH ŠPYL krt'  
 (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ZK ZY 'MT' ŠDY'n BR' 'L 'NŠWT'-n  
 gwpt' 'YK gwspnd BR' YKTLWNyt' 'D-t'n LNH pyl YXBWNm

u-s ēdōn drō guft kū hilišn, ēd kū ōy dād; D.102  
 bē ēd, kū čiyōn dād estād, \*a-s nē dānist. ud pad  
 hān drō-gōwišnīh, a-s xwarrah ud xwadāyīh aziš appār būd,  
 u-s tan be ō wišōbišn ī dast ī dēwān \*mad. abārīg-iz,  
 \*a-s [ōy] kē xwēs tan hān hunar stāyēd ī-s nēst, a-s  
 hān ī ast ēdōn aziš be šawēd, čiyōn az yim be šud."

- b (1) zardušt ēn-iz pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "yim pad gēhān  
 nēkīh čē weh kard?"  
 (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "hān ī ka dēwān be ō mardōmān  
 guft kū: 'gōspand be ōzanēd,tā-tān amāh pīl dahēm

13. Lacking in BK, IO. 14. M. reads hištan. 15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK yst't'. 16. MSS 'Ps; M. reads az-is. 17. D.'s reading; MSS mtr'. 18. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'p'rp'c. 19. BK, J 'hmn'; MR<sub>1</sub> 'hlmm'.  
 20. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK zmyš. 21. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'. 22. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'ZLWNyt'.

ZY swt'wmnd MNWS d'st'l W p'nk' L' 'p'yt'

- (3) 'NSWT'- 'n gwpt' 'YK \*L'<sup>23</sup> PWN dstwblyh<sup>24</sup> ZY ym BR' 'BYDWNm  
 'Ps'n krt' W ym PWN L' \*YKTLWNtn'<sup>25</sup> ZY 'NSWT'- 'n  
 gwspnd W PWN L' YNSBWnt[n]' ZY 'NSWT'- 'n MN ŠDY'n  
 pyl LWTH ŠDY'n 'ytwn' ptk'lt' \*YK<sup>26</sup> \*ŠDY'n<sup>27</sup> BR'  
 'ylht XWH'd 'Ps mlg'wmnd W p'tpl'swmnd krt' XWHd  
 c (1) zltwhst' ZNHc pwrst' MN 'whrmzd' 'YK ym PWN gyh'n  
 MH SLYtl krt'  
 (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 'MTm dyn' 'wbs nmwt L' ptglpt'

ī sūdōmand kē-s dāstār ud pānag nē abāyēd'.

D.102

- (3) "mardōman guft kū: ' \*nē pad dastwarīh ī yim be kunēm',  
 u-šān kard; ud yim pad nē \*ōzadan ī mardōmān  
 gōspand ud pad nē stadan ī mardōmān az dēwān  
 pīl abāg dēwān ēdōn pahikārd, \*kū \*dēwān be  
 ēraxt hēnd u-s margōmand ud pādīfrāhōmand kard hēnd".  
 c (1) zardušt ēn-iz pursīd az ohrmazd kū: "yim pad gēhān  
 cē wattar kard?"  
 (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "ka-m dēn awiš nimūd, nē padirift."

D.102/103

23. MSS 'D (ny?) for L'. 24. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dstwl. 25. M.'s  
 reading; BK YKTLWNyt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YKTLWNt'. 26. MSS ZYs; M. reads  
ī-s. 27. M.'s emendation; MSS ŠDY'.

- (3) lwb'n' ZY ym BR' 'L zltwhst' w'ng krt' 'YK p'hlyc'  
 MRY' ZY ŠDY'n' 'L 'ŠMHN W dyn' BR' MKBLWN MH  
 XN' 'DN' ŠPYL W p'swm<sup>28</sup> \*,MT<sup>29</sup> 'L LK YMR[R]WNyt 'whrmzd
- (4) MHS<sup>30</sup> nzdst'<sup>31</sup> BR' 'L L nmwt' W 'MT d'n'ktl 'p'dst'  
 bwt' 'L l's ZY ŠDY'n' YK'YMW[N]'t' XWHm
- (5) 'Pm KR' d'm W dhsn'<sup>32</sup> ZY mynwg W gytydy gwpt'  
 'YK L YXBWNt'
- (6) PWN ZK KDB' ZYm gwpt' L GDH W hwt'yyh hcš 'p'l  
 YXWWNt' 'Pm tn' BR' 'L wšwpšn' ZY dst' ZY ŠDY'n' mt'
- (7) LK MNW zltwhst' XWHydy 'MTt tngyh YXWWN't  
 'MT pl'hwyh hc<sup>33</sup> dyn'<sup>34</sup> gwptn' L'WXL 'L YK'YMW<sup>35</sup>

- (3) ruwān ī yim be ō zardušt wāng kard kū: "pahrež, D.103  
 saxwan ī dēwān ma ašnaw, ud dēn be padīr, čē  
 ēd zamān weh ud pāšom \*ka ō tō gōwēd ohrmazd.
- (4) "čē-s nazdist be ō man nimūd, ud ka dānāgtar abāyist  
 būd, ō rāh ī dēwān ēstād hēm.
- (5) "u-m harw dām ud dahišn ī mēnōg ud gētīg guft  
 kū man dād.
- (6) "pad hān drō ī-m guft, man xwarrah ud xwadāyīh aziš appār  
 būd, u-m tan be ō wišōbišn ī dast ī dēwān mad.
- (7) "tō kē zardušt hē, ka-t tangīh bawād, D.103/104  
 ka frāxīh, az dēn guftan abāz ma ēst;

28. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK p's'wmm. 29. M.'s emendation; BK MN; MR<sub>1</sub>, J MNW.  
 30. BK repeats MHS. 31. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK nzdst'. 32. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK  
 d'hšn'. 33. J; BK 'Pm; MR<sub>1</sub> 'Ps. 34. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK y'n'.  
 35. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK yst'.

- MH ZNH zmyk' 'MT h'mwn BR' YXWWNyt' MY' 'MT  
 BYN \*zlyh<sup>36</sup> BR' YK'YMWNyt' W syn'-mwlw' 'MT BYN  
 wysk' \*,syd'n'<sup>37</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W KR' MNW PWN gyh'n 'MT<sup>38</sup> L'WXL  
 'hycyt' hwlšyt' 'MT PWN ZK l's SGYTWNyt KR' MNW<sup>39</sup> PWN  
 gyh'n 'MT 'wn's<sup>40</sup> BR' YXWWNyt 'hlmm W ŠDY'n' 'MT \*,psyhyt'<sup>41</sup>  
 hm'k yčšn' W nyd'dšn' ZY 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n PWN dyn' YXWWNyt  
 (8) 'MT ym PWN ZNH 'dwynek' gwpt' YXWWNt' '-š ptytykyh  
 W 'phšyh BR' ml Y'TWNt W 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n'  
 W 'p'ryk yzd'n' BR' 'mwlcyt' W MN 'p'htl nymk' BR' 'L  
 hmystk'nyh W hwt'yyh ZY hmystk'n mt'

- čē ēn zamīg ka hāmōn be bawēd, āb ka  
 andar \*zrēh be ēstēd, ud sēn-murw ka andar  
 wēšag \*āšyān kunēd, ud harw kē pad gēhān ka abāz  
 āxēzēd, xwaršēd ka pad hān rāh rawēd, harw kē pad  
 gēhān ka awināh be bawēd, ahreman ud dēwān ka abesihēd,  
 hamāg yazišn ud niyāyišn ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān pad dēn bawēd."  
 (8) ka yim pad ēn ēwēnag guft bud, a-š patētīgih  
 ud abaxših be mar āmad, ud ohrmazd ud amahraspandān  
 ud abārīg yazdān be āmurzīd, ud az abāxtar nēmag be ō  
 hammistagānīh ud xwadāyīh ī hammistagān mad.

36. MSS zl'h. 37. MSS 's'n. 38. BK repeats 'MT. 39. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J; BK 'MT. 40. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK wn's. 41. MSS 'ps'hyt'.

- (1) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK 'MT hw'stk' ZY PWN hm'k gyh'n' GBR'-I NPSH  
 'Ps 'hlmn W ŠDY'n' ZK hw'stk' hcš BR' \*YXNCLWNd<sup>1</sup>  
 \*'DYN'c<sup>2</sup> 'hlmn W ŠDY'n' L' mynynd 'YKm'n zyd'n-I bwndk'<sup>3</sup>  
 pt-s krt'
- (2) 'MTs [PWN] hm'k gyh'n BRH'-XD 'YT' 'Ps BR' YKTLWNd 'DYN'c L'  
 mynynd 'YKm'n zyd'n-XD bwndk pt-s krt'
- (3) 'MT PWN hm'k gyh'n hwt'y 'Ps ZK hwt'yyh hcš BR' YNSBWNx<sub>2</sub>  
 'DYN'c L' mynynd 'YKm'n zyd'n-XD bwndk pt-s krt'<sup>4</sup>
- (4) 'MTs XY' MN tn' YBLWNd 'DYN'c L' mynynd 'YKm'n zyd'n'-XD  
 bwndk pt-s BR' krt'
- (5) 'MTs lwb'n dlwnd W 'pyt'k 'BYDWNd PWN 'DN' 'hlmn W ŠDY'n'  
 mynynd 'YKm'n zyd'n ZY bwndk pt-s krt'
- (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū ka xwāstag ī pad hamāg gēhān mard-ē xwēs, D.104  
 u-s ahreman ud dēwān hān xwāstag aziš be \*apparēnd, D.104/105  
 \*ēg-iz ahreman ud dēwān nē mēnēnd kū: "-mān zyān-ē bowandag  
 pad-iš kard."
- (2) ka-s [pad] hamāg gēhān pus-ēw ast, u-s be ōzanēnd, ēg-iz nē  
 mēnēnd kū: "-mān zyān-ēw bowandag pad-iš kard."
- (3) ka pad hamāg gēhān xwadāy, u-s hān xwadāyih aziš be stānēnd,  
 ēg-iz nē mēnēnd kū: "-mān zyān-ēw bowandag pad-iš kard."<sup>4</sup>
- (4) ka-s gyān az tan barēnd, ēg-iz nē mēnēnd kū: "-mān zyān-ēw  
 bowandag pad-iš be kard."
- (5) ka-s ruwān druwand ud abaydāg kunēnd, pad zamān ahreman ud dēwān  
 mēnēnd kū: "-mān zyān ī bowandag pad-iš kard."

1. BK YDNCLWNd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YDNC LWNynd. 2. BK 'YNc'-s; MR<sub>1</sub> 'YN'c.

3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK bwdk'. 4. §3 lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, written on margin in J.



## Chapter 33

- a ZNHc pyt'k 'YK BYN ZNH gytyg dws'lm 'L dlwnd'n  
 L' 'p'yt' \*YBLWNtn<sup>1</sup> MH 'LHs'n' MNW dlwnd XWH'd ŠPYL-'n  
 plypynd 'MTs'n nywkyh 'YT' '-s'n PWN plyp' hcš BR' YBLWNd  
 'MTs'n tngyh W dwšhw'lyh W 'p'lyh BR' 'wbs YXMTWNyt'  
 '-s' hdyb'l'wmndyh<sup>2</sup> L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> ZK dws'lm l'd ZYs 'L dlwnd'n'  
 [BR' 'YBLWNt'] BR' 'L dwšhw gyw'k ZY 'hlmn W ŠDY'n YXMTWNyt'
- b ZNHc pyt'k 'YK ŠPYL-'n 'MTs'n bym MN SLYtl'n' '-s'n' gwbsn'  
 'wbs 'p'yt' <sup>3</sup>gwpt' W nmwt' 'YKm'n' LWTH LKWM<sup>3</sup> dws'lm 'Pm'n  
 nywkyh ZY LKWM MN KR' MND'M ŠPYL MDMHN'yt' 'Ps'n mynsnyk  
 nplyn' 'p'yt' krtn' W 'MTs wtlg YXMTWNyt' '-s'<sup>4</sup> 'n'kyh  
 W znšn' ptš 'p'yt' krt'

- a ēn-iz paydāg, kū andar ēn gētīg dōšāram ō druwandān D.105  
 nē abāyēd \*burdan, cē awēšān kē druwand hēnd wēhān  
 frēbēnd; ka-šān nēkīh ast, a-šān pad frēb aziš be barēnd; D.105/106  
 ka-šān tangīh ud dušxwārīh ud appārīh be awiš rasēd,  
 a-š \*hayyārōmandīh nē kunēnd; hān dōšāram rāy ī-s ō druwandān  
 [be burd], be ō dušox, gyāg ī ahreman ud dēwān, rasēd.
- b ēn-iz paydāg, kū wehān ka-šān bīm az wattarān, a-šān gowišn  
 awiš abāyēd guft ud nimūd kū: "-mān abāg ašmā dōšāram, u-mān  
 nēkīh ī ašmā az harw čiš weh sahēd"; u-šān mēnišnīg  
 nifrīn abāyēd kardan, ud ka-š widarag rasēd, a-š anāgih  
 ud zanišn padiš abāyēd kard.

1. BK YBLWNd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YLWVNd. 2. D.'s emendation; MSS

hdyb'l'wmnd. 3. The words gwpt ... LKWM are lacking in IO.

4. BK '-'; MR<sub>1</sub> wyy'; J w''.

- a (1) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK 'pwl'n'dyk \*<sup>1</sup>'D 7 ŠNT' bwndk'<sup>2</sup>  
YXWNNyt' 'MTs 'B' PWN pl'hng \*krt'<sup>3</sup> 'wn's KR'  
wn's ZY 'LH 'BDWNx<sub>1</sub> p'tpl's W lys'<sup>4</sup> PWN ŠDY'n 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
(2) MN 8<sup>5</sup> ŠNT' 'D 15 ŠNT' 'MT mlg'lc'n' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> '-s<sup>6</sup>  
y't'-XD 'L bwn YXWNNyt' 'MT' \*y'twkyh<sup>7</sup> \*LPWN'y't'<sup>8</sup> '-s  
tn'pwhl-XD wn's W 'p'ryk wn's ZY \*<sup>9</sup>'LH 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> '-s 'D  
y't'-XD \*<sup>10</sup>'L bwn
- b (1) BRTH 'MTs 9 ŠNT' L'YT' BR' 'L swd L' p'ths'd  
YXBWNt' hwt NYŠH L' p'ths'd krtn'  
(2) W 'MTs 9 ŠNT' 'YT' PWN ZK 'DN' BR' p'ths'd YXBWNtn'  
(3) 'MT PWN mtr' GBR' k'mk' 'MT 12 s'lk'

- a (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū aburnāyag \*tā haft sāl bowandag D.106  
bawēd, ka-s pid pad frahang kard, awināh; harw  
wināh ī ōy kunēd pādifrāh ud rēs pad dēwān kunēd.  
(2) az hašt sāl tā pānzdah sāl, ka margarzān kunēd, a-s D.106/107  
yād-ēw ō bun bawēd; ka jādūgīh hammōzēd, a-s  
tanāpuhl-ēw wināh, ud abārīg wināh ī \*ōy kunēd a-s tā  
yād-ēw \*ō bun.  
b (1) duxt ka-s nō sāl nēst, be ō šōy nē pādixšāy  
dād; xwad zan nē pādixšāy kardan.  
(2) ud ka-s nō sāl ast, pad hān zamān be pādixšāy dādan.  
(3) ka pad mihr mard kāmāg, ka dwāzdah sālāg

1. MSS ZY. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK bwdk'. 3. MSS krtn'. 4. D.'s  
reading; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, BK wwlyš. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 7. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Ps.  
7. MSS y'twk'. 8. M.'s emendation; MSS PLXWNNyt. 9. MSS KN.  
10. M.'s emendation; BK ZY; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>.

'Ps SLYT[W]Nt' '-c' bhl BR' L' YXBWNt' ' mlg'1[c]'n

- c (1) GBR' NYŠH ZY p'ths'[d] hwt'yh 'ytwn' QDM k'l  
ZY \*NYŠH<sup>11</sup> KR' cygwn-s plm'[d]yt' L' p'ths'd BR' 'MT  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> GBR' NYŠH PWN ZK 'DN' \*glcyt'<sup>12</sup> 'tisk'syh<sup>13</sup>  
 QDM p'ths'd (2) ZY \*'nstr'[yk]<sup>14</sup> 'MT 'wbs plm'[d]yt' 'YK LBWŠY-I  
 \*'BYDWNyt'<sup>15</sup> W 'LH nym LBWŠY'-I 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Ps \*hmycyt'<sup>16</sup> 'YK  
 MND'M ZY pl'lw'n' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'LH ZK ZY 'p'lw'n' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 'Ps YMR[R]WNYt 'YK MND'M-I \*'XDWNyt'<sup>17</sup> ZY ZWZN-I 'lcyt' W 'LH  
 ZK<sup>18</sup> 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub> ZY M-3 'lcyt' W 'MT's plm'[d]yt' 'YK<sup>19</sup> \*pyhw'<sup>20</sup>  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'LH L'<sup>21</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> MN ZNH 'nd ZYm gwpt'

u-s gād, a-z bahr be nē dād, a margar[z]ān.

D.107

- c (1) mard zan ī pādixšā[y] xwadāyih, ēdōn abar kār  
 ī \*zan harw čiyōn-iš framāyēd, nē pādixšāy be ka  
 kunēd; mard zan pad hān zamān \*garzēd, atarsagāhīh.  
 abar pādixšāy 2) ī \*ansahr[iḡ]: ka awiš framā[y]ēd kū warr-ē  
 \*kunēd, ud ōy nēm warr-ē kunēd, u-s \*hammōzēd kū  
 čis ī frārōn kunēd ud ōy hān ī abārōn kunēd,  
 u-s gowēd kū čis-ē \*gīrēd ī drahm-ē arzēd ud ōy  
 hān gīrēd ī sē dāng arzēd, ud ka-s framāyēd kū \*pīh  
 kunēd ud ōy nē kunēd - az ēn and ī-m guft

D.107/108

11. Barth.'s emendation (see Comm. 34 n.5); MSS NPSH. 12. M.'s emendation (426 n.5). 13. MSS have also '-s'. 14. M.'s emendation; MSS 'nwst'. 15. MSS 'BYDWNd'. 16. D.'s emendation; MSS hmycyt'. 17. IO; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'XDWNd; M. accidentally omits the following words ī drahm-ē arzēd ud ōy hān gīrēd in transcription. 18. BK repeats 'LH ZK. 19. BK repeats 'YK. 20. MSS ycšn' (= ypyhw'); M. emends to \*pihan. 21. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK l'd.

- 'MT 'ywk' -I L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> '-s \*glcyt'<sup>22</sup> PWN \*'tłsk'syh<sup>23</sup>  
 QDM NYŠH YNSBWNx<sub>2</sub> (3)hm'k hw'stk' ZY mylk' BR' 'L  
 \*zyd'nk'<sup>24</sup> YXBWNt' L'WXL 'L mylk 'ZLWNyt' 'Ps MND'Mc hw'stk'  
 L'YT' 'Ps ['MT] \*wtlt'<sup>25</sup> mylk' MN hw'stk' ZY mylk' '-s  
 MND'Mc b'h1 L' YXWWNyt'  
 (4) NYŠH 'MT 3 b'1 'L šwd YMRRWNyt' 'YK NYŠHyh ZY LK  
 L' 'BYDWNm ' mlg[']lc'n'  
 (5) BRH 'MTs 3 b'1 BR' 'L 'B' YMRRWNyt' 'YK BRHlyh ZY LK  
 L' 'BYDWNm ['] mlg[']lc'n'  
 (6) 'B' 'MT 3 b'1 BR' 'L BRH1 YMRRWNyt' 'YK L'  
 L BRH' XWHydy ['] mlg[']lc'n 'Ps 'Bytlyh hc-s 'p'1

ka ēwag-ē nē kunēd, a-s \*garzēd, pad atarsagāhīh.

D.108

abar zan stānišn : 3) hamāg xwāstag ī mērag be ō

\*ziyānag dād abāz ō mērag šawēd, u-s čiš-iz xwāstag

nēst; u-s [ka] \*widard mērag, az xwāstag ī mērag a-s

čiš-iz bahr nē bawēd.

- (4) zan ka sē bār ō šoy gōwēd kū: "zanīh ī tō  
 nē kunēm ", a margarzān.  
 (5) pus ka-s se bār be ō pid gōwēd kū: "pusarīh ī tō  
 nē kunēm ", [a] margarzān.  
 (6) pid ka sē bār be ō pusar gōwēd kū: "nē  
 man pus hē ", [a] margarzān, u-s pidarīh aziš appār.

22. BK dcdnd; MR<sub>1</sub> glcnd. 23. M.'s emendation; BK 'tłsg's; MR<sub>1</sub> 'tłsg'yh. 24. D.'s emendation; MSS z'd'nk'. 25. MSS wtwt'.

\*,'nstr'yk'<sup>26</sup> 'MT YMRWNyt' 'YK \*,'nstr'yk'yh ZY<sup>27</sup> LK L' 'BYDWNm  
 ' mlg[']lc'n' L' YXWWNyt' BR' 'ytwN' YXWWNyt'<sup>28</sup> cygwn TWR'-I 'MT  
 BR' XLMWNyt' W k'l L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W hm'y 'p'yt' MXYTW[N]t' 'D  
 plm'n-bwlt'l YXWWNyt' 'MTs<sup>29</sup> MND'M-I pl'lwn' plm[d]yt' W L'  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> ZK p'tpl's BR' YMR[R]WNyt' \*,'nstr'yk'<sup>26</sup> mlg'lc'n'

- d (1) GBR'-I NYŠH ZY NPŠH PWN ZK zm'n' BR' ŠLYT'  
 ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub> 'MT bym PWN tn' 'ywp ZK PWN lwb'n' 'ywl  
 (2) 'MTs SLYTWNt' 'ywb'l BR' YXBWNt' bym PWN tn' 'ywl<sup>30</sup>  
 'MT' dšt'n' 'ywb'l PWN nyh'n' L'WXL krt' '-s  
 bym PWN lwb'n' 'ywl W MN NYŠHyh BR' p'ths' ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub>

\*'ansahrīg ka gōwēd kū: "ansahrīgih ī tō nē kunēm", D.108

a margarzān nē bawēd bē ēdōn bawēd čiyōn gāw-ē ka

be xufsēd ud kār nē kunēd ud hamē abāyēd zad tā

D.108/109

framān-burdār bawēd; ka-s čis-ē frārōn framāyēd ud nē

kunēd, hān pādifrāh be gōwēd;\*'ansahrīg margarzān.

- d (1) mard-ē zan ī xwēs pad hān zamān be pādixsā  
 hištan ka bīm pad tan ayāb hān pad ruwān ēwar.  
 (2) ka-s gād ēwbar be dād bīm pad tan ēwar;  
 ka daštān ēwbār pad nihān abāz kard a-s  
 bīm pad ruwān ēwar, ud az zanih be pādixsā hištan.

26. M.'s emendation; BK 'nwstyk'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'nwstr'yk'. 27. M.'s  
 emendation; BK 'nwstyk'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'nwstrygyh ZY. 28. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK  
YXWWNt'. 29. After 'MTs' BK has also MH. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK QDM.

- (3) PWN ZK zm'n<sup>31</sup> p'ths'd 'MT srd'l-I PWN XZYTWnt' 'BYDWNyt'  
 'MTs srd'l PWN XZYTWnt'<sup>32</sup> L' twb'n krtn' 'BNPŠH  
 L' ŠLYT' SLYTW[N]t' 'Ps PWN d'tyh' srd'l 'p'yt' d'stn'  
 (4) 'MTs L' dstwblyh' BR' ŠBKWNd<sup>33</sup> BR' ŠBKWNyt' wn's gl'n  
 (5) bwt'<sup>34</sup> dstwbl MNWS gwpt' 'YK mlg[']lc'n'  
 e MN 'pst'k ZNHc pyt'k' 'YK GBR' PWN lwšnyh ZY hwlšyt'  
 W 'ths 'L nzdyk' ZY NYŠH ZY NPSH 'p'yt' 'ZLWNt'  
 MH 'MT 'ytwn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> ŠDY'n wn'sšn' km pt-s twb'n' krtn'  
 prznd ZY YLYDWNyt' PWN 'hlwb'yh<sup>34</sup> 'hlwb'tl W pylwcgltl YXWWNyt'

- (3) pad hān zamān pādixšāy ka sālār-ē pad dīd kunēd; D.109  
 ka-s sālār pad dīd nē tuwān kardan, a xwad  
 nē pādixšāy gād,u-s pad dādīhā sālār abāyēd dāštan.  
 (4) ka-s nē dastwarīhā be hilēnd be hilēd, wināh garān.  
 (5) būd dastwar kē-s guft kū margarzān.  
 e az abestāg ēn-iz paydāg, kū mard pad rōšnīh ī xwarsēd D.110  
 ud ātaxš ō nazdīk ī zan ī xwēš abāyēd šud;  
 čē ka ēdōn kunēd dēwān wināhišn kam pad-iš tuwān kardan;  
 frazand ī zāyēd pad ahlawīh ahlawtar ud pērōzgartar bawēd.

31. BK has zm'n, with 'DN' written above; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'DN'. All MSS then have 'MT. 32. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK XZYTWt'. 33. So MSS; M. reads hištan.

34. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.

- a (1) zltwhst' ZNHc pwrstyt' 'YK<sup>1</sup> ZNH MH 'MT mltwm  
 'L 'dwynt' W MY' nkylynd<sup>2</sup> klp' ZY NPSH XZYTWNd  
 (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK lwsnyh ZY glwtm'n' ZYs d'm YXBWNt' \*'ystyt'  
 (3) ZNHc lwc'k' MH ZY MN 'bl Y'TWNYt'  
 (4) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ZNH lwsnyh MN glwtm'n' PWN hdyb'lyh  
 3,YT' \*,'ps<sup>3</sup> Y'TWNYt' \*,'YK<sup>4</sup> \*spncgl<sup>5</sup> ŠDY' MXYTWNYt'  
 (5) ZNH wyl ZY MN 'bl 'wptyt' MH  
 (6) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ZNH sk' 'YT' 'MT 'bl MY' YNSBWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 PWN nylwk' ZY w't' W ywmbšn' ZY ZK XMR' ZY  
 3 LGLH ZY BYN mdy'n ZY \*zlyh<sup>6</sup> \*'ystyt' ['L] 'ndlw'd

- a (1) zardušt ēn-iz pursīd kū: "ēn cē ka mardōm D.110  
 ō ēwēnag ud āb nigērēnd kirb ī xwēš wēnēnd?"  
 (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "rōšnīh ī garōdmān ī-s dām dād estēd."  
 (3) "ēn-iz rōzāg cē ī az abr āyēd?"  
 (4) ohrmazd guft kū: "ēn rōšnīh az garōdmān pad hayyārīh  
 ast \*u-s āyēd \*kū \*spanjagr dēw zanēd."  
 (5) "ēn wēr ī az abr ōftēd cē?"  
 (6) ohrmazd guft kū: "ēn sag ast; ka abr āb stānēd,  
 pad nērōg ī wād ud jumbišn ī hān xar ī  
 sē pāy ī andar mayān ī \*zrēh estēd, [ō] andarwāy

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK mnslynd; IO nkylytk.  
 3. MSS 'YT' '-s; M. emends to ātaxs. 4. BK MN; MR<sub>1</sub>, J MNW.  
 5. BK spnclyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J spnclyh. 6. MSS zl'h.

- BR' 'ZLWNyt' W dlwst' t'pyt' W glm 'BYDWNt'<sup>7</sup> 'MT 'wptyt'  
 'L 'NŠWT'- 'n W gwspnd'n BR' YKTLWNyt' W 'hlmm' sthmktl YXWWNyt'  
 b (1) 'Ps pwsyt' 'YK \*K'L'<sup>8</sup> ZY 'hlmm' BR' 'L'<sup>9</sup> MH hwm'n'k'  
 (2) 'Ps gwpt' 'YK 'L \*gl'n'k'<sup>10</sup> W \*K'L' ZY XMR' \*K'L' ZY sgl  
 \*K'L' ZY GMR'<sup>11</sup> ZY dynwtk' \*K'L' ZY \*gldyndk'<sup>12</sup> \*K'L' ZY GBR' ZY  
 'hlwb' 'MTs 'd'tst'nyh' MXYTWNyt' W K'L' 'BYDWNyt'  
 c (1) ZNHc st'lk' ZY BR' wtylyt' MH  
 (2) ZNH 'hwkynšn ZY MN 'hlmm' 'MT 'L 'NŠWT'- 'n' 'wptyt'  
 wls spyt' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'MT 'L 'wlwl'n'<sup>13</sup> 'wptyt' BR'<sup>14</sup>  
 hwsynyt'<sup>15</sup> W 'MT BR'<sup>16</sup> ['L] gwspnd'n' 'wptyt' YMYTWNd

be šawēd ud društ tābīd ud garm kard,ka ōftēd

D.110/111

ō mardōmān ud gōspandān be ōzanēd,ud ahreman stahmagtar bawēd".

- b (1) u-š pursīd kū: "wāng ī ahreman be ō cē homānāg?"  
 (2) u-š guft kū: "ō \*garrānāg ud wāng ī xar, wāng ī šagr,  
 wāng ī uštar ī dēnōdag, wāng ī \*griyēndag wāng ī mard ī  
 ahlaw ka-š adādestānīhā zanēd ud wāng kunēd."  
 c (1) "ēn-iz stārag ī be widerēd cē?"  
 (2) "ēn ahōgēnišn ī az ahreman; ka ō mardōmān ōftēd  
 wars spēd kunēd, ud ka ō urwarān ōftēd be  
 hōšēnēd, ud ka be [ō] gōspandān ōftēd, mīrēnd."

7. MSS 'BYDWNyt'. 8. MSS K'L'Y throughout this ch. 9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 10. MSS gwlg; M. reads gurg. 11. BK has also K'L'Y here. 12. BK gldynnd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J glynd. 13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'wlw'n. 14. M. omits accidentally. 15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'wptyt'. 16. So MSS; M. reads ō.



- (3) W ZNH stwn ZY 'YT' spyt' 'YT' zlt' 'YT' dpl MH
- (4) KR' MH<sup>17</sup> spyt' MN dhšn' ZY 'whrmzd<sup>18</sup> W ZK ZY dtygl  
 MN dhšn' ZY 'hlmn' ZK ZY spyt' PWN hdyb'lyh ZY  
 w'l'n' W ZK ZY dtygl PWN \*hmyst'lyh<sup>19</sup> ZY w'l'n'
- (5) ZNH\*K'L' ZY BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Ps 'ywk' pshw' L'WXL Y'TWNyt' ' MH
- (6) 'MT \*K'L' ZY pl'lw'n' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> '-s \*K'L' ZY pl'lw'n pshw'  
 Y'TWNyt' W yzd'n nylwk' YXWWNyt' 'MT \*K'L' ZY 'p'lw'n'  
 '-s 'p'lw'n' pshw' Y'TWNyt' W ŠDY-'n' nylwk' YXWWNyt'
- (7) 'LHs'n 'thš ZY swcynd ZY hwlg L' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> ' MH
- (8) W 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK KR' ZY hwlg 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'whrmzd  
 ZK ZY-s hwlg W bl'h L' YXWWNyt' 'hlmn' YXBWNt'

- (3) "ud ēn stūn ī ast spēd, ast zard, ast dabr cē?" D.111
- (4) "harw cē spēd az dahišn ī ohrmazd, ud hān ī dudīgar  
 az dahišn ī ahreman; hān ī spēd pad hayyārīh ī  
 wārān ud hān ī dudīgar pad \*hamēstārīh ī wārān." D.112
- (5) "ēn wang ī be kunēd u-s ēwag passox abāz ayēd, a cē?"
- (6) "ka wāng ī frārōn kunēd, a-s wāng ī frārōn passox  
 āyēd ud yazdān nērōg bawēd; ka wāng ī abārōn,  
 a-s abārōn passox āyēd ud dēwān nērōg bawēd."
- (7) "awēsān ātaxs ī sōzēnd ī xwarg nē kunēd a cē?"
- (8) ud ohrmazd guft kū: "harw ī xwarg kunēd, ohrmazd;  
 hān ī-s xwarg ud brāh nē bawēd, ahreman dād"

17. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 18. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'wlwm'y. 19. M.'s  
 emendation; BK hmyst'l'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hmyst'l ZY

- (1) ZNHc py't'k' 'YK zltwhst' BR' 'L 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK 'MT LK  
BR' 'ZLWNydy W Lyc BR' 'ZLWNm PWN tn' 'wmndyh \*'YMT<sup>1</sup> L'WXL  
YXMTWNNm<sup>2</sup>
- (2) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK PWN hncmn ZY [y]stw'stl'n
- (3) ZNHc py't'k' 'YK lwb'n ZY 'hlwb'n' 'ywk' LWTH TWB KN lsynd  
dwst' W 'X<sup>4</sup> W 'B' W BRH \*hwys'wnd<sup>5</sup> W NYŠH swd
- (4) 'MT dlwnd XWH'd ' L' YXMTWNNd<sup>6</sup> PWN 'pdwmyh
- (5) 'MT zltwhst' MN L'YN' 'whrmzd BR' Y'TWNT'<sup>7</sup> BR' gldst'  
'Ps gwpt' 'YK 'whrmzd L 'mlg BR' 'BYDWN
- (6) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK L' s'y't' krt' MH twl<sup>8</sup> ZY bl'tlwš<sup>9</sup>  
ZY klp'<sup>10</sup> ZY 'hlmm' YKTLWNT[n]' ZY LK l'd YXBWNT'

- (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū zardušt be ō ohrmazd guft kū: "ka tō D.112  
be šawē ud man-iz be šawēm, pad tanōmandīh \*kay abāz  
rasēm?"
- (2) ohrmazd guft kū: "pad hanjaman ī [i]sadwāstarān".
- (3) ēn-iz paydāg kū ruwān ī ahlawān ēwag abāg did ōh rasēnd, D.113  
dōst ud brād ud pid ud pus ud \*xwēšāwand ud zan ud šōy.
- (4) ka druwand hēnd, a nē rasēnd pad abdomīh.
- (5) ka zardušt az pēš ohrmazd be āmad be griyist  
u-š guft kū: "ohrmazd, man amarg be kun!"
- (6) ohrmazd guft kū: "nē šayēd kard, cē tūr ī brādarwaxš,  
ī karb, ī ahreman ōzad[an] ī tō rāy dād,

1. D.'s emendation; MSS 'MT. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXMTWNNyt. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
J; BK l'swnd. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-s; M. emends to dwst'. 5. D.'s  
emendation; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J hwys'wnd; IO hwys'wnd'n'. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK  
YXMTWNNyt. 7. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK Y'TWNTyt. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK twl.  
9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J bl'tlwš. 10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK tn', written, probably, from  
a misreading of klp' as kirb "body" instead of karb "hostile priest".

- ZK 'mlg BR' YXWWNyt W lyst'hyc' W tn'  
 ZY psyn' L' YXWWNyt MNWs<sup>11</sup> dlgs'n 'dmyt' 'wbs YXSNNd  
 (7) zltwhst'<sup>12</sup> glyd'n' pshw' gwpt' 'YK<sup>13</sup> w't' LK YXBWNt' MY' LK  
 YXBWNt' TYN' LK YXBWNt' 'ths LK YXBWNt' KR' MND'M LK YXBWNt' BR'  
 nkyl c'lk' ZY L B'YXWN 'YK MN mlg BR' \*bwht' \*XWH'm<sup>14</sup>  
 (8) W 'XL 'whrmzd hlt' ZY hlwsp'-k's QDM 'L zltwhst' YBLWNt'  
 (9) zltwhst' KR' MH bwt' W \*,YT<sup>15</sup> W YXWWNyt' ZY ZNH gyw'k<sup>16</sup>  
 ZY gytydy W ZKc ZY mynwg W ZKc ZY KR' 'YŠ BR' XZYTWNt<sup>17</sup>

hān amarg be bawēd, ud ristāxēz ud tan

D.113

ī pasēn nē bawēd, kā-s driyōšān ēmēd awiš dārēnd."

- (7) zardušt griyān passox guft kū: "wād tō dād, āb tō  
 dād, gil tō dād, ātaxs tō dād, harw čis tō dād, be  
 niger, čārag ī man xwāh kū az marg be \*bōxt hom."  
 (8) ud pas ohrmazd xrad ī harwis-p-āgāh abar ō zardušt burd.  
 (9) zardušt harw čē būd ud \*ast ud bawēd ī ēn gyāg  
 ī gētīg, ud hān-iz ī mēnōg ud hān-iz ī harw kas be dīd.

D.113/114

11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'MTs. 12. After zltwhst' BK has also dlgyws'n.  
 13. After 'YK MSS have also L'; D. omits; M. emends to 'D ("Since you  
 created ..."). 14. MSS bwhtym (i.e. ENP form). 15. M.'s reading;  
 MSS 'ytwn'. 16. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK d'n'k. 17. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK XZYTWNyt.

- (10) 'Ps XZYTWnt' gyw'k' ZY 'LH MNW 'mlg bwt' 'Ps prznd  
L' YXWWnt' 'Ps \*'ndwhkyn'<sup>18</sup> W pymkyn' MDMHNst'<sup>19</sup>
- (11) 'Ps XZYTWnt'<sup>20</sup> gyw'k' ZY 'LH MNW mlg'wmnd YXWWnt 'Ps prznd  
YXWWnt W \*l'msnyh'wmnd<sup>21</sup> W s'tyh'wmnd MDMHNst'
- (12) 'Ps 'XL BR' 'L 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK \*wtyl'wmndyh<sup>22</sup>  
\*,-m<sup>23</sup> ŠPYL MDMHNYt 'YK hm'y - zywndkyh W L'YT' - przndyh
- (13) 'whrmzd gwpt' 'YK ŠPYL 'Pt nywk' \*nywhsyt'<sup>24</sup> W \*XZYTWnt'<sup>25</sup>  
zlthwst' <sup>26</sup>\*'YK \*'MT<sup>26</sup> prznd ZY 'snwtk' \*,-m<sup>23</sup> ŠPYL MDMHNYt'  
'YK 'MT hm'y zywndk' 'wmndyh 'Pt' prznd L'YT' NYŠH 'XDWN

- (10) u-s dīd gyāg ī ōy kē amarg būd, u-s frazand  
nē būd, u-s \*andōhgēn ud pīmgēn sahist. D.114
- (11) u-s dīd gyāg ī ōy kē margōmand būd, u-s frazand  
būd, ud \*rāmišnihōmand ud sādīhōmand sahist.
- (12) u-s pas be ō ohrmazd guft kū: "widerōmandīh  
\*a-m weh sahēd kū hamē - zīndagīh ud nēst - frazandīh."
- (13) ohrmazd guft kū: "wēh, u-t nēk \*niyōxsīd ud \*dīd,  
zardušt, \*kū \*ka frazand ī āsnūdag \*a-m weh sahēd  
kū ka hame-zīndagōmandīh u-t frazand nēst; zan gīr,

18. M.'s emendation; BK 'ndhkkyn'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'ndhkyn'. 19. MSS have also XWH'd. 20. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK XZYTWt'. 21. M.'s emendation; MSS l'msnyk'wmnd. 22. D.'s emendation; MSS wtyl'wmnd. 23. MSS 'Pm. 24. BK nywksyt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J nyws'yt'. 25. M.'s emendation; MSS 'YT'. 26. M.'s emendation; BK MNW; MR<sub>1</sub>, J MNW MN MNW.

'Dt prznđ YXWWNyt' MH KR' MNWS PWN wn'sk'lyh NYŠH L'YT'

BR' 'L whšt' L' YXMTWNyt'

- (14) 'NSWT'- 'n ZK ZY MN 'pst'k' W znd<sup>27</sup> W ZK ZY  
 PWN 'YNH' XZYTWNd<sup>28</sup> W PWN gws 'snw[y]nd '-s'n hmwhtsn'  
 W nywhšsn'<sup>29</sup> 'p'yt' [krtn'] MHS'n' MN hmwhtsn' d'n'kyh 'Ps'n  
 MN nywhšsn nyd'tkyh<sup>30</sup> W clpyh YXWWNyt' W MN d'n'kyh W clpyh  
 BR' 'L whšt' W glwtm'n W wynšn' ZY 'whrmzd  
 W 'mhrspnd'n mtr' 'lc'nykyh YXWWNyt'

tā-t frazand bawēd, čē harw kē-s, pad wināhgārīh, zan nēst  
 be ō wahišt nē rasēd."

D.114

- (14) mardōmān hān ī az abestāg ud zand ud hān ī  
 pad čašm wēnēnd ud pad gōš ašnawēnd a-sān hammōxtisn  
 ud niyōxšisn abāyēd [kardan]; čē-sān az hammōxtisn dānāgīh u-sān  
 az niyōxšisn nihādagīh ud čarbīh bawēd, ud az dānāgīh ud čarbīh  
 be ō wahišt ud garōdmān ud wēnišn ī ohrmazd  
 ud amahraspandān mihr arzānīgīh bawēd.

D.114/115

27. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK zwnd. 28. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK XZYTWd. 29. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK nywhšsn. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK n'y'tkyh.

- a (1) XN<sup>1</sup> 'YK 'ths PWN h'nk' cygwn 'p'yt' d'stn'  
 (2) 'ysm KR' b'l 'MTs QDM XNXTWNd 3 b'l hwp BR'  
 \*nkylsn<sup>2</sup> W DKY' BR' kwnsn' 'Ps 'XL 'wbs XNXTWNsn'  
 (3) 'LH MNWs nzdyk' YTYBWNyt' '-s<sup>3</sup> MRY' 'L 'ths L' gwbsn'  
 W 'MT YMRRWNyt' '-s<sup>3</sup> MND 'M-I PWN PWMH W wynyk pr'c  
 'XDWNsn' 'ytwn' \*ZKS<sup>4</sup> w't' ZY MN PWMH W wynyk' BR'  
 Y'TWNyt' BR' 'L 'ths L' YXMTWNyt'  
 (4) W 'MTs k'l plm'dynd hm'y 'MTs k'l krt' BR' 'p'yt' cytn'  
 (5) 'Ps'n bl'h hcS L'WXL 'XDWNsn' W PWN gyw'k' BR' XNXTWNsn'  
 'p'ryk' BR' 'L 'twlwk' W 'ths ZY wlhl'n' YBLWNsn'  
 (6) 'MTs dyg' QDM XNXTWNd MY' W BSLY' 'ytwn' 'p'yt'

- a (1) ēd, kū ātaxs pad xānag čiyōn abāyēd dāstan. D.115  
 (2) ēsm harw bār ka-s abar nihēnd, sē bār xūb be  
 \*nigeriśn ud pāk be kuniśn, u-s pas awiś nihiśn.  
 (3) ōy kē-s nazdīk niśīnēd a-s saxwan ō ātaxs nē gōwiśn,  
 ud ka gōwēd a-s čis-ē pad dahān ud wēnīg frāz  
 gīriśn, ēdōn \*hān-iś wād ī az dahān ud wēnīg be  
 āyēd be ō ātaxs nē rasēd.  
 (4) ud ka-s kār framāyēnd, hamē ka-s kār kard, be abāyēd čīdan.  
 (5) u-sān brāh az-iś abāz gīriśn ud pad gyāg be nihiśn;  
 abārīg be ō ādurōg ud ātaxs ī warahrān bariśn.  
 (6) ka-s dēg abar nihēnd āb ud gōšt ēdōn abāyēd D.115/116

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J ZNH. 2. BK ngylsn'; MR<sub>1</sub> nk'lsn'. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Ps.  
 4. MSS ZYs.

- krtn' \*ZKS<sup>4</sup> PWN 3 2 BYN YXWNYt' MH 'MTs wys  
 YXWNYt MY' PWN 'ths BYN 'ZLWNYt' KR' b'l-XD 55 ZWZN'  
 wn's W 'MT 'XL MN ZK 'MT hwlsn' mt' dyg' QDM 'ths  
 BR' ŠBKWNx<sub>1</sub> '-s<sup>3</sup> \*plm'n-XD<sup>5</sup> wn's
- (7) W 'MT 'ths BR' L' cynyt' BR' pr'c 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'D[Y]Ns  
 \*hw'l<sup>6</sup> kwnsn'<sup>7</sup> W LBWŠY'<sup>8</sup> PWN zmst'n XD wtyst' 'Ps  
 PWN h'myn' 5 wtyst' \*pyl'mwn'<sup>9</sup> KR' gyw'k' pr'c kwnsn'  
 W MN pr'c krt[n]' pr'c PWN h'myn' lwc-šp'n  
 3 PWN \*zmst'n<sup>10</sup> lwck'-šp'n<sup>11</sup> 2 PWN \*NTLWNSn<sup>11</sup> kwnsn'
- (8) KR' b'l-I BR' 'plwcsn' 'MT L' ' lweyt 'tpd't'<sup>12</sup> l'd

- kardan \*hān-is pad sē dō andar bawēd, cē ka-s wēs D.116  
 bawēd, āb pad ātaxs andar sawēd, harw bār-ēw panjāh ud panj drahm  
 wināh; ud ka pas az hān ka xwarišn mad, dēg abar ātaxs  
 be hilēnd, a-s framān-ēw wināh.
- (7) ud ka ātaxs be nē cīnēd be fraz kunēd, ēg-is  
 \*xwār kunišn ud warr, pad zamestān ēw widest, u-s  
 pad hāmīn panj widest, \*pērāmōn harw gyāg frāz kunišn;  
 ud az frāz kard[an] frāz pad hāmīn rōz-šabān  
 sē, pad zamestān rōzag-šabān dō pad \*payišn kunišn.
- (8) harw bār-ē be abrōzišn ka nē abrōzēd adwadād rāy

4. MSS ZYS. 5. MSS plmw'n-XD. 6. M.'s emendation; MSS 'YN's h'l  
 7. M. places a comma after kunišn and not after warr (which he renders  
 "ashes"). 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK LWBWSY'. 9. BK pylmw'n; MR<sub>1</sub>, J pylmw'n.  
 10. MSS zmyst'n'. 11. MSS have here 2 PWN TLYN'; M. reads  
 2 [bār], paḍ dō and translates "twice during (each of) both", see comm.  
 n. 8. 12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'tcd't.

KR' b'l plm'n-XD

- (9) 'MT BR' 'pslyt'<sup>13</sup> 90<sup>14</sup> wn's
- (10) 'MTs 'XL \*'wgn'<sup>15</sup> 'plwčšn' W LBWŠY'<sup>8</sup> 'wgn cygwnm  
hčpl npšt' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W BR' 'pslyt wn's-I L'YT'
- (11) W 'MTs YDH BR' BYN 'L tnwl blyt W mwd BR'  
swcyt' \*300<sup>16</sup> wn's
- (12) W 'MT hnd'm BR' swcyt' W L' 'ytwm' \*'YK'<sup>17</sup>  
pr'c' YNSBWNyt'<sup>18</sup> W BR' ['w]s'nyt \*300<sup>16</sup> wn's 'MT pr'c YNSBWNyt'<sup>19</sup>  
W BR' [']ws'nyt<sup>20</sup> , mlg'lc'n'
- (13) 'MT MY ZY glm BR' 'L<sup>21</sup> hnd'm YXMTIWNyt' W lys  
YXWWNyt \*<sup>22</sup> PWNc 'ywk' dšt' ZK ZY XD wc'lsn'

harw bār framān-ēw.

D.116

- (9) ka ba afsarēd, nawād wināh.
- (10) ka-s pas \*ōwōn abrōzišn ud warr, ōwōn čiyōn-om  
azabar nibišt kunišn, ud be afsarēd, wināh-ē nēst.
- (11) ud ka-s dast be andar ō tanūr barēd ud mōy be  
sōzēd, \*sē sad wināh.
- (12) ud ka handām be sōzēd ud nē ēdōn \*kū  
frāz stanēd ud be [ō]sānēd sē sad wināh; ka frāz stanēd  
ud be [ō]sanēd, a margarzān.
- (13) ka āb ī garm be ō handām rasēd ud rēs  
bawēd,\* a pad-iz ēwag dišt hān ī ēw wizārišn,

D.116/117

13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'pslt'; M. reads apsarēδ but translates as a transitive verb apsārēδ "extinguished". 14. M. reads [paδ] gāh "(sin) ... on the spot". 15. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'k'n'; IO nkwyn, which M. reads nōyvēn "anew". 16. M.'s emendation; MSS g's-100. 17. MSS 'MT. 18. MSS YNSBWd. 19. BK YNSBWd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YNXYNd. 20. BK w'snyt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J s'nyt'. 21. MR, J; lacking in BK. 22. MSS XD; M. reads ēδ "then".



\*PWNC<sup>23</sup> 'ywk'-I W PRG dst' \*2 \*dst'<sup>24</sup> dst' 100  
styl<sup>25</sup> wn's

(14) 'MT 'L 'XR[N] 'YŠ lycyt' '-c hmgw[n]k YXWWNyt'

b (1) ZNHc pyt'k 'YK 'thš 'MT BR' cynynd \*'-s<sup>1</sup> krpk' MH

(2) 'thš ZY ns'y-p'k<sup>2</sup> 'MT BR' cynynd BR' 'L 'twlwk'

YBLWNd bywl plm'n krpk' W ns'y-p'k ZK YXWWNyt'

MNWS ns'y pt-s blycynd 'ywp pcynd

(3) ZK MNWS lng<sup>3</sup> ZY \*hhl'wmnd<sup>4</sup> pt-s 'PPWNd 1,000 plm'n'

lng ZY hhl'wmnd \*glm-c<sup>5</sup>

(4) ZK MNWS dwsynk' pts 'PPWNd \*1,000<sup>6</sup> plm'n

(5) ZK MNWS \*pt-s<sup>7</sup> lyt'n swcynd 200<sup>8</sup> plm'n'

pad-iz ēwag-ē ud nēm dišt \*dō \*dišt; dišt sad

D.117

stēr wināh.

(14) ka ō any kas rēzēd, a-z hamgōnag bawēd.

b (1) ēn-iz paydāg, kū ātaxš ka be cīnēnd \*a-s kirbag cē?

(2) ātaxš ī nasā-pāk ka be cīnēnd be ō ādurōg

barēnd, bēwar framān kirbag; ud nasā-pāk hān bawēd

kā-s nasā padīš brēzēnd ayāb pazēnd.

(3) hān kē-s rang ī \*hixrōmand pad-is pazēnd, hazār framān;

rang ī hixrōmand \*garm-iz.

(4) hān kē-s dōsēnag padīš pazēnd, \*hazār framān.

(5) hān kē-s pad-is rīdān sōzēnd, dō sad framān.

D.117/118

23. M.'s emendation; MSS 5 (panj). 24. M.'s emendation; numerals

are corrupt in MSS: BK 100 4 XD; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 100 80 XD. 25. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;

BK stsl. 1. MSS '-'. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK p'yk'. 3. BK lwng.

4. BK hhlw'wmnd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hhl'wmnd. 5. D.'s emendation; MSS klm-c.

6. M.'s emendation; BK 2,000, 3; MR<sub>1</sub> 200. 7. M.'s emendation;

MSS pyš. 8. M. emends to 100.

- (6) ZK ZY zlykl'n 100 plm'n  
 (7) ZK ZY cyl'ngl'n 70<sup>9</sup> plm'n  
 (8) ZK ZY 'syngl'n 90<sup>9</sup> plm'n  
 (9) ZK ZY \*'hngl'n<sup>10</sup> 80<sup>11</sup> plm'n  
 (10) ZK ZY MN tnwl \*60<sup>12</sup> plm'n'  
 (11) ZK ZY hcyl dyg' 50<sup>13</sup> plm'n'  
 (12) ZK ZY L'YN' ['swb'l'n'] nyw'n' swcynd<sup>14</sup> 40 plm'n'  
 (13) ZK ZY L'YN' hlbnk'n ZY PWN l's YXWWNd swcynd 30 plm'n  
 (14) W ZK ZY <sup>15</sup> MN k'l-XD n'mcst' L' gwpt' 20 plm'n  
 (15) ZK ZY \*MN<sup>16</sup> nzdyk' ZY NPSH 10 plm'n  
 (16) ZNH hm'k PWN kmyst'yh ZK 'nd krpk' KN YXWWNyt

- (6) hān ī zarrīgarān, sad framān. D.118  
 (7) hān ī cēlāngarān, haftād framān.  
 (8) hān ī āsēmgarān, nawād framān.  
 (9) hān ī āhangarān, \*haštād framān.  
 (10) hān ī az tanūr, \*šast framān.  
 (11) hān ī azēr dēg, panjah framān.  
 (12) hān ī pēš [aswārān] nēwān sōzēnd, čehel framān.  
 (13) hān ī pēš xarbandagān ī pad rāh bawēnd sōzēnd, sī framān.  
 (14) ud hān ī az kār-ēw nāmčist nē guft, wīst framān.  
 (15) hān ī \*az nazdīk ī xwēš, dah framān.  
 (16) ēn hamāg pad kamistīh hān and kirbag ōh bawēd;

9. MSS have the numeral 90/70; M. reads 50. 10. BK 'yn'l'n'; MR<sub>1</sub> 'yngl'n; IO 'yngl'n; M. emends to āyurān "brick kilns", following D.'s reference to N.P. āgūr. 11. The numeral is corrupt in MSS; BK has μ i.e. as for normal XD; MR<sub>1</sub> has μμ as for 'h or 80.  
 12. MSS have μ; M. reads 50. 13. The numeral 50 is clearly written here. <sup>SS</sup>10 and 11 are lacking in BK. 14. MR<sub>1</sub>, J swcd.  
 15. MSS have also L'YN. 16. MSS MNW.

- 'MT wys-c YXWWNyt' KR' plm'n-XD krpk' 3 ZWZN'  
 \*PWNc<sup>17</sup> ZWZN-I YXWWNyt W ['YT'] MNW 4  
ZWZN PWN \*ZWZN-I<sup>18</sup> gwpt'  
 (17) 'ths ZY BYT'-yk' 'MT k'l \*ZY<sup>19</sup> pyhw' wys<sup>20</sup> plm'dynd-c  
 '-s<sup>20</sup> plm'n-XD wn's  
 (18) 'MT cnd-XD<sup>21</sup> ŠNT' L' cynynd KR' b'l<sup>22</sup> ZYs  
 k'l plm'dynd plm'n-XD wn's  
 (19) 'MTs CYB' ZY t1 QDM XNXTWNd 'ywp BSLY' QDM  
 hyst<sup>23</sup> blycynd KR' b'l-I 'ww[y]lst'-XD YXWWNyt  
 \*,ywk<sup>24</sup> \*ZWZN<sup>25</sup>

ka wēs-iz bawēd harw framān-ēw kirbag sē drahm

D.118

\*pad-iz drahm-ē bawēd ud [ast] kē čahār

drahm pad \*drahm-ē guft.

- (17) ātaxs ī xānagīg ka kār \*ī pih wēs framāyēnd-iz,  
 a-s framān-ēw wināh.  
 (18) ka čand-ēw sāl nē činēnd, harw bār ī-s  
 kār framāyēnd framān-ēw wināh.  
 (19) ka-s ēsm ī tarr abar nihēnd ayāb gōšt abar  
 hišt brēzēnd, harw bār-ē awōirist-ēw bawēd  
 ēwag drahm.

17. M.'s emendation; MSS سر (5). 18. M.'s emendation; BK  
سر; MR<sub>1</sub>, سر. 19. MSS XN'. 20. So MSS; M. emends to  
framāyēnd, \*ē-c-īs. 21. M. omits ēw, following MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 22. MSS  
b'l-I. 23. MSS hwyst'. 24. MSS y'k (for ENP يك "one?"); M.  
 reads 50 (panjāh). 25. MSS ZWZN-2.

GBR'-I hm'k-dyn'-XD PWN lwb'n' ZY nyd'k'n ZY NPSH l'd<sup>1</sup>  
 BR' YCBHNYt' ystn' 'ytn' wys krpk'tl<sup>2</sup> YXWWNYt' ZK 'nd ZWZN'  
 cnd \*ZY-s<sup>3</sup> 'L dhsn' ZY hm'k-dyn' hm'y XYMWNYt'<sup>4</sup> YXBWNt' ZY (PWN  
 dhsn' ZY BR' 'L lwb'n' ZY nyd'k'n YXBWNt')<sup>5</sup> W 'ywk' 'ywk'  
 gwk'n ZY ZK dhsn' lwsn' L'WXL YMR[R]WN't' 'YK 4 ZWZN  
 lwb'n' ZY w'hm'n' 4 ZWZN lwb'n' ZY w'hm'n' ZY NPSH  
 W 4 ZWZN L NPSH W 'XL MN ZK PWN  
 \*hmpsckyh<sup>6</sup> ZK ZWZN BR' 'L hm'k-dyn' YXBWNyt' W hm'k-dyn'  
 PWN \*hmpsckyh<sup>7</sup> YDBXWNd W KR' GBR'-I \*MNW<sup>8</sup> hm'k-dyn-I  
 \*yst'<sup>9</sup> 'LH' krpk' ZY l'tyh NPSH' YXWWNYt

mard-ē hamāg-dēn-ēw pad ruwān ī niyāgān ī xwēs rāy  
 be kāmēd yaštan, ēdōn wēs kirbagtar bawēd hān and drahm  
 čand \*ī-s ō dahišn ī hamāg-dēn hamē wurrōyēd dād (ī pad  
 dahišn ī be ō ruwān ī niyāgān dād). ud ēwag ēwag  
 gōkān ī hān dahišn rōšn abāz gōwād, kū: "čahār drahm  
 ruwān ī wāhmān, čahār drahm ruwān ī wāhmān ī xwēs,  
 ud čahār drahm man xwēs"; ud pas az hān pad  
 \*hampassazagīh hān drahm be ō hamāg-dēn dahēd, ud hamāg-dēn  
 pad \*hampassazagīh yazēnd. ud harw mard-ē \*kē hamāg-dēn-ē  
 \*yašt ōy kirbag ī rādīh xwēs bawēd.

D.119

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK L'. 2. BK wyskrp'tl. 3. M.'s emendation; MSS 'Ps.
4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'smwn (i.e. XYMWNYt); D. suggests emending to YCBHNYt'.
5. These ten words lacking in MR<sub>1</sub> and written on the margin in J, gloss the preceding dahišn ī abāg dēn. 6. M.'s emendation; MSS 'MT'<sub>c</sub> DKY'. 7. M.'s emendation; MSS 'MT' DKY'. 8. Lacking in BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'MT. 9. MSS ystn'.

- a GBR'-I 'MT 'XTH 'ywp BRTH PWN znyh BR' 'L GBR'-I  
 nywk YXBWNyt' 'wgnw pyt'k' 'YK dh(y)sn'-I ZK ms  
 W 'mhrspnd MN dh(y)sn' ZY 'LH hwsnwttl YXWWNd  
 'Ps \*300<sup>1</sup> bwn krpk' 'XL krpk' MN krpk' KN YXWWNyt
- b (1) ZNH 'YK NYŠH' BYN swd cygwn SGYTW[N]sn'  
 (2) NYŠH ZY p'ths'dyh' KR' YWM 4 b'l BR' 'L swd 'p'yt'  
 ptk'lt'n' 'YKt MH 'p'yt' 'MT mynym W YMR[R]WNm W 'BYDWNm  
 MH L' YD'YTWNm 'YK MH 'p'yt' 'MT mynym W YMRRWNm  
 W 'BYDWNm BR' \*YMRRWN \*D<sup>2</sup> ZK mynym W YMRRWNm W 'BYDWNm  
ZY LK 'p'yt' KR' ZK ZY pl'lw'n' swd YMRRWNyt' '-s ZK

- a mard-ē ka xwah ayāb duxt pad zanīh be ō mard-ē D.119  
 nek dahēd, ōwōn paydāg kū dahišn-ē hān meh D.119/120  
 ud amahraspand az dahišn ī ōy hušnūdtar bawēnd,  
 u-s \*sē sad bun kirbag; pas kirbag az kirbag ōh bawēd.
- b (1) ēn kū: zan andar šōy čiyōn rawišn?  
 (2) zan ī pādixšāyīhā harw rōz sē bār be ō šōy abāyēd  
 pahikardan kū: "-t čē abāyēd ka mēnēm ud gōwēm ud kunēm,  
 čē nē dānēm kū čē abāyēd ka mēnēm ud gōwēm  
 ud kunēm, be \*gōw, \*tā hān mēnēm ud gōwēm ud kunēm  
 ī tō abāyēd"? harw hān ī frārōn šōy gōwēd a-s hān

1. M.'s reading; MSS سوی. 2. M.'s reading; MSS YMRRWNd.

'p'yt' krt'n' 'Ps MN 'c'l W bys ZY swd BR'

'p'yt' p'hlyht'

- (3) 'MT PWN ZNH 'dwynt' tsk's[yh]<sup>3</sup> ZY swd<sup>4</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W swd  
 L' gwpt' \*'styt' 'YK 'L YXBWN BYN ŠNT' dlhn'd  
 210<sup>5</sup> ZWZN MN MND'M ZY swd BR' YXBWNt  
 ŠLYT' W 'MTs yst' krt' YK'YMWNyt' 'Ps zwt'-XD W \*h'wn'n-XD<sup>6</sup>  
 hc-s YLYDWNt'\*'styt' 'D 300<sup>7</sup> ZWZN BR' \*YXBWNt<sup>8</sup> ŠLYT' W KR'  
 2-'n krpk' KN YXWNNyt' NYŠH W swd MN ZK ywdt PWN  
 swd dstwblyh BR' p'ths'd YXBWNtn' KR' ZK MNWs swd

abāyēd kardan, u-s az āzār ud bēs ī sōy be

D.120

abāyēd pahrēxt.

- (3) ka pad ēn ēwēnag tarsagāh[Th] ī sōy kunēd, ud sōy  
 nē guft estēd kū: "ma dah!" andar sāl drahnāy  
 dō sad ud dah drahm az čis ī sōy be dād  
 pādixsāy; ud ka-s yašt kard estēd u-s zōt-ēw ud \*hāwanān-ēw  
 az-iš zād estēd, tā sē sad drahm be \*dād pādixsāy, ud harw D.120/121  
 dōān kirbag ōh bawēd zan ud sōy. az hān jud pad  
 sōy dastwarīh be pādixsāy dādan; harw hān kē-s sōy

3. M.'s emendation; MSS tsk's. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.  
 5. M. reads 110. 6. MSS h'wn XN'. 7. Before 300 BK has the  
 numeral 3; the numerals are corrupted in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 8. M.'s  
 emendation; MSS YXBWNyt.

<sup>10</sup>dstwbl[yh] p<sup>t</sup>s L' YXWWNyt' BR' YXBWNyt' d<sup>w</sup>c' YXWWNyt ZK<sup>9</sup> ZY<sup>10</sup>  
 PWN dstwbl[yh] ZY s<sup>w</sup>d BR' YXBWNyt'<sup>11</sup> KR' 2-'n [krpk'] KN YXWWNyt  
 W dhšn' 'L 'LH' kwnšn' MNW wyhdyn' 'Pš wys BYN  
 'p'yt' 'Pš PWN wn'sk'lyh<sup>12</sup> L' sn'syt' W 'MT' hm'k' ZWZN  
 \*,<sub>ml</sub><sup>13</sup> BYN 'p'yt' BR' 'L 'LH ZY mgwg-GBR' L'YN' 'p'yt'  
 YXBWNt' 'L dlgwš'n PWN ZNH cym wys YXBWNšn' MH 'MTš  
 L' YXBWNyt' 'Pš 'tpd't' YXWWNyt 'ywp'-š mlg<sup>y</sup>h W lyšt<sup>y</sup>kyh QDM  
 YXMTWNyt' 'LH MNws 'YT' W L' YXBWNyt' ' mlg'lc'n 'L  
 bwn YXWWNyt ZKc 'L NYŠH W prznd ZY NPŠH 'ywp  
 'L 'LH 'YŠ MNws BYN<sup>14</sup> 'p'yt' krpk' YXWWNyt

dastwar[ih] pa<sup>d</sup>iš nē bawēd, bē dahēd, duz bawēd; hān ī  
 pad dastwar[ih] ī šōy be dahēd, harw dōān [kirbag] ōh bawēd.  
 ud dahišn ō ōy kunišn kē wehdēn, u-š wēš andar  
 abāyēd, u-š pad wināhgārīh nē snāsēd; ud ka hamāg drahm  
 amar andar abāyēd, be ō ōy ī mōg-mard pēš abāyed  
 dād. ō driyōšān pad ēn čim wēš dahišn, čē ka-š  
 nē dahēd, u-š adwadād bawed, ayāb-iš margīh ud rēstagīh abar  
 rasēd, ōy kē-š ast ud nē dahēd a margarzān ō  
 bun bawēd; hān-iz ō zan ud frazand ī xwēš, ayāb  
 ō ōy kas kē-š andar abāyēd kirbag bawēd.

D.121

9. The words PWN dstwbl p<sup>t</sup>s L' YXWWNyt BR' YXBWNyt' d<sup>w</sup>c' YXWWNyt ZK are repeated in BK, IO. 10. The words dstwbl ... ZY are lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>; they are written on margin in J. 11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXBWNt.  
 12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'sk'lyh. 13. MSS 'ym'l. 14. After BYN BK has L' before 'p'yt''.

## Chapter 40

- (1) hwlsyt' \*yšt'<sup>1</sup> KR' b'l-I [ywdt MN]<sup>2</sup> krpk' ZY 'pst'k' gwptn'  
plm'n krpk' [krpk' ZY 'pst'k' gwptn'<sup>2</sup>] KR' w'ck'-I plm'n-XD
- (2) m'h yšt' KR' b'l-I ywdt MN krpk' ZY 'pst'k' gwptn'  
plm'n-XD krpk' krpk' ZY 'pst'k' gwpt[n]' KR' w'ck-I plm'n-XD
- (3) 'whrmzd W yzd'n'<sup>3</sup> 'p'ryk \*ycšnyh'<sup>4</sup> hm'ytn' YXWWNyt'
- (4) hwlsyt' W nwk'-m'h 'MT L' YDBXWNyt' KR' b'l-I  
plm'n-XD wn's
- (5) 'pryg'n'<sup>5</sup> gwpt[n]' KR' \*'pryg'n-I<sup>6</sup> krpk' '-s'<sup>7</sup> plm'n-XD ywdt  
MN krpk' ZY 'pst'k' gwptn' W [krpk' ZY] 'pst'k'  
KR' w'ck'-XD<sup>8</sup> gwptn'<sup>9</sup> plm'n-XD

- (1) xwarsēd \*yašt harw bār-ē [jud az] kirbag ī abestāg guftan D.121/122  
framān kirbag; [kirbag ī abestāg guftan] harw wāzag-ē framān-ēw.
- (2) mäh yašt harw bār-ē jud az kirbag ī abestāg guftan  
framān-ēw kirbag; kirbag ī abestāg guft[an] harw wāzag-ē framān-ēw.
- (3) ohrmazd ud yazdān abārīg yazišnīhā hamēdōn bawēd.
- (4) xwarsēd ud nōg-mäh ka nē yazēd harw bār-ē  
framān-ēw wināh.
- (5) āfrīnagān guft[an]: harw āfrīnagān-ē kirbag a-s framān-ēw jud  
az kirbag ī abestāg guftan,ud [kirbag ī] abestāg  
harw wāzag-ēw guftan framān-ēw.

1. MSS yštn'. 2. M. suggests the words in parentheses.  
3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK yhywn'. 4. M.'s reading; MSS 'šnyh'. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
J; BK 'pryg'n'. 6. D.'s emendation; MSS 'pryg'n-I. 7. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
J; BK '-'. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK w'c-XD. 9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.



## Chapter 41

ZNH 'YK mlg'lc'n cnd 'dwyнк' YXWVNyt'  
 mlg'lc'n KBD 'dwyнк' BR' ZK ZY n'mcstyк' ZNH 'nd GBR'  
 YKTLWNtn' y'twkyh \*LPWNtn'<sup>1</sup> ns'y BR' 'L MY' W 'ths bwltn'  
 ns'y PWN wn'sk'lyh 'ŠTHNtn' ns'y ZY KLB' L' XZYTWNt' PWN  
 wn'sk'lyh PWN tn'-XD ywmbynytn' ns'y nk'n  
 krtn' PWN lo ŠNT kwnmlc l's d'stn' \*stwlskynyšnyh<sup>2</sup>  
 NYŠH ZY 'YŠ-'n YNSBWNt[n]' PWN ŠNT dlhn'd  
 'ths ZY wlhl'n YKT[L]Ntn' wt-'hwyh \*zwl-gwk'dyyh<sup>3</sup> KDB'-c's  
 4\*<sup>4</sup> nkyl'y ZK L wn's ZY gl'ntl<sup>4</sup> [MDMHNyt']

ēn kū: margarzān čand ēwēnag bawēd?

D.122

margarzān was ēwēnag, bē hān ī nāmčistīg ēn and: mard

ōzadan; jādūgīh \*hammōxtan; nasā be ō āb ud ātaxš burdan;

nasā pad wināhgārīh xwardan; nasā ī sag nē dīd pad

wināhgārīh pad tan-ēw jumbēnīdan; nasā nigān

kardan pad dah sāl; kunmarz; rāh dāstan; \*stūr-skenišnīh; D.122/123

zan ī kasān stad[an] pad sāl drahnāy;

ātaxš ī warahrān ōzadan; wad-axwīh; \*zūr-gugāyīh; drō-čaš;

\*nakkīrā; hān man wināh ī garāntar [sahēd].

1. M.'s emendation; BK PLXWNtn' (i.e. xwastan); MR<sub>1</sub>, J plm'n'tn'.

2. BK stlškynyšnyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J stwlškwynyšnyh. 3. BK zwlsgwk'dy;

MR<sub>1</sub>, J zwlsgwn g's. 4. This reading is a guess - the final phrase

of this chapter is obscure; BK nwkyl'y ykl wn'slynt'l; MR<sub>1</sub> 'slwnt'l;

J nwkyl'y ykl 'slwt'l; M. reads niyīrāy [uδ] garān \*wināsrēnīdār

"disregard (of good teaching) and (other) grievous sinners (are margarzān)".

- (1) XN' 'YK w'c'lk'nyh cygwn YXWNYt' \*,'YKS<sup>1</sup> wn's BYN L'YT'
- (2) 'MT PWN štr'-XD y'mk'-XD t'k' ZY 4 ZWZN 'lcyt'  
 PWN 4 ZWZN BR' ZBNX<sub>1</sub> W BR' 'L \*,'XRN<sup>2</sup> štr'  
 YBLWNX<sub>1</sub> W gyw'k 'YK \*YBLWNX<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> 10 ZWZN 'lcyt' PWN 10  
 ZWZN BR' YXBWNYt W mzd W lwcyk' ZY NPŠH \*W stwl<sup>4</sup>  
 hc-s L'L' YNSBWNX<sub>1</sub> W plyhtk' PWN 'hlwb'd't' BR' YXBWNYt'  
 krpK'-XD LB'
- (3) W 'MT plyhtk' PWN 'hlwb'd't' L' YXBWNYt' PWN ZK zm'n  
 p'ths' 'MTs PWN wlcyklyh W psws-hwllyh<sup>5</sup> hw'stk' \*'XDWNtn'<sup>6</sup>  
 L' twb'n'

- (1) ēd kū: wāzārgānīh čiyōn bawēd, \*kū-s wināh andar nēst? D.123
- (2) ka pad šahr-ēw jāmag-ēw tāg, ī čahār drahm arzēd,  
 pad čahār drahm be xrīnēd, ud be ō \*any šahr  
 barēd, ud gyāg kū \*barēd dah drahm arzēd, pad dah  
 drahm be dahēd, ud mizd ud rōzīg ī xwēs \*ud stōr\*  
 az-iš ul stanēd, ud parrēxtag pad ahlawdād be dahēd,  
 kirbag-ēw wuzurg.
- (3) ud ka parrēxtag pad ahlawdād nē dahēd, pad hān zamān  
 pādixsā ka-s pad warzīgārīh ud pasōš-xwarānīh xwāstag \*griftan  
 nē tuwān.

1. T.'s emendation; BK 'MT; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'MTs. 2. MSS h'n (i.e. 'XR).  
 3. T.'s emendation; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YBLWNd; W gyw'k 'YK YBLWNd lacking in BK;  
 Bart. burt "it is carried". 4. Bart.'s and T.'s reading;  
 MSS nwstwl. 5. T. reads pasušaurvīh "cattle breeding" (and refers  
 to Bart.'s footnote that the word "may be read pasušx<sup>v</sup>aranīh, borrowed  
 from Av. \*pasušx<sup>v</sup>aran = Av. pasušx<sup>v</sup>arəθa 'food for cattle' ", MMV  
 p. 482, n.3.3). 6. MSS krtn', possibly written by mistake from an  
 original 'XDWNtn'/'BYDWNtn'.

- (4) ZNH <sup>7</sup>ZK \*MNws<sup>7</sup> hw'stk' wyh zywsnyh l'd BYN 'p'yt'  
 wyh zywsnyh l'd 'D sy(h)100 p'ths'd hndwhtn' MN ZK  
 pr'c' 'MT bl ZYs BYN Y'TWNyt' ZK ywdt MN  
 'wcyнк' ZY NPSH ZY \*plyhtk'<sup>8</sup> PWN \*'hlwbd't'<sup>9</sup> BR' YXBWNyt'
- (5) 'MTc's hw'stk' 'pyl KBD 'YT' 'DYN'c s'yt' W ZNH  
 PWN ZK 'DN' 'MT'<sup>10</sup> 'NSWT'- 'n PWN d'nšn' ZY 'LH  
 'tpd't L' mt' YK'YMWNYt' 'D 'MT 'NSWT'- 'n 'tpd't mt'  
 YK'YMWNYt' '-s PWN bwn W bl hwd'lšn' BR' 'p'yt' krtn'

- (4) ēn, hān<sup>\*</sup>kē-s xwāstag weh zīšnīh rāy andar abāyēd D.123  
 weh zīšnīh rāy tā sē sad pādixšāy handōxtan; az hān  
 frāz ka bar ī-s andar āyēd, hān, jud az D.123/124  
 uzēnag ī xwēš, ī parrēxtag pad āhlawdād be dahēd.
- (5) ka-iz-iš xwāstag abēr was ast, ēg-iz šāyēd, ud ēn  
 pad hān zamān ka mardōmān, pad dānišn ī ōy,  
 adwadād nē mad ēstēd; tā ka mardōmān adwadād mad  
 ēstēd, a-s pad bun ud bar hudārišn be abāyēd kardan.

7. MSS ZK ZY 'MTs. 8. MSS ply'htk'. 9. MSS 'hlwbd't'.  
 10. At this point MSS also have the words BYN d'nšn' ZY 'LH '-s,  
 but, as T. observes, they are intrusive and difficult to account for,  
 and are probably a scribal error.

- (6) MN KR' MHS 'YT' 'nd 'YKS NPSH W 'NSWT'-'n ZY  
BYN srd'lyh XD-s'lk' BYN 'p'yt' MN ZK ZYs BYN  
 'p'yt' 'MT XD kltk' km 'ywp' <sup>11</sup>wys \*'MT BSLY',<sup>11</sup>  
 XD kltk' cygwn PWNc 'nd I ZWZN km '-s  
 'tpd't'<sup>12</sup> ZY GBR'-I KN 'p'yt' 'BYDWNt'  
 (7) 'MT 1'st '-s ZK ZY TLYN' GBR' 'p'yt' 'BYDWNt'  
 (8) 'MTs XD kltk' wys '-s<sup>13</sup> ZK ZY 5 GBR' KN 'p'yt' 'BYDWNtn'  
 (9) W 'XL KR' I kltk'-XD wys '-s ZK ZY GBR'-I  
 KN 'p'yt' 'BYDWNt'  
 (10) bwt'<sup>14</sup> MNWs gwpt' 'YK PWN bl hwd'lsn' KN 'p'yt' krt'n'

D.124

- (6) az harw cē-s ast, and kū-s xwēs ud mardōmān ī  
 andar sālārīh ēw-sālag andar abāyēd, az hān ī-s andar  
 abāyēd ka ēw kardag kam ayāb wēs: \*ka gōšt  
 ēw kardag - čiyōn pad-iz and ē drahm - kam a-s  
 adwadād ī mard-ē ōh abāyēd kard;  
 (7) ka rāst, a-s hān ī dō mard abāyēd kard;  
 (8) ka-s ēw kardag wēs, a-s hān ī panj mard ōh abāyēd kardan;  
 (9) ud pas harw ē kardag-ēw wēs, a-s hān ī mard-ē  
 ōy abāyēd kard.  
 (10) būd kē-s guft kū pad bar hudārišn ōh abāyēd kardan.

D.124/125

11. T.'s emendation; MSS wysk' ZY BSLY'. 12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'td't'.  
 13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; '-s lacking in BK. 14. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWWNy't'.

- (11) W 'MTs PWN mlgyl W \*l'htkyh<sup>15</sup> BYN 'p'yt' 'ywk'  
s'lk' MND' Mc 'm'l L'YT'
- (12) MH KR' MNWs 'dmyt' 'L L'YN' 'YT' 'YK'm MND'M  
YXMTWNyt' KR' ZK ZYs MN NPSH W 'NŠWT' ZY BYN  
srd'lyh \*plyhtk<sup>16</sup> BR' YXBWNsn'
- (13) W 'MTs 'dmyt' 'D 'L L'YN' L'YT' 'ndcnd hc-s  
PWN NPSH W 'NŠWT' ZY BYN srd'lyh BYN 'p'yt'  
'D ZK 'MTs ZK 'dmyt' YXMTWNyt' p'ths' 'MT L' YXBWNyt'

(11) ud ka-s pad margīh ud \*raxtagīh andar abāyēd, ēwag  
sālāg čiš-iz āmār nēst.

D.125

(12) cē harw, ke-s ēmēd ō pēs ast kū: "-m čiš  
rasēd", harw hān ī-s az xwēs ud mardōm ī andar  
sālārīh \*parrēxtag be dahišn.

(13) ud ka-s ēmēd tā ō pēs nēst, andčand az-iš  
pad xwēs ud mardōm ī andar sālārīh andar abāyēd,  
tā hān ka-s hān ēmēd rasēd, pādixšā ka nē dahēd.

15. T.'s reading; MSS lystkyh. 16. MSS ply'ht; T. emends to  
parēxtak.

- (1) GBR'-I 'MT NYŠH 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> 'Ps pšt' ZY PWN zn'yh  
LWTH zyd'nk' srd'l krt' l'tyh' 'hl'dyh krpk' KN YXWWNyt'
- (2) 'MTs dšt'n m'h wc'lt' '-s<sup>2</sup> KR' b'l-I sy(h) 100 krpk'  
bwt' dstwbl MNWs gwpt' 'YK b'l-I sy(h) 100 krpk'
- (3) 'MT 'pwstn' YXWWNyt sy(h) 100 krpk'
- (4) dšt'n m'h KR' BYRX 'ywk'b'l PWN l's L' p'ths'd
- (5) W 'MT przd ZY YLYDWNyt' pwl'n'd YXWWNyt' KR' k'l W  
krpk' ZY ZK przd 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'B' W 'MT KR' 2  
'ytwn' YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs'n PWN YDH ZY NPSH krt' XWHydy

- (1) mard-ē ka zan gīrēd, u-s pašt ī pad zanīh D.125  
abāg ziyānag sālār kard, rādīhā, ahlāyīh kirbag ōh bawēd.
- (2) ka-s daštān māh wizārd, a-s harw bār-ē sē sad kirbag.  
būd dastwar kē-s guft kū: "bār-ē sē sad kirbag".
- (3) ka ābustan bawēd, sē sad kirbag.
- (4) daštān māh harw māh ēwagbār pad rāh, nē pādixšāy. D.126
- (5) ud ka frazand ī zāyēd purnāy bawēd, harw kār ud  
kirbag ī hān frazand kunēd pid ud mād harw dō  
ēdōn bawēd, čiyōn ka-sān pad dast ī xwēs kard hē.

1. M. reads kuneδ. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'.

- (6) W ptwnd ZY gytyg W l'mšn' ZY ptwnd ZY gytyg W  
 'p'rykc nylmt' ZY MN ZK ywdt' s'yt' bwt' hm'k 'ytn'
- (7) KR' MH PWN zywsn' ZY NYŠH<sup>3</sup> W prznd 'wcynk'  
 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> l'tyh' 'hl'dyh krpk' KN YXWWNyt'
- (8) XN' 'YK NYŠH 'MT lwbsn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup> , wn's W [KR']  
 MH 'wcdys-plystkyh W KDB'-gwbšn'yh W 'p'ryk wn's  
 ZYs BYN \*YXWWNyt'<sup>5</sup> , -s<sup>2</sup> 'L bwn ZK ZY KN YNSBWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 '-s<sup>2</sup> pt-s 'plk' [y]cšn' W dlwn' ZY MN ZK MND'M 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 ŠDY'-yckyh W krpk' L' YXWWNyt' W 'LHc MNW MND'M  
 'L 'LH YXBWNyt' '-s wn's YXWWNyt'

- (6) ud paywand ī gētīg, ud rāmišn ī paywand ī gētīg, ud  
 abārīg-iz nīrmad ī az hān ʔud šāyēd būd, hamāg ēdōn
- (7) harw čē pad zīšn ī zan ud frazand uzēnag  
 kunēd, rādīhā, ahlāyīh kirbag ōh bawēd.
- (8) ēd, kū zan ka rawišn kunēd, a wināh, ud [harw]  
 čē uzdēs-paristagīh, ud drō-gōwišnīh, ud abārīg wināh  
 ī-s andar \*bawēd, a-s ō bun. hān ī ōh stanēd,  
 a-s pad-iš apparag; yazišn ud drōn ī az hān čiš kunēd  
 dēw-ēzagīh, ud kirbag nē bawēd; ud ōy-iz kē čiš  
 ō ōy dahēd, a-s wināh bawēd.

D.126

3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK NPŠH. 4. M. reads gīrēδ. 5. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS YXBWNyt'.

- (1) KLB' sltk' BR' lwp'h W lswk' W bplk'<sup>1</sup> ZY 'pyk'  
 \*W<sup>2</sup> 'p'ryk hm'k' ns'y 'ytwn' cygwn ZK ZY 'NŠWT'- 'n
- (2) ZK ZNH 3 lymn' L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> gyw'k' BYT'<sup>4</sup>  
 W GBR'
- (3) 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMRRWNyt 'YK lwp'h wstlg lymn'  
 L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> BR' BYN 3 g'm p'ty'ph lymn 'BYDWNyt'

- (1) sag sardag, bē rōbāh ud rasūg ud babrag ī ābīg D.126  
 \*ud abārīg hamāg nasā ēdōn čiyōn hān ī mardōmān. D.127
- (2) hān ēn sē rēman nē kunēd gyāg, xānag ud mard.
- (3) ast kē ēdōn gōwēd, kū: "rōbāh wastarag rēman  
 nē kunēd, bē andar sē gām pādyābīh rēman kunēd."

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK blk'. 2. M.'s emendation; MSS 'D.



XN' 'YK hwlšyt p'dyk' gytyg'n L' XZYTWNd  
 ck't ZY d'ytyk<sup>1</sup> W \*'yl'nwyc<sup>2</sup> mdy'n ZY \*hwnyls<sup>3</sup>  
 'L kwstk' ZY 'p'htl lwn' 'hlmn znšn MN KBD  
 MND'M n'mcšt<sup>4</sup> MN hwytd't' lšn' ZY ŠPYL-'n  
 'ywk' LWTW TWB 'MT myzd<sup>5</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> W ycšn' ZY  
 yzd'n W 'p'ryk' krpk' 'Ps [hdyb'lyh]<sup>6</sup> MN KBD  
 [MND'M]<sup>6</sup> n'mcšt<sup>4</sup> MN ŠDY'-yckyh \*'wcdys<sup>7</sup>plstkyh<sup>8</sup>  
 W 'n'kyh PWN 'NSWT'- 'n krtn' W  
 'hlmwkyh W s'st'lyh W 'p'ryk wn's

ēd kū : xwaršēd pāyag gētīgān nē wēnēnd;  
 čagād ī dāidīg ud \*ērānwēz mayān ī \*xwanirah.  
 ō kustag ī abāxtar rōn, ahreman zanišn az was  
 čiš, nāmcišt az xwēdōdah, rasišn ī wehān  
 ēwag abāg did, ka mēzd kunēnd, ud yazišn ī  
 yazdān, ud abārīg kirbag; u-š [hayyārīh] az was  
 [čiš], nāmcišt az dēw-ēzagīh, \*uzdēs-paristagīh,  
 ud anāgīh pad mardōmān kardan, ud  
 ahlomōgīh, ūd sāsātārīh, ud abārīg wināh.

D.127

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK d'yty-I cf. ch. 15.3,4 MSS d'yty-I. M. reads čakāδ  
ī dāitya "the mount Dāitya". 2. M.'s emendation; BK 'yl'nc; MR<sub>1</sub>  
'yl'nwc; MR<sub>1</sub>, J add W 'yl'nc. 3. MSS hwnylyh. 4. M. reads  
nāmcišt[īy]. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK mzd. 6. M. supplies this. 7. BK  
'wzdyst; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'wcsst. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK pl'stkyh.

- (1) XN' 'YK 's(y)m'n cygwn W MN MH krt' \*'styt'  
 (2) 'pz'l bwt' cygwn hwlg ZY 'thš ZY PWN lwsn'yh DKY,<sup>2</sup>  
 ZY MN ZK ZY 'sl-lwsn'yh BR' blyhyny't'  
 (3) 'Ps hm'k d'm W dhyšn'<sup>3</sup> MN ZK BR' krt' W 'MTš BR'  
 krt' bwt' '-š BYN 'L tn' bwlt' 'Ps 3,000<sup>4</sup> ŠNT'  
 BYN tn' d'st' 'Ps hm'y 'pz'dyny't'<sup>5</sup> 'Ps<sup>6</sup> ŠPYL hm'y krt'  
 'Ps 'XL 'ywk' 'ywk' MN tn' ZY NPSH hm'y<sup>7</sup> blyhyny't'  
 (4) 'Ps nzdyt' 's(y)m'n MN L'YŠH BR' blyhyny't' 'Ps gwh'l

- (1) ēd kū: asmān čiyōn ud az čē kard estēd? D.127  
 (2) abzār būd čiyōn xwarg ī ātaxš ī pad rōšnīh pāk, D.128  
 ī az hān ī asar-rōšnīh be brēhēnīd.  
 (3) u-š hamāg dām ud dahišn az hān be kard, ud ka-š be  
 kard būd a-š andar ō tan burd u-š sē hazār sāl  
 andar tan dāšt; u-š hamē abzāyēnīd u-š weh hamē kard;  
 u-š pas ēwag ēwag az tan ī xweš hamē brehēnīd.  
 (4) u-š nazdist asmān az sar be brehēnīd u-š gōhr

1. This chapter is edited by H. S. Nyberg, Man. Pahl. I, 92-100,  
 and is transcribed and translated by R. C. Zaehner, ZZ, 361-367.

The first four sections have also been edited by J. C. Tavadia, Studia Indo-iranica, Ehrensache für Wilhelm Geiger, Leipzig, 1931, 239-40.

2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ZYš. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J dhšn'. 4. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J have دو,  
 which M. interprets as 1,000, i.e. ēw (XD) hazār, Nyb. and Z. as 3,000.  
 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J (so M.); BK 'pz'dt' (so Nyb. and Z.). 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'Pm.  
 7. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hm'k (so M.).

MN \*MY'-kynk'<sup>8</sup> ZY spyt' 'Ps p'hn'd W b'l'd l'st' 'Ps<sup>9</sup>  
 zhyh ZY plk'n ZK 'nd 'YT' end p'hn'd ZY \*twhykyh<sup>10</sup>  
 'Ps wyn'lsn' PWN ZKL ZY 'hlwb' W d'mm'n' 'p[r]yn' 'Ps  
 d'st'lyh ZY gytydy L'YT' 'whrmzd LWITH d'm  
 W dhšn' BYN YTYBWNyt'

- (5) 'Ps zmyk' MN LGLH BR' blyhyny't' 'Ps wyn'lsn' MN \*krpk<sup>11</sup>  
 (mtr' ZY hwt'y ZY nywk' W m'n 'pryn' \*lt'<sup>12</sup>  
ZY \*l'styh<sup>13</sup> W \*lt'<sup>14</sup> ZY 'hl'dyh PWN nywkyh QDM [GBR' ZY]

az \*ābgēnag ī spēd, u-š pahnāy ud bālāy rāst, u-š  
 zahīh ī fragān hān and ast čand pahnāy ī \*tuhīgīh,  
 u-š winnārišn pad nar ī ahlaw ud dahmān āf[r]īn, u-š  
 dāštārīh ī gētīg nēst; ohrmazd abār dām ud dahišn  
 andar nišīnēd.

D.128

- (5) u-š zamīg az pāy be brehēnīd, u-š winnārišn az \*kirbag;  
 (mīhr ī xwadāy ī nēk ud dahmān āfrīn, \*rad  
 ī \*rāstīh ud \*rad ī ahlāyīh, pad nēkīh abar [mard ī]

8. Bailey's suggestion in Zor. Prob., p.133 (and n.2); MSS MN kyn'; M. emends to 'pkyn; Nyb. emends to MN \*k'skyn' (az \*kāsakēn), which denotes "a kind of stone" (op. cit., II, 115); Z. reads hač kēn (i.e. az kēn). 9. Repeated in BK. 10. BK, MR<sub>1</sub> twh'ykyh; J twhykyh. 11. MSS krp' (or kwp'); Nyb. reads kōf (presumably) but does not list this instance in his glossary; M. emends to \*karp (klp) reading u-š vēnarišn az \*karp paδ mīhr xwadāy "its structural management is by the Lord Mihr"; Z. reads kōf "mountains". 12. BK, J l't'; MR lyt'; M. emends to rādīh; Z. emends to \*Rašn ī rāst (see op. cit., 363, n.85). 13. M.'s emendation; MSS l'st' ZY. 14. Z.'s emendation; BK l't'; D. prefers MR<sub>1</sub>, J l'tyh (so M.).

- 'lc'nyk mynwg hw'stk' PWN 'hlwb'-d't' BR' YXBWNd) 'Ps gwh'l \*BYN<sup>15</sup>  
 BR' nknd 'Ps<sup>16</sup> kwpyh,<sup>17</sup> MN ZK gwh'l BR' lwdynyt'  
 \*<sup>18</sup>ŠNT' hcdl W hcpl KR' 2 hm'y lwst<sup>19</sup>W 'XL  
 hcdl BR' \*'st't hcpl 800 ŠNT' TWB hm'y<sup>19</sup> lwst 'D  
 BR' 'L 'sm'n 'Ps hcdl W hcpl gltk pyl[']mwn \*BYN<sup>20</sup>  
 Y'TWNyt 'Ps hwm'n'g 'ytwn' cygwn h'dk'-XD MNWš mwlwyck' BYN  
 'Ps d'st'lyh ZY gytydy L'YT'  
 (6) 'ytwn' cygwn-š kwp' BR' lwdynyt' 'D ZNH ptm'nk' ZY 'YT'  
 \*,-s<sup>21</sup> zmyk' PWN nymk' ZY \*'sm'n'<sup>22</sup> PWN stl<sup>23</sup> \*p'dyk'<sup>24</sup> pr'c  
 YXBWNt' 'Ps hc-s<sup>25</sup> p'ytyšt'n' W plpd BR' blyhynyt' 'MT 'hlmn'

arzānīg mēnōg xwāstag pad ahlawdād be dahēnd, u-š gōhr \*andar D.128/129  
 be nigand, u-š kōfihā az hān gōhr be rōyēnīd,  
 \*haštDAH sāl azēr ud azabar harw dō hamē rust; ud pas  
 azēr be estād, azabar hašt sad sāl did hamē rust tā  
 be ō asmān, u-š azēr ud azabar girdag pēr[ā]mōn \*andar  
 āyēd, u-š homānāg ēdōn čiyōn xāyag-ēw ke-š murwizag andar  
 u-š daštārīh ī gētīg nēst.

- (6) ēdōn čiyōn-iš kōf be rōyēnīd tā ēn paymānag ī ast  
 \*a-š zamīg pad nēmag ī \*asmān pad star \*pāyag frāz  
 dād u-š az-iš paitistān ud frabd be brehēnīd ka ahreman

15. M.'s and Z.'s emendation; Nyb. reads BK GDH; MR<sub>1</sub>, J yym.  
 16. Lacking in BK. 17. M. emends to \*kōf-ē. 18. M.'s emendation;  
 BK سرسدی; MR<sub>1</sub>, J سرسدی: Nyb. reads 1,800, Z. 1,700. 19. These  
 ten words lacking in BK. 20. M.'s emendation; MSS GDH (so Nyb., Z.).  
 21. Z.'s emendation; MSS 'Ps (so M., Nyb.). 22. BK 'sym'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J  
 's'm'n'. 23. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK stwl. 24. MSS p'hyk'. 25. BK; lacking  
 in MR<sub>1</sub>, J.

BYN dwb'lst' \*,'DYN's<sup>26</sup> plwt' \*hyht'<sup>27</sup> PWN tn' ZY psyn' L'WXL  
 \*,'L<sup>28</sup> stl \*p'dyk'<sup>24</sup> 'ZLWNyt'

- (7) hlbwlc zhyh cnd p'hn'd ZY zmyk pyl[']mw[n] hlbwlc' plg'n'  
 'Ps p'hn'd 'nd cnd hlbwlc W zmyk \*,'L<sup>29</sup> stl \*p'dyk'<sup>24</sup>  
 [PWN] nymk' ZY \*,'sm'n<sup>22</sup> MN stl p'dyk<sup>30</sup> 'D m'h p'dyk<sup>30</sup> 34,000  
 plsng ml wys MN m'h p'dyk<sup>30</sup> 'D 'L hwlsyt' p'dyk<sup>30</sup>  
 \*34,000<sup>31</sup> plsng MN hwlsyt' 'D 'L \*,'sm'n<sup>22</sup>  
 \*34,000<sup>31</sup> plsng MN stl p'dyk<sup>30</sup> 'D 'L LTMH  
 \*34,000<sup>31</sup> plsng W MN ZNH gyw'k 'D 'L  
 \*,'sm'n'<sup>22</sup> ZY hcdl 9,000 plsng

andar dwārist \*ēg-iš frōd \*hixt, pad tan ī pasēn abāz  
 \*ō star \*pāyag šawēd.

D.129

- (7) harborz zahīh čand pahnāy ī zamīg, pēr[ā]mō[n] harborz fragān  
 u-š pahnāy and čand. harborz ud zamīg \*ō star \*pāyag  
 [pad] nēmag ī \*asmān; az star pāyag tā mäh pāyag sīh ud čahār hazār  
 frasang mar wēš, az mäh pāyag tā ō xwaršēd pāyag  
 \*sīh ud čahār hazār frasang, az xwaršēd tā ō \*asmān  
 \*sīh ud čahār hazār frasang az star pāyag tā ō ēdar  
 \*sīh ud čahār hazār frasang ud az ēn gyāg tā ō  
 \*asmān ī azēr nō hazār frasang.

D.129/130

26. M.'s emendation; MSS 'yn's. 27. BK w'st'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'XDWNtn';  
 M. emends to āhixt; Z. āhaxt. 28. D.'s emendation; MSS W.  
 29. MSS W. 30. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> p'hyk'. 31. MSS 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥 (1,000  
 4,000) for 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥 (34,000).

- (8) \*<sub>sm'n</sub><sup>22</sup> <sup>32</sup>\* gwhl [MN] \*MY'kynk ZY spyt'<sup>32</sup> lwsn' 'Ps lwsnyh MN  
ZK ZY hwlsyt'
- (9) 'XL MN ZK 'MT' dlwc 'L d'm dwb'lyst' BR' zltwhst'  
MN gytyg'n' 'YSc' L' XZYTW[N]t' hpt kyswl<sup>33</sup> \*nyndl<sup>34</sup> \*<sub>sm'n</sub><sup>22</sup>  
hlbwlc \*kwpyh,<sup>35</sup> 2,244 'YT'
- (10) zlyh<sup>36</sup> ZY pl'hwkrt' 3 'ywk' ZY ZNH zmyk'
- (11) 'Ps MY' MN 'ls BR' \*blyhyny't'<sup>37</sup> 'YT' ZYs BYN 'L zmyk  
gwmtyht' W 'YT' ZYs QDM zmyk'<sup>38</sup> BR' XYTYW[N]t' W  
'YT' ZY 'ndlw'd<sup>39</sup> BR' \*'styny't' W hm'k PWN lwbśn' YK'YMWN't'

- (8) \*asmān \*gohr [az] \*ābgēnag ī spēd, rōšn u-š rōšnīh az D.130  
hān ī xwaršēd.
- (9) pas az hān ka druz ō dām dwārist, bē zardušt  
az gētīgān kas-iz nē dīd. haft kišwar \*nēndar \*asmān,  
harborz \*kōfihā dō hazār ud dō sad ud čehel ud čahār ast.
- (10) zrēh ī fraxwkard sē ēwag ī ēn zamīg.
- (11) u-š āb az ars be \*brēhēnīd ast ī-š andar ō zamīg  
gumēxt ud ast ī-š abar zamīg be ānīd ud  
ast ī andarwāy be estēnīd ud hamāg pad rawiśn ēstād.

32. Bailey's suggestion in op. cit., 133; MSS gwh'l kyn' spyt'  
lwsn'. M. reads gōhr gēn spēd uš rōšan; Nyb. gwhl [k's]kyn' spyt'  
lwsn', Z. gōhr kēn: spēt rōšn. 33. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK kswl. 34. Z.'s  
emendation (see op. cit., 364, n.89); MSS nyn'ndl; Nyb. reads nyw'ndl/  
niyandar (op. cit., II, 142); M. emends to \*niyun andar "under".  
35. M.'s emendation; MSS kwpyh. 36. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J zl'h. 37. MSS  
bl'hyny't'. 38. Lacking in BK. 39. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> 'ndl'w'd.

- (12) KR' ZK MNWš zwhl wys 'Ps h[y]hlyh km PWN 3 ŠNT' ZK  
 MNWš KR' 2 l'st' PWN 6 ŠNT' ZK MNWš h[y]hlyh wys  
 'Ps zwhl km PWN 9 ŠNT' L'WXL 'L \*zlyh<sup>40</sup> ZY plhwkrt' YXMTWNYt'
- (13) 'Ps 'wlwl MN mwd BR' blyhyny't' W nzdyst' XD bwn XD  
 wtyst' 2 'ngwst' PWN b'l'd<sup>41</sup> bwt' 'Ps hm'k sltk' ZY 'wlwl'n  
 BYN bwt' BR' XD sltk' 'Ps PWN 'yl'nwyc' pr'c d't'
- (14) 'XL 'YT' ZY mwlw'n' 'YT' ZY PWN MY' W 'YT' ZY  
 'NSWT'- 'n' gyw'k' gyw'k' BR' bwt' W wysk'c BYN \*zlyh<sup>40</sup>  
 W hwm ZY spy't' W 'p'ryk 'wlwl ZY BYN gyh'n  
 MN ZK BR' YXWNT'<sup>42</sup> 'Ps \*,s'nyh<sup>43</sup> MN MY'-zwhl<sup>44</sup> YBLWNx<sub>2</sub>

- (12) harw hān kē-š zōhr wēš u-š hixrīh kam pad sē sāl, hān  
 kē-š harw dō rāst pad šaš sāl, hān kē-š hixrīh wēš  
 u-š zōhr kam pad nō sāl abāz ō \*zrēh ī fraxwkard rasēd.

D.130

D.130/131

- (13) u-š urwar az mōy be brēhēnīd, ud nazdist ēw bun ēw  
 widest dō angust pad bālāy būd u-š hamāg sardag ī urwarān  
 andar būd bē ēw sardag u-š pad ērānwēz frāz dād.

- (14) pas ast ī murwān ast ī pad āb ud ast ī  
 mardōmān gyāg gyāg be burd ud wēšag-iz andar \*zrēh  
 ud hōm ī spēd ud abārīg urwar ī andar gēhān  
 az hān be būd; u-š \*āsānīh az āb-zōhr burdan

40. MSS zl'h. 41. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> b'l'. 42. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YXWNTyt';  
 M. reads dāš (YXBWNT') but translates as būd. 43. M.'s and Z.'s  
 emendation; MSS 's'ns. 44. MSS MY' W zwhl (so all).

- [‘D] DKY’ [YXWWNyt’]<sup>45</sup> ‘Ps dwshw’lyh MN ZK ZY ‘MT  
 ‘d’tst’nyh’ BR’ PSKWNd ‘ywp BR’ TBLWNd ZK stlk’ ZYs ‘XL  
 YXBWNt’ 50<sup>46</sup> stlk’ YXWWNt’  
 (15) ‘Ps TWR’ \*MN<sup>47</sup> YDH ZY dsn’ BR’ \*blyhyny’t<sup>48</sup> ‘Ps  
BYN ‘yl’nwyc pr’c’ YXBWNt’ ‘Ps <sup>49</sup>3 \*n’d \*PWN<sup>49</sup> b’l’y  
 W p’hn’d bwt’ W ‘MTs ‘hlmn’ QDM mt PWN gyw’k  
 BR’ YMYTWNt’ ‘Ps sswl PWN gyw’k BR’ ‘L zmyk’ mt’  
 hm’k sltk’ ZY gwspnd’n’ ‘whrmzd MN ZK sswl BR’ krt’  
 ‘Ps nzdyt’ MN KR’ sltk’-XD ‘ywk’ ZKL W ‘ywk’

[tā] pāk [bawēd]; u-s dušxwārīh az hān ī ka

D.131

adādestānīhā be brinēnd ayāb be skenēnd.hān sardag ī-s pas  
 dād panjāh sardag būd.

- (15) u-s gāw \*az dast ī dašn be \*brēhēnīd, u-s  
 andar ērānwēz frāz dād, u-s 3 \*nāy \*pad bālāy  
 ud pahnāy būd, ud ka-s ahreman abar mad pad gyāg  
 be murd, u-s šus<sup>a</sup>r pad gyāg be ō zamīg mad.

D.131/132

hamāg sardag ī gōspandān ohrmazd az hān šus<sup>a</sup>r be kard  
 u-s nazdist az harw sardag-ēw ēwag nar ud ēwag

45. BK wslyn’d DKY’; D. prefers MR<sub>1</sub>, J YBLWNx<sub>2</sub> DKY’, which M. interprets as burdan [tā] pāk (but does not translate the infinitive, rendering "[its happiness (was) from the water and the Zōhr,] till it was in a pure state"). Nyb. emends to slgwn’ ZY DKY’ i.e. "purified dung", and Z. emends to ut \*zargōn ī pāk "and pure verdure".

46. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK وسو. 47. All emend thus; MSS QDM. 48. MSS bl’hyny’t’. 49. Z.’s emendation (op. cit., 362) (cf. GBd. Ia.12); MSS 5 BR’ (سپر راند); M. follows D.’s suggestion 5 marō (5 GBR’).



NKB BR' krt' W 'XL ptwnd MN 'LHs'n' BR'  
 SGYTWNt' 'Ps'n' BSYMyh W 's'nyh MN MY' W w'stl  
 W \*p'dsn'<sup>50</sup> ZY nywk' zmst'n W<sup>51</sup> h'myn' 'D<sup>52</sup> DKY' [YXWWNyt']  
 'Ps'n dwshw'lyh MN ZK 'MT's'n' 'd'tyh' BR' kwsynd 'Ps'n  
 k'l 'd'tyh' plm'dynd 'Ps'n MY' W w'stl L' YXBWNd 'Ps'n  
 \*p'dsn'<sup>53</sup> [L' 'BYDWNd]

mādag be kard ud pas paywand az awēsān be  
 raft u-sān xwašīh ud āsānīh az āb ud wāstar  
 ud \*payišn ī nēk zamestān ud hāmīn tā pāk [bawēd]  
 u-sān dušxwārīh az hān ka-sān adādīhā be kušēnd u-sān  
 kār adādīhā framāyēnd u-sān āb ud wāstar nē dahēnd u-sān  
 \*pāyišn [nē kunēnd]

D.132

D.132.8

50. MSS p'hsyn'; M. emends to \*pahišn "breeding"; Nyb. emends to \*p'hst' "sheepfold"; Z. emends to \*pāyišn, but understands it differently, viz. hač āβ ut vāstar pāyišn "from the water and the protection of the pasture lands", but this splits up the phrase āb ud wāstar, - see above, 17.d.4. 51. MSS ZY; Nyb. emends to 'D; M., Z. to W. 52. MSS; Nyb., Z. emend to ZY. 53. BK p'hyšn; MR<sub>1</sub>, J p'hsyn'; M. reads pahišn "breeds"; Nyb. emends to \*p'hst' and adds <L' YXBWNd>; Z. to pāyišn. 54. As D. notes, §§16-21 are an interpolation, properly belonging to Ch. 47 (after u-sān pad sīh ud sē band bast). M. reads the last sentence of (u-sān \*pahišn ... etc.) as part of Ch. 46 (as D. does) and assumes that some words or sentences are missing before the text is resumed in §21 sltk' ZY \*dwsmn' 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub>. However the interpolation probably begins in 46.15 'Ps gwls[gy]h ..., for the text of Ch. 46 makes sense with the restoration of [L' 'BYDWNd 'D]. Also, the sentence 'Ps gwls[gy]h ... BR' 'ZLWNt' fits better into the text of Ch. 47 (see below, Ch. 47, fn. 13).

- ... (21) <sup>54</sup> [ 'D ] \* 'l[w]tk' <sup>55</sup> ZY  
 \* dwsmn' <sup>56</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Ps'n' dwc W gwlg hc-s L'WXL L' YXSNNd  
 (22) gwspnd 282 sltk' 'YT' W ZK ZY 5 'dwyнк'  
 (23) 'dwyнк'-XD ZK MNWš swmb' <sup>57</sup> 2-k'нк' cygwn TWR'  
 (24) 'dwyнк'-[XD] MNWš swmb' <sup>57</sup> glt' cygwn 'sp  
 (25) 'dwyнк'-XD ZK MNW LGLH cygwn ZK ZY \*GMR' <sup>58</sup>  
 (26) 'dwyнк'-XD <sup>59</sup> mwlw' 'dwyнк'-[XD] 'pyk W m'hyk' BR' gwspnd  
 \* ZY <sup>60</sup> 'dwyнк' ZY MN 'pst'k c'st'  
 (27) KLB' W s'l ZY gl <sup>61</sup> W wl'g ZY syd' W NSLH <sup>62</sup>

... (21) [tā] \* alūdag ī D.134.9

\* dušmen kunēnd, u-šān duz ud gurg az-iš abāz nē dārēnd.

- (22) gōspand dō sad ud haštad ud dō sardag ast ud hān ī panj ēwēnag.  
 (23) ēwēnag-ēw hān kē-s sumb dō-gānag, čiyōn gāw.  
 (24) ēwēnag-[ēw] kē-s sumb gird čiyōn asp.  
 (25) ēwēnag-ēw hān kē pāy čiyōn hān ī \*uštar.  
 (26) ēwēnag-ēw murw, ēwēnag-[ēw] ābīg ud mähīg. bē gōspand D.135  
 ī ēwēnag ī az abestāg čāšt,  
 (27) sag ud sār ī gar ud warāg ī syā ud kargās.

55. Tentative emendation, which reflects the parallel tā pāk in Š15 above; MR<sub>1</sub>, J sltk'; BK sltwk'; M. reads sarday; Nyb., Z. omit Š21.

56. D.'s emendation; M. dušāmōy (kuneō) "(which they) badly train".

57. In BK the words 2-k'нк' to swmb' are lacking. 58. MSS GMR'Y.

59. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'dwyнк'. 60. M.'s emendation; MSS XD. 61. MR<sub>1</sub>,

J; BK d''lykl. 62. MSS d'lmn; Henning (apud Mirza) takes this word to be an ideogram for kargās "vulture" and he

suggests restoring it as NSRH, from Aram nšr; this interpretation is supported by parallel texts.

- <sup>63</sup> 'p'ryk KN 'p'yt' 'ŠTHNt[n]' KLB' XN' l'd MH šwsł ZY  
 g'ywkmlt' MND'M BYN 'YT' W s'l W wl'g ZY syd' W  
 NŠLH<sup>62</sup> tn' hm'k h[y]hlyh W PWN ns'y 'ŠTHNt[n]' YXBWNt' YK'YMWNd  
 (28) 'Ps 'ths<sup>64</sup> MN w'lwm BR' blyhyny't' 'Ps bl'h MN  
 ZK ZY 'sl-lwšnyh blyhyny't'  
 (29) 'Ps 'wlwl BR' YXBWNt' 'Ps 'ths BYN BR' YXBWNt' 'Ps  
 'pryn' 'wbs krt' 'YK \*MT<sup>65</sup> LKWM L' XWH[']t' 'ths  
 ('YK 'ths hc-s L' s'yt' NSXWNt')<sup>66</sup> ZK LKWM XWH[']t' 'twr'swk'  
 ('YK 'MTs QDM XNXTWN'd ' pr'c \*whšyt')<sup>67</sup>  
 (30) 'MTs tn' BR' 'L gytydy k'myst' YXBWNt' '-s<sup>68</sup> glcšn' krt'

abārīg ōh abāyēd xward[an]; sag ēd rāy cē šus<sup>a</sup>r ī  
 gāyōmard čiš andar ast, ud sār ud warāg ī syā ud  
 kargās tan hamāg h[i]xrīh ud pad nasā xward[an] dād ēstēnd.

D.135

- (28) u-š ātaxš az wārom be brēhēnīd, u-š brāh az  
 hān ī asar-rōšnīh brēhēnīd.  
 (29) u-š urwar be dād u-š ātaxš andar be dād u-š  
 āfrīn awiš kard kū: \*'"ka ašmā nē h[ā]d ātaxš kardār  
 (kū ātaxš az-iš nē šāyēd wēxt) hān ašmā hād ādursōg"  
 (kū ka-s abar nihēnd a frāz \*waxšēd).  
 (30) ka-s tan be ō gētīg kāmīst dād, a-s garzišn kard

63. MSS have also 'D here. 64. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'ths'. 65. M.'s emendation; MSS MNW. Nyb. emends to \*MN; Z. reads kē. 66. The words in brackets seem to be a gloss. 67. M.'s emendation; MSS 'BYDWN't'; Z. reads gīrat. 68. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'.  
 .

- 'YK BR' ['L] gytydy L' 'ZLWNm MHm 'n'kyh KBD pts 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>
- (31) 'XL 'whrmzd 'twr' gwsnsp' PWN 'twr'p'tk'n' PWN wlhl'nyh  
BR' YTYBWNst'
- (32) 'Ps gwpt' 'YK 'NSWT',<sup>69</sup> \*k'l \*ZY \*XD \*pyhw',<sup>70</sup> 'L 'ths  
ZY ktk<sup>71</sup> p'ths'd'wmnd plmwt[n]' 'MTs'n' XD pyhw' plmwt' XWH't'  
BR' 'L 'ths ZY wlhl'n' YBLWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>72</sup> 'Pt \*'pytyd'lk'<sup>72</sup> BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (33) W 'XL PWN Y'TWNt[n]',<sup>73</sup> 'L gytyg BYN \*'st't'  
W hm-d'tst'n' YXWWNt',<sup>74</sup>
- (34) W 'whrmzd PWN p'td'sn' hm'k 'ths ZY wlhl'n' PWN  
'hl'dyh<sup>75</sup> pyt'kyny't'

kū: "be [ō] gētīg nē sawēm, cē-m anāgīh was padis kunēnd.

D.135

- (31) pas ohrmazd ādur gušnasp pad ādurbādagān pad warahrānīh  
be nišāst.

- (32) u-s guft kū: "mardōm kār ī ēw pih ō ātaxs  
ī kadag pādixsāyōmand framūd[an] ka-sān ēw pih framūd hād  
be ō ātaxs ī warahrān barēnd u-t \* apetyārag be kunēnd.

D.135/136

- (33) ud pas pad āmad[an] ō gētīg andar estād  
ud ham-dādestān būd.

- (34) ud ohrmazd pad pādāšn, hamāg ātaxs ī warahrān pad  
ahlāyīh paydāgēnīd.

69. In BK mardōm is written in Arabic script. 70. M.'s, Z.'s emendation; BK k'l ycyysn; MR<sub>1</sub> K'L'Y ycšn'; J K'L'Y pšn; Nyb. reads k'l XD ycšn'. 71. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK kyk. 72. D.'s emendation; MSS 'Pt' ZY 'lg. 73. M. reads mašan (sic). 74. BK YXWWNyt'. 75. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'hldyh.

- (35) 'Ps 'twr' ZY plnbg PWN ZK p'td'sn'<sup>76</sup> 'MTs k'lyc'l ZY LWTH  
 dh'k krt '-s<sup>68</sup> PWN w'hl'myh PWN hw'lzm BR' YTYBW[N]st'W  
 'twr' bwlcyntmr' PWN ZK p'td'sn' 'MTs wst'sp' BR' 'L dyn'  
 h'ht' ['-s PWN] w'hl'myh PWN pwst'n ZY wst'sp' 'n' BR' \*YTYBWNst'<sup>77</sup>
- (36) 'Ps 'NSWT' MN ZK TYN' MNws g'ywkmllt hc-s krt' PWN  
 swsl 'dwynt' BYN 'L spndrmt<sup>78</sup> ŠBKWNt' W g'ywkmllt' MN  
 spndrmt' BR' \*blyhyny<sup>79</sup> W z't' cygwn mlh' W mlhy'n'y lwst'  
 XWH'd 3,000 ŠNT' L' SGYTWNyny<sup>79</sup> 'MT 'hlmn BYN dwb'lst'  
 30 ŠNT' bwt' 'D<sup>80</sup> hm'y SGYTWNt' 'Ps plwltyn'<sup>81</sup> BYRX<sup>80</sup> YWM  
 'whrmzd BR' YKTLWNt' swsl ZY g'ywkmllt' BR' 'L zmyk mt'

- (35) u-s ādur ī farnbag pad hān pādāšn ka-s kārezār ī abāg D.136  
 dahāg kard a-s pad wahrāmīh pad xwārazm be nišāst, ud  
 ādur burzēnmīhr pad hān pādāšn ka-s wištāsp be ō dēn  
 hāxt [a-s pad] wahrāmīh pad puštān ī wištāspān be \*nišāst.
- (36) u-s mardōm az hān gil kē-s gāyōmard az-iš kard. pad  
 sus<sup>a</sup>r ēwēnag andar ō spandarmad hišt ud gāyōmard az  
 spandarmad be brehēnīd, ud zād. čiyōn marhā ud marhiyānē rust  
 hēnd, sē hazār sāl nē rawēnīd. ka ahreman andar dwārist  
 sīh sāl būd tā hamē raft. u-s frawardīn mäh, rōz  
 ohrmazd be ōzad. sus<sup>a</sup>r ī gāyōmard be ō zamīg mad D.136/137

76. After p'td'sn' BK has also 'D, MR<sub>1</sub>, J ZY. 77. MSS YTYBWNyt';  
 all emend to YTYBWNst'. 78. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK spndrtmt. 79. MSS  
bl'hyny<sup>t</sup>. 80. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 81. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK plwlyn'.

40 ŠNT' PWN s̄wslyh BYN z̄myk \*,'st't'

- (37) 'XL m'h1's<sup>82</sup> W m'hlydydy MN z̄myk' lyp's klp' BR'  
 lwst' XWH'd \*XN'<sup>83</sup> 'YK 'ytwn' cygwn lyp's 'MT QDM Y'TWNyt'  
 '-s<sup>84</sup> wlg PWN tn' pr'c \*,'st't' 'LHs'n-c' dst' PWN dws  
 L'WXL<sup>85</sup>,'st't' lwsn' gwpt' 'YK 9 BYRX lyp's klp' bwt' XWH'd  
 (38) 'XL BR' 'L 'NŠWT' klp̄yh wst' XWH'd MN<sup>86</sup> 'LHs'n'  
 6 BRH W 6 BRTH BR' YLYDWnt' XWH'd W bwt'  
 ZY zywt' W bwt' ZY mwlt' XWH'd W 'XL hm'k  
 'NŠWT' MN 'LHs'n' BR' bwt' XWH'd

čehel sāl pad šus<sup>a</sup>rih andar zamīg estād.

D.137

- (37) pas māhlās ud māhlēnē az zamīg rībāh kirb be  
 rust hēnd \*ēd kū ēdōn čiyōn rībāh ka abar āyēd  
 a-š warg pad tan frāz estād awēšān-iz dast pad dōš  
 abāz estād. rōšn guft kū: "nō mäh rībāh kirb būd hēnd."  
 (38) pas be ō mardōm kirbīh wašt hēnd; az awēšān  
 šas pus ud šas duxt be zād hēnd ud būd  
 ī zīst ud būd ī murd hēnd ud pas hamāg  
 mardōm az awēšān be būd hēnd.

82. or m'hlydy; MR<sub>1</sub>, J m'hlsyh. 83. MSS XD. 84. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK '-'. 85. L'WXL in all MSS, perhaps for pr'c (frāz). 86. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J; BK MNW.

- (1) \*XN<sup>2</sup> 'YK zltwhst' gyw'k' 'YKs dyn' MN 'whrmzd MKBLWNt'<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>4</sup>zltwhst' PWN 30 s'lk' BR' 'L hmpwrs[g]yh ZY 'whrmzd mt'
- (2) 'Ps dyn'-yc<sup>5</sup> 7 b'l MKBLWNt'
- (3) 'Ps nzdst' PWN 'yl'nwyc MKBLWNt' PWN 'twr'p'tk'n'  
 MKBLWNt' W 10 ŠNT' BYN hmpwrs[g]yh ZY 'whrmzd bwt'
- (4) 'Ps BYN ZK 10 ŠNT' KBD 'n'kyh ZY bnd W  
 zynd'n' ZYs gn'k'<sup>6</sup> mynwg QDM blyhynytn'<sup>7</sup> W bwlt'
- (5) 'Ps ZNHc gwpt' 'YK dyn' hstn' \*[l]'d<sup>8</sup> 'MT \*'st't'  
 'XRN<sup>9</sup> y'mk BR' dwcyt' 'Ps \*'sthw'n'<sup>10</sup> ZY 'NŠWT'- 'n' BYN  
 'L hnb'n' \*XNXTWNyt' ZY zltwhst' 'Ps BR' 'L 'NŠWT'- 'n'

- (1) \*ēd kū: zardušt gyāg kū-s dēn az ohrmazd padīrift. D.137  
 zardušt pad sīh sālāg be ō hampurs[ag]īh ī ohrmazd mad.
- (2) u-s dēn-iz haft bār padīrift.
- (3) u-s nazdist pad ērānwēz padīrift, pad ādurbādagān D.137/138  
 padīrift, ud dah sāl andar hampursagīh ī ohrmazd būd.
- (4) u-s andar hān dah sāl was anāgīh ī band ud  
 zēndān ī-s gannāg mēnōg abar brēhēnīd ud burd.
- (5) u-s ēn-iz guft kū: "dēn xastan \*[x]āy, ka estād,  
 any jāmag be duzēd u-s \*astuxān ī mardōmān andar  
 ō hambān \*nihēd ī zardušt." u-s be ō mardōmān

1. This chapter is transcribed and translated by M. Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi*, pp. 116-121, with commentary *ibid.*, 238-251, and introductory remarks 7ff. 2. D.'s emendation; MSS XD. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MKBLWNyt'. 4. MSS repeat MN 'whrmzd. 5. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, IO dyn'nyc; Molé reads Den nez; M. emends to dyn ZY 'pyzk "the pure religion". 6. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK gnn'g; J gnn'. 7. IO blyhynytn'; BK bl'h'ynytn'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J bl'hynytn'; M. reads brēhēnīdan. 8. MSS dyn hst'y; M. emends to dyw'st'n "O Dēvs"; Molé reads Den astave! "Professe la religion!". 9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK wh'n'. 10. MSS 'st'hw'n.

[gwpt'] 'YK zltwhst' L' 'ytwn' cygwn LKWM 'XDWNt'<sup>11</sup> \*,st't'

XN' l'd 'XRN y'mk' ZY ycšn' d'lyt' MH ns'y-ks-I

'YT' zltwhst PWN ZK cym 'MTS PWN dhšk' bwt'

'MTS BYN XNXTWNt' 'DYNs hnb'n bwn 'XDWNt' 'Ps plwt'

'L zmyk' 'ws'nd 'Ps sl W dst' W LGLH ZY

'NSWT'- 'n' MN hnb'n plwt' 'wpst'

(6) 'Ps'n' PWN 33 bnd bst'<sup>13</sup> 'Ps gwls[g]yh W

tšnkyh 'ytwn' mt' ZYs 'wc W \*z'wl<sup>14</sup> W nylwk'

W wynšn' W 'šnwsn' ZYs BR' 'ZLWNt'

46(16) 'XL MN ZK BR' 'L nzdyk' ZY wst'sp mt' W

w ŠNT' PWN h'cšn' ZY wst'sp' \*,st't' 'Ps BR' 'L

[guft] kū: "zardušt nē ēdōn čiyōn ašmā grift estād,

D.138

ēd rāy any jāmag ī yazišn dārēd,čē nasā-kaš-ē

ast zardušt!" pad hān čim ka-š pad daxšag būd,

ka-š andar nihād, ēg-iš hambān bun grift u-š frōd

ō zamīg ōsānd,u-š sar ud dast ud pāy ī

mardōmān az hambān frōd ōbast.

(6) u-šān pad sīh ud sē band bast, u-š gurs[ag]īh ud

D.138.13/132.8

tišnagīh ēdōn mad ī-š ōz ud \*zōr ud nērōg

ud wēnišn ud ašnawišn ī-š be šud.

46(16) pas az hān be ō nazdīk ī wištāsp mad ud

dō sāl pad hāzišn ī wištāsp estād. u-š be ō

11. BK 'BYDWNt; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>; Molé reads kart; M. reads grift.

12. ns'y repeated in BK. 13. The following passage is interpolated in ch. 46 (see above, textual notes ch. 46 n. 54) i.e. from p. 132

1. 8 in D.'s edition to ... pwl hncmnyk on p. 134 l. 9. M. takes the words u-š gwls[g]y ... BR' 'ZLWNt' as belonging to the text of ch. 46

§15. I follow Molé's reading (La légende, p. 116). 14. MSS zwhl.



wst'sp' gwpt' 'YK dyn' BR' ptyl MH 'whrmzd W  
 'mhrspnd'n' W 'p'ryk' yzd'n '-s'n' k'mk 'ytwn 'YK LK  
 QDM dyn' BR' YK'YMWNYdy

46(17) W wst'sp gwpt' 'YK XT' 'sp' l'd Y'TWNt' XWHydy  
 'ywp' hw'stk' l'd KR' Mht' \*,p'yt'<sup>15</sup> pts YNSBWN W  
 MN LTMH BR' 'ZLWN

46(18) TWBc zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK dyn' BR' MKBLWN W wst'sp' gwpt'  
 'YK L wn'sk'lyh-XD 'ytwn' 'YT'<sup>16</sup> ZY 'MT' dyn' <sup>17</sup>MKBLWNm  
 '-c-m'<sup>17</sup> PWN lwb'n' MND'M-I ŠPYL L' YXWWNyt' MHm PWN k'lyc'l ZY<sup>18</sup>  
 pltwm' 6,000 PWN ZK ZY dtygl 5,000<sup>19</sup> W PWN

wištāsp guft kū: "dēn be padīr, čē ohrmazd ud  
 amahraspandān ud abārīg yazdān, a-šān kāmāg ēdōn, kū tō  
 abar dēn be ēstē".

D.132.13

46(17) ud wištāsp guft kū: "agar asp rāy āmad hē,  
 ayāb xwāstag rāy, harw čē-t \*abayēd padīš stān ud  
 az ēdar be šaw".

D.132/133

46(18) did-iz zardušt guft kū: "dēn be padīr", ud wištāsp guft  
 kū: "man wināhgārīh-ēw ēdōn ast ī ka dēn padīrēm,  
 a-z-om pad ruwān čiš-ē weh nē bawēd, čē-m pad kārezār ī  
 fradom šaš-hazār, pad hān ī dudīgar panj-hazār, ud pad

15. MR<sub>1</sub> 'p'sytyt'; BK, J 'p'dst'. 16. MSS; M. omits. 17. M.'s  
 emendation; MSS MKBLWN'-c 'Pm; Molé reads patire-č u-m. 18. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J; BK k'lyc'lyh. 19. MSS; M. reads 3,000.

- ZK ZY stygl 5,000<sup>19</sup> YKTLWnt' TWB 'MTm k'lyc'l  
 krt' pltwm 1,000 dtygl 10,000<sup>20</sup> W stygl 1,000 YKTLWnt'<sup>21</sup>  
 46(19) zltwhst' gwpt' 'YK PWN \*YKTLWntn'<sup>22</sup> ZY 'LHs'n' MND 'Mc wn's  
 L'YT' cygwn<sup>23</sup> 'LHs'n hwnwšk' gwlg'n' bwt' XWH'd nywk' LK  
 MNWt' 'LHs'n' YKTLWnt'<sup>24</sup> XWH'd  
 46(20) 'Ps 'XRNC gwpt' 'YK dyn' MKBLWN MH krt'<sup>25</sup> L' ZK  
 'LH ZY p'hlwm MNWs dwsmn' KBD 'wct' XWH'd<sup>26</sup> L' ZK  
 'LH' ZY \*pwl \*GDH<sup>27</sup> L' ZK 'LH ZY pwl wcwst'l  
 L' ZK 'LH ZY pwl pylwcgl W L' ZK

hān ī sidīgar panj hazār ōzad. did ka-m kārezār D.133.5

kard, fradom hazār, dudīgar dah hazār, ud sidīgar hazār ōzad".

- 46(19) zardušt guft kū: "pad \*ōzadan ī awēsān čis-iz wināh  
 nēst, čiyōn awēsān hunušaḡ, gurgān būd hēnd. nēk tō  
 kā-t awēsān ōzad hēnd!"

- 46(20) u-š any-z guft kū: "dēn padīr, čē kard nē hān,  
 ōy ī pahlom kē-š dušmen was ōzad hēnd, nē hān,  
 ōy ī \*purr \*xwarrah, nē hān, ōy ī purr wizōstār,  
 nē hān, ōy ī purr pērōzgar, ud nē hān,

20. BK; MR<sub>1</sub> 1,000. 21. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YKTWnt'. 22. BK YKTWntn';  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'wct'. 23. MSS; omitted in Molé. 24. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YKTWnt'.  
 25. MSS; M. reads kardan. 26. M. inserts nē hān ī ōi ī staβr

(presumably so that this series of adjectives corresponds to the series  
 series of heroes in §21f.) but there is no need as the phrase in §20  
hān ī ōy pahlom kē-š dušmen was ōzad hēnd corresponds to hōšang būd  
ī \*nigāhdār u-š dēw was zad hēnd (§21). 27. D.'s emendation; MSS  
PWN LGLH.

- 'LH ZY pwl tkyk W L' ZK 'LH' ZY pwl  
 gwpt'l<sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup>(MRY' ZY nywk' BR' nkylyt'<sup>30</sup> W QDM \*,'styt'<sup>31</sup>  
 'YK pt-s BR' \*,'yt'<sup>32</sup> \*,'st't' 'YKS d'st'l slws 'YK  
 PWN dstwbl \*,'yt'<sup>32</sup> d'st')<sup>29</sup>  
 46(21) ' L' ZK 'LH' ZY<sup>33</sup> pwl \*wyht'l<sup>34</sup> W L' ZK  
 'LH ZY pwl hncmnyk W L' ZK 'LH ZY pwl  
 glpt'l W L' ZK 'LH' ZY pwl \*wlz<sup>35</sup> W L' ZK  
 'LH' ZY pwl 'wc MH hwsng bwt' ZY \*nk'st'l<sup>36</sup>  
 'Ps ŠDY' KBD MXYTWNt' XWH'd ym bwt' ZY pwl GDH  
 dh'k' bwt' ZY pwl wewst'l<sup>37</sup> plytwn' bwt'<sup>38</sup> ZY pwl pylwogl

ōy ī purr tagīg, ud nē hān ōy ī purr

D.133.14

guftār (saxwan ī nēk be nigērēd ud abar estēd,

kū pad-is be \*šāyēd estād kū-s dāstār srōs kū

D.133/134

pad dastwar šayēd dāst).

- 46(21) "a nē hān, ōy ī purr \*wēxtār, ud nē hān,

ōy ī purr hanjamanīg, ud nē hān, ōy ī purr

griftār, ud nē hān, ōy ī purr \*warz, ud nē hān,

ōy ī purr ōz. cē hōšang būd ī \*nigāhdār

u-s dēw was zad hēnd, yim būd ī purr xwarrah,

dahāg būd ī purr wizōstār, frēdōn būd ī purr pērōzgar,

28. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gwt'l. 29. These twenty-one words appear to be a gloss. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK nylwkyt. 31. MR<sub>1</sub>, J ystyt'; BK yst'mwyt'. 32. MSS s'dst'. 33. MSS have also 'LH. 34. Molé's emendation; MSS pwl d't'l; M. reads pur-dāšār, "a giver". 35. M.'s emendation; BK dhšn'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J y'c'n'; Molé reads pur-yazan "très très ambitieux" ("qui s'efforce beaucoup"). 36. BK hwsng bwt ZY; MR<sub>1</sub> hwsng bwt ZY st'l; J hwsng bwt' ZY wst'l; M. emends to hōšang buō ī stafr; Molé reads Hōšang but i (pur) vistar (?) "Hōšang était très fort".. 37. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK pwlwcst'l. 38. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXWNPn'.

- pl'syd'p' bwt' ZY pwl tkyk klsywt'<sup>39</sup> bwt' ZY pwl gwpt'l  
 spytwl bwt' ZY pwl \*wyht'l<sup>40</sup> 'wlwš'<sup>41</sup> bwt' ZY pwl hncmnyk  
 (7) <sup>42\*</sup> 'wšnl<sup>43</sup> YXWWNt' ZY pwl glpt'l k'yws bwt' ZY pwl wlc'  
 s'm'n bwt' ZY pwl 'wc<sup>44</sup> 'Ps'n hm'k \*'nsp's<sup>45</sup> BR' bwt'  
 LKyc BR' scydy<sup>44</sup>  
 (8) wšt'sp' ZY gyh'n hwt'y MH h'ht' 'whrmzd '[L] dyn' ym ZY  
 syt' ym 'whrmzd tl mynyt' <sup>46</sup> YKm \*'stwyd't'<sup>46</sup> L' YXMTWNyt' 'Ps  
 PWN ZK tl-mynšnyh 'DYN's'n' BR' klynyt'<sup>47</sup> ŠDY'n W mltwn'n'

- frāsyāb būd ī purr tagīg, karsēwast būd ī purr guftār, D.134.7  
 spēdūr būd ī purr \*wēxtār, urwaxš būd ī purr hanjamanīg,  
 (7) \*ōšnār būd ī purr griftār, kāyōs būd ī purr warz, D.138.13  
 sāmān būd ī purr ōz, u-šān hamāg \*anespās be būd,  
 tō-iz be sazē,  
 (8) "wištāsp ī gēhān xwadāy! čē hāxt ohrmazd ō dēn yim ī  
 šēd, yim ohrmazd tar mēnīd kū: '-m \*astwihād nē rasēd.' u-š D.139  
 pad hān tar-mēnišnīh, ēg-išān be kirrenīd dēwān ud mardōmān.

39. MSS; M. emends to karsēvaz. 40. BK pwlwst'l; MR<sub>1</sub> plwd't'l; M. reads pur dāōār; Molé reads pur-vextar. 41. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'whlš.  
 42. Interpolated passage ends here and the text is resumed in ch. 47.7; see above, n. 13. 43. MSS 'wšnl. 44. Molé reads: u-šān hamak hangezišn be but \*ī to-č be sače "or, ils auraient tous dû être stimulés; que cela soit ton fait"; M. follows MSS: u-šān hāmāy hu-sazišn bē būd, to-ič bē sazēh "and to them all (these) titles were well-deserving, may it deserve to you as well.". 45. Tentative emendation; BK, IO 'nspšn'? (i.e. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀). 46. M.'s emendation; MSS 'YK m'st' ZY wyd't'; Molé reads ku mazdest i nihāt (ne rasiť) "le mazdéisme qu'il avait déposé (ne mûrit pas)". 47. Molé reads darrenit "dépecé".

- (9) 'Pš plytwn' h'ht' 'LHc 'whrmzd t1 mynyt' 'Pš PWN ZK  
 t1-mynšnyh<sup>48</sup> '-s<sup>49</sup> zlm'n' QDM 'wpst' 'Pš tn' ZY NPŠHc PWN  
 kwtynk<sup>50</sup> twb'n' bwt' d'stn' hc-s 3 g'm 'Ds<sup>51</sup> pylmwn hm'y  
 ptyt' XWH'd
- (10) 'Pš klys'sp' hmgwnk h'ht' 'LHc t1 mynyt' W PWN ZK  
 t1-mynšnyh '-s<sup>49</sup> MXYTWnt<sup>52</sup> 'kwmn<sup>53</sup> QDM PWN \*b'lyst<sup>54</sup> ZY pyt'ktwm
- (11) wst'sp' 'XLc dyn BR' L' MKBLWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (12) W 'XL 'whrmzd whwmn' W 'šwhst<sup>55</sup> W 'twr bwlcynmtr'  
 BR' 'L m'n ZY wst'sp' \*ŠDRWNt<sup>56</sup> XWH'd

- (9) u-s frēdon hāxt, ōy-iz ohrmazd tar mēnīd, u-s pad hān  
 tar-mēnišnīh a-s zarmān abar ōbast, u-s tan ī xwēs-iz pad  
 kudēnag tuwān būd dāstan az-iš sē gām, tā-s pēramōn hamē  
 padīd hēnd. D.139
- (10) u-s krišāsp hamgōnag hāxt, ōy-iz tar mēnīd, ud pad hān  
 tar-mēnišnīh a-s zad akōman abar pad \*bālist ī paydāgtom.
- (11) wištāsp pas-iz dēn be nē padīrift.
- (12) ud pas ohrmazd wahman ud ašwahišt ud ādur burzēnmīhr  
 be ō mān ī wištāsp \*frēstād hēnd.

48. In Arabic script in BK تر منشنه. 49. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK '-'.

50. As Molé; cf. N.P. kudīna, "a large hammer or mallet"; M. reads KWTYN' /astr "mule". 51. M. reads viš "poison". 52. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MXYTWnt'. 53. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'kwm. 54. MSS b'lyšn'. 55. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'šwhst. 56. M.'s emendation; MSS Y'TWNyt'.

- (13) 'Ps 'L wst'sp' gwpt' 'YK dyn' BR' MKBLWN MH XT'  
 dyn' BR' \*MKBLWNy<sup>57</sup> 'DYN' LNH<sup>58</sup> hm'k 'L<sup>59</sup> LK 'prynynym  
 ZK ZY 'LYK'-hwt'yyh p'ths'd[yh] W dgl-zywšnyh ZY XY'  
 'pryn'<sup>59</sup> 60 'prynyn[y]m 'ldšwng W \*l's 'stšnyh<sup>61</sup> 'Pm YXBWNm  
 BRH' ZY pšwtñ' ŠM 'mlg W 'zlm'n' XT' L' MKBLWNydy  
 '-t' 'ndlw'd BR' 'L klk's plm'dym 'Dt<sup>62</sup> BSLY' BR' 'ŠTHN'd<sup>63</sup>  
 'Pt 'st'<sup>64</sup> BR' 'L<sup>65</sup> zmyk' 'wptyt'  
 (14) 'Ps 'XLc L' MKBLWNx<sub>2</sub><sup>66</sup>  
 (15) W 'whrmzd nylwksng<sup>67</sup> \*ŠDRWNt'<sup>68</sup> 'YK BR'

- (13) u-š ō wištāsp guft kū: "dēn be padīr, čē agar D.139  
 dēn be \*padīrēh, ēg amāh hamāg ō tō āfrīnēnēm  
 hān ī dagr-xwadāyīh, pādixšāy[īh] ud dagr-zīšnīh ī gyān,  
 āfrīn afrīnēnēm ardišwang ud \*rāsāstišnīh, u-m dahēm  
 pus ī pišōtan nām, amarg ud azarmān; agar nē padīrē, D.139/140  
 a-t andarwāy be ō kargās framāyēm, tā-t gōšt be xwarēnd  
 u-t ast be ō zamig ōftēd."  
 (14) u-š pas-iz nē padīrift.  
 (15) ud ohrmazd nēryōsang \*frēstād kū: "be

57. D.'s emendation; MSS MKBLWN. 58. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK LWTH.

59. M. omits these thirteen words by mistake. 60. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK  
 'pyn. 61. BK l'yk 'sl-šnyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'l'yk' stšnyh; see Comm. 47.

62. M.'s reading; Molé reads dat ("bêtes sauvages"). 63. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK 'ŠTHNtñ'd. 64. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'YT'. 65. Omitted in Molé.

66. Molé reads u-š pas-ič: ne patirem "Même alors il dit: Je  
 n'accepte pas.". 67. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK nylwksng. 68. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS ŠDRWNyt'.

- 'rtwhst 'ZLWN 'Pš ZNH BR' YMRRWN 'YK mng  
 BYN 'L XS 'BYDWN pr'c 'L wst'sp' YXBWN
- (16) 'rtwhst' hmg[w]nk krt'
- (17) 'MTš 'ŠTHNt' YXWWNt' PWN gyw'k' stlt' YXWWNt' 'Pš'n' lwb'n'  
 BR' 'L glwtm'n YDLWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Pš'n \*'lc'wmndyh<sup>69</sup> ZY dyn' ptglpt[n]'  
 BR' nwwt'
- (18) 'MT' MN stlt'yh pr'c YXWWNt' '-š BR' 'L hwtws K'L'  
 krt' 'YK zltwhst' 'YK 'YT' 'D dyn' BR'<sup>70</sup> MKBLWNm
- (19) W zltwhst' ZK w'ng 'šnwt W pr'c 'ZLWNt'  
 W wst'sp' dyn' BR' MKBLWNt'

ardwahišt saw, u-š ēn bē gōw, kū: 'mang

D.140

andar ō may kun, frāz ō wištāsp dah!' "

- (16) ardwahišt hamgōnag kard.
- (17) ka-š xward būd, pad gyāg stard būd, u-šān ruwān  
 be ō garōdmān nīd, u-šān arzōmandīh ī dēn padīrift[an]  
 be nimūd.
- (18) ka az stardīh frāz būd, a-š be ō hutōs wāng  
 kard kū: "zardušt kū ast, tā dēn be padīrēm?"
- (19) ud zardušt hān wāng ašnūd ud frāz šud,  
 ud wištāsp dēn be padīrift.

69. MSS 'lc'wmndyh. 70. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK.

- (20) hm'k p'h W stwl W hm'k 'ths ZY swc'k  
 W hm'k \*mynwg<sup>71</sup> ZY BYT,<sup>72</sup> '-s'n l'mšn' bwt'
- (21) 'MTs'n' gwbsn' ZY zltwhst' 'šnwt' 'MTs BR' 'L wšt'sp' dyn'  
 c'syt' 'Ps 'XL zltwhst' PWN mgwpt'n'-mgwptyh BR' gwm'lt'
- (22) 35 ŠNT' mgwpt'n'-mgwpt<sup>73</sup> YXWWNt'
- (23) 'XL twl [ZY] bl'tlys ZY PWN gwlg 'dwynek BR'  
 YXWWNt' 'Ps zltwhst' BR' 'wct'
- (24) 'LHc' dlwnd PWN hmgyw'k' PWN ZK ZY SLYtl  
 mlg YMYTWNt'
- (25) 'Ps BYRX ddw' YWM hwl plc'm YXWWNt'

- (20) hamāg pāh ud stōr ud hamāg ātaxš ī sōzāg D.140  
 ud hamāg \*mēnōg ī xānag a-šān rāmišn būd,
- (21) ka-šān gōwišn ī zardušt ašnūd, ka-š bē ō wištāsp dēn D.140/141  
 čāsīd; u-š pas zardušt pad mōbadān-mōbadīh be gumārd.
- (22) sīh ud panj sāl mōbadān-mōbad būd.
- (23) pas tūr [ī] brādrēs ī pad gurg ēwēnag be  
 būd u-š zardušt be ōzad.
- (24) ōy-iz druwand pad hamgyāg pad hān ī wattar  
 marg murd.
- (25) u-š māh dai rōz xwar frazām būd.

71. MSS mswd. 72. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK BYT'-y. 73. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK mgwptyh.



- (1) 'XL MN ZK 'MT zltwhst' BR' 'L hmpwrsgyh ZY  
 'whrmzd mt' W MN zltwhst' 1,500 ŠNT' \*'MT'<sup>2</sup>  
 hznglwkzm ZY dyn'yk<sup>3</sup> YXWYNyt' hwsytl PWN 50<sup>4</sup> s'lk'  
 BR' 'L hmpwrs[g]yh ZY 'whrmzd YXMTWYNyt'
- (2) hm-YWM mtr' yzdt' ZY hwl'syt' PWN PRG YWM BR'  
 YK'YMWYNyt' 10 lwc'<sup>5</sup>sp'n' PWN b'lyst' ZY \*'sm'n'<sup>5</sup> \*'styt'
- (3) 3 ŠNT' 'wlwl KR' MH L' 'p'yt ' L' hwsyt
- (4) dyn' 'pyck' BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> h'tm'nslyk BYN 'L k'l

- (1) pas az hān ka zardušt be ō hampursagīh ī D.141  
 ohrmazd mad, ud az zardušt hazār ud panj sad sāl, \*ka  
 hazangrōzam ī dēnīg bawēd, hūsēdar pad panjāh sālāg  
 be ō hampursagīh ī ohrmazd rasēd.
- (2) ham-rōz mihr yazad, ī xwarsēd, pad nēm rōz be  
 ēstēd, dah rōz-šabān pad bālist ī asmān estēd.
- (3) sē sāl urwar harw čē nē abāyēd, a nē hōsēd. D.141/142
- (4) dēn abēzag be kunēd hādamānsarīg andar ō kār

1. Nyb.'s ed. of this ch. appears in Man. Pahl. I, 97-100. 2. MSS  
MNW. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK zywndk. 4. J; BK چ; MR<sub>1</sub> چ; Pers. Riv.  
سي; Nyb. emends to syhs'lk'. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK lwck'. 6. MSS  
'sym'n'.

- 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub> W k'l MN h'tm'ns1 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (5) gwlg sltk' hm'k BR' 'L XD gyw'k 'ZLWNd W BYN XD  
gyw'k gwmtyhtynd W gwlg-I<sup>7</sup> MNWs p'h'n'd 415  
g'm W dl[h]n'd 433 g'm BR' YXWWNyt'
- (6) <sup>8\*</sup>'p-s'n' [PWN] \*dstwblyh<sup>8</sup> ZY hwšytl sp'h 'l'dynd W BR'  
k'lyc'l ZY ZK gwlg 'ZLWNx<sub>2</sub> nzdst' yčšn' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
'Ps'n' PWN yčšn' L'WXL d'stn' L' twb'n'
- (7) 'XL hwšytl YMRRWNyt' 'YK PWN ZK ZY tyctwm  
W p'hntwm tyh<sup>9</sup> 'LH dlwc' ZY KBD 'wc' c'lk'

gīrēd ud kār az hādamānsar kunēnd.

D.142

- (5) gurg sardag hamāg be ō ēw gyāg šawēnd ud andar ēw  
gyāg gumēxtēnd, ud gurg-ē, kē-s pāhnāy čahār sad ud pānzdah  
gām ud dra[h]nāy čahār sad ud sīh ud sē gām, be bawēd.
- (6) \*u-sān [pad] \*dastwarīh ī hušēdar spāh ārayēnd, ud be  
kārezār ī hān gurg šawēnd. nazdist yazišn kunēnd,  
u-sān pad yazišn abāz dāstan nē tuwān.
- (7) pas hušēdar gōwēd kū: "pad hān ī tēztom  
ud pāhntom tēx ōy druz ī was ōz čārag

7. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK gwlg. 8. MSS 'Ps dstwbl ZY hwšytl; M. emends to \*mzdēsn [pad] \*dastawarīh, and refers to §§ 27, 73, 79 to support the emendation of 'Ps to mzdysn; however, cf. § 79 below where mzdēsn is clearly understood as the subject of ārayēnd and need not be supplied. 9. MSS; M. reads tēy (tyg).

- B'YXWNyt' W 'XL 'NSWT'- 'n' ZK dlwc' PWN 'stl  
 W SKYN' W wlz W špšyl<sup>10</sup> W nyck W  
 tgl W 'p'ryk' \*snyhyh,<sup>11</sup> ZK dlwc BR' \*YKTLWNd<sup>12</sup>  
 (8) W XD plsng pyl[']mwn zmyk W 'wlwl \*wys<sup>13</sup>  
 ZY MN ZK dlwc' Y'TWNyt' W BR' swcynd  
 (9) \*BR,<sup>14</sup> MN ZK \*dlwcyh-I<sup>15</sup> pr'c dwb'lyt' \*KMC,<sup>16</sup> klp' ZY syd'  
 W BR' 'L dlwcyh ZY m'l 'ZLWNyt' 'Ps mhm'nyh  
 PWN 'LH YXWWNyt' ZK XN' l'd sthmktl L' YXWWNyt'

- xwāhēd". ud pas mardōmān hān druz pad aštar D.142  
 ud kārd ud warz ud šafšēr ud nēzag ud  
 tigr ud abārīg \*snehīhā hān druz be \*ōzanēnd.  
 (8) ud ēw frasang pēr[ā]mōn zamīg ud urwar \*wiš  
 ī az hān druz āyēd, ud be sōzēnd.  
 (9) \*bē az hān \*druzīh-ē frāz dwārēd, \*mayg kirb ī syā,  
 ud be ō druzīh ī mār šawēd, u-š mehmānīh  
 pad ōy bawēd; hān ēd rāy, stahmagtar nē bawēd. D.143

10. J; BK šypšyl; MR<sub>1</sub> špšpyl; M. emends to šamsēr. 11. So M., Nyb.; MSS sn'yhyh'. 12. So M., Nyb.; BK YKTWt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J YKTLWnt'.  
 13. M.'s and Nyb.'s emendation; MSS wš. 14. M.'s emendation; MSS PWN. 15. BK dlwc yh; MR<sub>1</sub> dlwc yh; M. emends to druzīh; cf. § 29; Nyb. reads dlwc'yyd (druž jē) " ... harlot" (Man. Pahl. II, 108).  
 16. M.'s emendation; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J MC'Y; IO MC''. Nyb. reads mc'y "an Ahrimanic animal" (Man. Pahl. II, 122).

- (10) 'XL MN ZK PWN 400 ŠNT' w'l'n' ZY mlkws'n' YXWWNyt'
- (11) 'MT ZK w'l'n' 'DN' YXWWNyt' pltwm ŠNT' dyn'-bwlt'l'n'  
BR' 'L 'NSWT'- 'n YMRRWNd 'YK hnb'lk' s'cyt' MH w'l'n'  
YXWWNyt' 'NSWT'- 'n hnb'lk s'c[y]nd
- (12) ZK ŠNT' w'l'n' L' YXWWNyt' W ŠNT ZY dtygl  
hmgwnk<sup>17</sup> YMRRWNd W hnb'lk' s'c[y]nd <sup>18</sup>ZK ŠNT<sup>18</sup> w'l'n' L'  
YXWWNyt' [W ŠNT' ZY stygl hmgwnk YMRRWNd  
W hnb'lk' s'cynd ZK ŠNT w'l'n' L' YXWWNyt']

- (10) pas az hān, pad čahār sad sāl wārān ī malkūsān bawēd. D.143
- (11) ka hān wārān zamān bawēd, fradom sāl dēn-burdārān  
be ō mardōmān gōwēnd kū: "hambārag sāzēd, čē wārān  
bawēd", mardōmān hambārag sāzēnd.
- (12) hān sāl wārān nē bawēd; ud sāl ī dudīgar  
hamgōnag gōwēnd ud hambārag sāz[ē]nd, hān sāl wārān nē  
bawēd; [ud sāl ī sidīgar hamgōnag gōwēnd  
ud hambārag sāzēnd, hān sāl wārān nē bawēd];

17. BK hmgwnk. 18. ZK ŠNT' lacking in BK.

- W ŠNT ZY ch'lw m hmgwnk<sup>17</sup> YMRRWNd W 'NSWT'-'n  
ZY 'wylwdsn'n YMRRWNd 'YK ZK ZY \*m'zdysn'n<sup>19</sup> YMRRWNd L'  
 YXWWNyt' MHS'n' L'YNc ZNH gwpt' L' YXWWNt'<sup>20</sup>  
 (13) 'LHS'n' hnb'lk' ZY L'YN<sup>21</sup> s[']ht' \*styt' PWN 10 zmst'n'  
 BR' L' \*p'yt'<sup>22</sup> W hnb'lk' L' s'c[y]nd W ZK ŠNT'  
 w'l'n' YXWWNyt'  
 (14) ŠNT' ZY pltwm 3 b'l PWN h'myn' 3 b'l PWN  
zmst'n L'WXL \*styt' ŠNT'<sup>23</sup> ZY dtygl 2 b'l PWN zmst'n'  
 2 b'l PWN h'myn' L'WXL \*styt' ŠNT' ZY stygl XD  
 b'l PWN zmst'n W XD b'l PWN h'myn' L'WXL \*styt'

D.143

ud sāl ī čahārom hamgōnag gōwēnd, ud mardōmān

ī awurrōyišnān gōwēnd kū: "hān ī \*māzdēsnān gōwēnd nē  
 bawēd čē-šān pēš-iz ēn guft, nē būd."

- (13) awēšān hambārag ī pēš s[ā]xt estēd pad dah zamestān  
 be nē \*abāyēd, ud hambārag nē sāzēnd ud hān sāl  
 wārān bawēd.  
 (14) sāl ī fradom sē bār pad hāmīn, sē bār pad  
 zamestān abāz estēd; sāl ī dudīgar dō bār pad zamestān,  
 dō bār pad hāmīn abāz estēd; sāl ī sidīgar ēw  
 bār pad zamestān ud ēw bār pad hāmīn abāz estēd.

19. M.'s emendation; MSS msyt'; Nyb. emends to mzdysn. 20. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J; BK YXWWNyt'. 21. M.'s emendation; BK lwm; MR<sub>1</sub>, J LNH.  
 22. MSS 'pyy'yt'; Nyb. reads 'psydyt' "will not be consumed,  
 emptied" (Man. Pahl. II, 23). 23. ŠNT' lacking in BK.

- (15) ŠNT ZY ch'lw m BYRX hwrđt' W YWM ddw'-PWN-mtr'  
 wpl BYN \*,'styt' 'D BYRX ddw' YWM ddw'-PWN-mtr'  
 hmbwn-c' 'DN'<sup>24</sup> L'WXL L' \*,'styt'<sup>25</sup>
- (16) W 'XL \*m'zdysn'n<sup>26</sup> nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> PWN nplyn' ZY m'zdysn'n'  
 YMYTWNyt' W XY' ZY 'NSWT' W gwspnd \*ZY<sup>27</sup> gyw'k  
 tnwk'<sup>28</sup> BR' YXWWNd
- (17) W 'XL BYN ZK 'DN' 'NSWT' W gwspnd MN  
 wl ZY ym krt'<sup>29</sup> XYTYWNd W gyw'k gyw'k' KTLWNd

- (15) sāl ī čahārom, māh hordād ud rōz dai-pad-mihr, D.143/144  
 wafr andar estēd, tā māh dai rōz dai-pad-mihr;  
 hambun-iz zamān abāz nē estēd ...
- (16) ... ud pas \*māzdēsnan nifrīn kunēnd; pad nifrīn ī māzdēsnan  
 mīrēd, ud gyān ī mardōm ud gōspand \*ī gyāg  
 tanuk be bawēnd.
- (17) ud pas andar hān zamān mardōm ud gōspand az  
 war ī yim kard anāyend, ud gyāg gyāg mānēnd;

24. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK BYRX. 25. Some words or sentences are missing here.

26. So M., Nyb.; MSS msytyn'. 27. BK 'D; MR<sub>1</sub>, J wydyn.

28. MSS; M. reads tang "scarce". 29. Written ymkrt' in MSS.

- W 'LHs'n' PWN tn' ms 'p'yšnyktl W nywk krt'l<sup>30</sup>  
 XWH'd \*BR,<sup>31</sup> ZK dlwc' \*,wc'wmnd<sup>32</sup> ZYs'n' PWN k'lyc'l  
 BR' \*YKTLWNt'<sup>33</sup> L' twb'n'  
 (18) W 'MT ZK zmst'n' 'ZLWNt' gwspnd 'ytwn' tn[w]k'<sup>34</sup> BR' YXWWNyt'  
 \*,D<sup>35</sup> 'MT gyw'kXD p'h ZY gwspnd'n' XZYTWNd '-s'n' 'pd<sup>36</sup> MDMHNyt'  
 (19) W dt' ZY kwpyk W dštyk' BR' 'L 'NSWT'- 'n' Y'TWNd W  
 'ytwn' mynynd 'YKm'n 'NSWT'- 'n' 'ytwn' YXSNNd cygwn przd ZY NPŠH  
 (20) W 'XL 'šwhst'<sup>37</sup> hcpl w'ng 'BYDWNyt' W 'ytwn'

ud awēšān pad tan meh abāyišnīgtar ud nēk kardār  
 hēnd. \*bē hān druz \*ōzōmand, ī-šān pad kārezār  
 be \*ōzadan nē tuwān.

D.144

- (18) ud ka hān zamestān šud, gōspand ēdōn tan[u]k be bawēd,  
 \*tā ka gyāg-ēw pah ī gōspandān wēnēnd, a-šan abd sahēd.  
 (19) ud dad ī kōfīg ud dāstīg be ō mardōmān āyēnd, ud  
 ēdōn mēnēnd kū: "-mān mardōmān ēdōn dārēnd čiyōn frazand ī xwēs".  
 (20) ud pas ašawahišt azabar wāng kunēd ud ēdōn

30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK nywkkt'l; Nyb. emends to ndwkwtl. 31. MSS MH  
 (so M.); Nyb. emends to MN. 32. MSS 'wc XWH'd. 33. BK YKTLWNt';  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J stlwt'. 34. So Nyb.; M. reads tang "scarce". 35. BK, J  
ZY; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>; cf. n. 39 below. 36. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK 'pk. 37. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J; BK 'šwhst'.

YMRWNyt' 'YK 'L 'XL 'LHs'n' gwspond'n BR' \*kwsyt'<sup>38</sup> cygwn K'N  
 kwst' XWht MH gwspond PWN d't' 'ytwn' QDM Y'TWNYt'  
 \*'D<sup>39</sup> MN ZK 'XL L'WXL 'L k'hyšn' \*'styt' <sup>40</sup>,L \*kwsyt'<sup>38</sup>

- (21) W m'zdysn' hmgwnk 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W dt' ZY kwpyk W dstyk  
 'MT'<sup>40</sup>s'n'<sup>41</sup> tn' d't' 'ytwn' QDM \*Y'TWNYt'<sup>42</sup> 'D MN ZK pr'c'  
 L'WXL 'L k'hyšn' YK'YMWNd BR' 'L 'NSWT' Y'TWNd  
 W YMRWNd 'YK 'ŠTHNyt' L pyš MN ZK<sup>43</sup> 'MT  
 L 'c' ZY 'wgl'g \*ywdyt'<sup>44</sup> W \*m'zdysn<sup>45</sup> hmgwnk<sup>46</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>

gōwēd kū: "ma pas awēšān gōspandān be \*kušēd čiyōn nun

D.144

kušt hed! čē gōšpand pad dād ēdōn abar āyēd,

D.144/145

\*tā az hān pas abāz ō kāhišn estēd, ma \*kušēd!"

- (21) ud māzdēsn hamgōnag kunēnd ud dad ī kōfīg ud daštīg,  
 ka-šān tan dād ēdōn abar \*āyēd, tā az hān frāz  
 abāz ō kāhišn ēstēnd, be ō mardōm āyēnd  
 ud gōwēnd kū: "xwarēd man pēš az hān ka  
 man āz ī ōgarāg jōyēd!" ud māzdēsn hamgōnag kunēnd.

38. MSS kwš'yt'. 39. MSS ZY; cf. § 21 below ... ēdōn abar \*āyēd, tā az hān frāz ... . 40. Thirteen words 'L kwšyt ... W dstyk 'MT' lacking in BK. 41. BK wš'n'. 42. MSS YXYTYWNt; M. emends to maδ, but Y'TWNYt' is more likely, as it occurs in a formula in § 20 above. 43. MSS have also 'D'. 44. M.'s emendation; MSS ywšt'; Nyb. emends to ywd't'. 45. BK msyt', MR<sub>1</sub>, J m'syt'. 46. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hmgwnk'.





- (28) 'MT YXMTWNd hwšytlm'h YMRRWNyt' 'YK yčšn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
<sup>54</sup>W yčšn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>54</sup> W ZK dlwc BR' t'cyt' W XD  
 plsng<sup>55</sup> \* pyl'm[wn]' zmyk W 'wlwl wys ZY MN ZK  
 dlwc' BR' Y'TWNyt' W BR' swcyt'<sup>56</sup>
- (29) MN ZK dlwcyh-I pr'c' dwb'lyt' \*KMC,<sup>57</sup> klp' ZY syd'  
 'Pš PWN dlwc ZY 2 zng tw[h]mk' mhm'nyh<sup>58</sup> ZK  
 XN' l'd sthmktl L' YXWWNyt'
- (30) BYN ZK hc'lk' dh'k' MN bnd BR' l'hyt' hwt'yyh<sup>59</sup>  
 ZY QDM ŠDY'n W 'NSWT'-n' pr'c' 'XDWNyt' 'ytwm'

- (28) ka rasēnd hūšēdarmāh gōwēd kū: "yazišn kunēd",  
 ud yazišn kunēnd, ud hān drūz be tāzēd, ud ēw  
 frasang pērāmōn zamīg ud urwar wīš ī az hān  
 druz be āyēd ud be sōzēd.
- (29) az hān druzīh-ē frāz dwārēd \*mayg kirb, ī syā  
 u-s pad druz ī dō zang tō[h]mag mehmānīh; hān  
 ēd rāy stahmagtar nē bawēd.
- (30) andar hān hazārag, dahāg az band be rahēd. xwadāyīh  
 ī abar dēwān ud mardōmān frāz gīrēd ēdōn

D.146

54. Three words lacking in BK. 55. K35 (K), fol. 72 r. begins.  
 56. D.'s emendation; MSS swdnyt'. 57. M.'s emendation; MSS MC''.  
 Nyb. reads mc'h (macāh) "an Ahremanic animal" (Man. Pahl. II, 122);  
 cf. n. 16 above. 58. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK m'hm'nyh. 59. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK  
hw's; K hw'y'.

- d1 '[d]yt 'YK KR' MNW MY' W 'thš W 'wlwl  
 'L' byšyt' '-s<sup>60</sup> BR' XYTYWNyt' 'Dš ywdym  
 (31) W 'thš W MY' W 'wlwl MN 'n'kyh ZYš 'NSWT'- 'n  
 pts 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> glčšn' L'YN' 'whrmzd 'ZLWNd W YMRRWNyt' 'YK  
 plytwn' ZY lyst'<sup>61</sup> L'L' \*hngycyn<sup>62</sup> 'D dh'k BR' MXYTWNyt' MH  
 'MT ywdtl PWN zmyk L' YXWWNm  
 (32) 'XL 'whrmzd LWTM 'mhrspnd'n' BR' 'L nzdyk ZY lwb'n'  
 ZY plytwn' 'ZLWNyt'  
 (33) 'Ps YMRRWNyt' 'YK L'L' YK'YMWN dh'k MXYTWN

drāyēd kū: "harw kē āb ud ātaxš ud urwar

D.146

nē bēšēd, a-s be ānayēd tā-s jōyēm".

- (31) ud ātaxš ud āb ud urwar az anāgīh ī-s mardōmān  
 pa-diš kunēnd garzišn pēš ohrmazd šawēnd ud gōwēd kū:  
 "frēdōn ī rist ul \*hangēzēn tā dahāg be zanēd čē  
 ka juḍtar pad zamīg nē bawēm".  
 (32) pas ohrmazd abāg amahraspandān be ō nazdīk ī ruwān  
 ī frēdōn šawēd.  
 (33) u-s gōwēd kū: "ul ēst, dahāg zan!"

D.146/147

60. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, J '-'. 61. K; lyst is lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J.

62. MSS 'wstyn' (ēstēn?); M. and Nyb. emend to hangēzēn, resuscitate"; cf. DkM 573.17 hngycšn' ZY klyš'sp; GBd. XXXIII.35 klyš'sp L'L' hngycynd; see below §33 L'L' YK'YMWN and nn.68, 111.

- (34) lwb'n' ZY plytw'n' YMR[R]WNyt' 'YK L MXYTWNt' L' twb'n'  
BR',<sup>63</sup> 'L lwb'n' ZY s'm'n' klyš'sp'<sup>64</sup> 'ZLWNyt'
- (35) 'XL<sup>65</sup> 'whrmzd LWITH 'mhrspnd'n' BR' 'L nzdyk ZY lwb'n'  
ZY s'm'n' 'ZLWNyt'<sup>66</sup> W s'm'n' klyš'sp'<sup>67</sup> L'L' hngycyny't'<sup>68</sup> W  
dh'k BR' YKTLWNyt'
- (36) dh'k ZK 'nd \*w'ng<sup>69</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> čnd gwspnd ZY BYN  
'yl'n'str' 4 'ywk'-XD BR' \*dwbyt'<sup>70</sup>
- (37) 'XL MN ZK PWN hc'lk' sl ZY hwšytlm'h swš'ns  
PWN \*syh s'lk'<sup>71</sup> BR',<sup>72</sup> 'L hmpwrs[g]yh ZY 'whrmzd YXMTWNyt'

- (34) ruwān ī frēdōn gōwēd kū: "man zad nē tuwān, D.147  
be ō ruwān ī sāmān krisāsp šawēd!"
- (35) pas ohrmazd abāg amahraspandān be ō nazdīk ī ruwān  
ī sāmān šawēd, ud sāmān krisāsp ul hangēzēnēd, ud  
dahāg be ōzanēd.
- (36) dahāg hān and \*wāng kunēd čand gōspand ī andar  
ērānsahr čahār ēwag-ēw be \*dawēd.
- (37) pas az hān, pad hazārag sar ī hūšēdarmāh, sōšāns  
pad \*sī sālag be ō hampursagīh ī ohrmazd rasēd.

63. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; lacking in BK. 64. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K klšsp'; K35 fol. 72v. begins. 65. Repeated in BK. 66. K; BK 'ZLWt'. 67. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK klšsp'; K klyšsp'. 68. Nyb.'s emendation; MSS 'wstyny't' (ēstēnēd? "raise up"?); M. emends to hangēzēd. 69. D.'s emendation; MSS 'DN' (so Nyb., i.e. hān and zamān ... čand "as long as", see Man. Pahl. II, 228). 70. BK dwyt'; K dwyyt'; MR<sub>1</sub> dwst'; J dw't'. 71. BK, K s's'lyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J s's'lk'. 72. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK PWN.

- (38) <sup>73</sup>W ZK YWM hwlsyt' BR' \*,'ystyt' 'D 30 YWM  
PWN b'lyst' BR' \*,'styt'
- (39) W sws'ns 'MT<sup>74</sup> MN hmpwrskyh<sup>75</sup> L'WXL Y'TWNyt' '-s<sup>76</sup> kdhwslw'  
BR' 'L ptylk' Y'TWNyt' 'MT PWN w'd ZY dglndhwt'[y]  
YTYBWNst'<sup>78</sup> \*,'styt'
- (40) sws'ns pwsyt' 'YK LK MNW GBR' XWHydy MNWc \*XY,<sup>79</sup>  
PWN<sup>80</sup> w'd ZY<sup>80</sup> dglndhwt'y 'Pt pr'c wst' 'L ZK ZY  
GMR' klp'
- (41) kdhwslwd pshw' YMR[R]WNyt' 'YK 'NH' XWH'm kdhwslwd

- (38) ud hān rōz xwarsēd be estēd tā sīh rōz D.147  
pad bālist be estēd.
- (39) ud sōsāns ka az hampursagīh abāz āyēd, a-s kayxosrō  
bē ō padīrag āyēd ka pad way ī dagrandxwadāy  
nišast estēd.
- (40) sōsāns pursīd kū: "tō kē mard hē kē-z<sup>\*</sup>gyān  
pad wāy ī dagrandxwadāy u-t frāz wašt ō hān ī  
uštār kirb?"
- (41) kayxosrōy passox gōwēd kū: "az hōm kayxosrōy". D.147/148

73. M. omits this § by mistake. 74. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK MNW.

75. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K hmpwrsyh. 76. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K '-'. 77. MSS;  
M. emends to MNW. 78. M. emends to wašt. 79. BK, K '-'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J  
'-s. 80. w'd ZY lacking in BK, K.

- (42) W sws'ns YMRRWNyt' 'YK LK kdhwslwd ZY PWN dwl-'y'p  
 'ws ZY QDM XZYTW[N]t' PWN d'n'kyh 'MTt \* 'wzdysc'l<sup>81</sup> ZY  
 PWN wl ZY cycyst'<sup>82</sup> BR' XPLWNt'  
 (43) kdhwslwd<sup>83</sup> YMRRWNyt' 'YK L ZK kdhwslwd<sup>83</sup> XWH'm  
 (44) W sws'ns<sup>84</sup> YMR[R]WNyt' 'YKt' ŠPYL 'ytwn' kwnšn' wlcyt'  
 MH XTt L' krt' XWHydy GNB' ZY<sup>85</sup> hm'k ZK  
 wltynšn'<sup>86</sup> bwt' XWHydy MNW<sup>87</sup> plskrt' krt'lyh<sup>87</sup> ZY ŠPYL  
 (45) TWB pwrst' 'YK LK MXYTW[N]t \* ml<sup>88</sup> ZY twl ZY plnglsyd'pk<sup>89</sup>

- (42) ud sōsāns gōwēd kū: "tō kayxosrōy ī pad dūr-ayāb D.148  
 ōs ī abar dīd pad dānāgīh ka-t uzdešzār ī  
 pad war ī čēčist be kand?"  
 (43) kayxosrōy gōwēd kū: "man hān kayxosrōy hōm."  
 (44) ud sōsāns gōwēd kū: "-t weh ēdōn kunišn warzīd!  
 čē agar-it nē kard hē, duzd ī hamāg hān  
 wardēnišn būd hē kē frašegird kardārīh ī weh".  
 (45) did pursēd kū: "tō zad \* mar ī tūr ī frangrasiyābag?"

81. M.'s, Nyb.'s emendation; MSS 'wzd'c'l. The word is spelt  
 'wc'p'l in a parallel text in DkM. 818. 7-8. 82. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K  
 cyst'. 83. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K kdhwlwd; K35 fol. 73r. begins. 84. K,  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK swšns. 85. MSS gnb'y; M. reads gwb'y "hand".  
 86. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK wlcynšn'; M. reads vardišn "final Revolution (of  
 the earth)"; M. vartēnišn "transformation". 87. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K have  
 plskrt'lyh for plskrt' krt'lyh. 88. MSS m'l. 89. K; BK  
 plnglsy'pk; J plngl's'p.

- (46) gwbyt' 'YK L zt'
- (47) sws'ns YMRRWNyt' 'YK ŠPYL<sup>90</sup> 'ytn' kwnšn' wlcyt'  
 MH XTt' L' zt XWHydy ml ZY twl ZY plnglsyd'p'  
 GNB' ZY<sup>85</sup> hm'k ZK [wltynšn']<sup>91</sup> bwt' XWHydy MNW<sup>87</sup> plskrt  
 krt'lyh<sup>87</sup> ZY ŠPYL
- (48) sws'ns YMRRWNyt' 'YK kd SGYTWN W dyn' st'd kdhwslwd<sup>92</sup>  
 dyn' BR' st'yt'<sup>93</sup>
- (49) 'XL BYN ZK 57 ŠNT' kdhwslwd<sup>90</sup> hpt' kyšwl hwt'y YXWWNyt'  
 sws'ns mgwpt'n' mgwpt' \*YXWWNyt'<sup>94</sup>

- (46) gōwēd kū: "man zad". D.148
- (47) sōšāns gōwēd kū: "weh ēdōn kunišn warzīd!  
 cē agar-it nē zad hē mar ī tūr ī frangrasiyāb,  
 duzd ī hamāg hān [wardēnišn] būd hē kē frašegird  
 kardārīh ī weh".
- (48) sōšāns gōwēd kū: "kay šaw ud dēn stāy"; kayxusrōy  
 dēn be stāyēd.
- (49) pas andar hān panjāh ud haft sāl kayxusrōy haft kišwar  
 xwadāy bawēd sōšāns mōbadān mōbad \*bawēd. D.148/149

90. BK, K have also 'Pm. 91. M., Nyb. supply vardišn here.

92. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K kdhwlwy. 93. BK ستايد.

94. M.'s emendation; MSS bwt'.

- (50) W 'XL klys'sp'<sup>95</sup> 'ZLWNyt' LWTH ZK ZY hwwghm<sup>96</sup> wlz  
 'Ps tws L'YN' \*'styt' W tgl BYN km'n XNXTWNyt'  
 'L klys'sp'<sup>95</sup> YMRRWNyt' 'YK dyn' BR' st'd 'YK PWN g's'nyk  
 yst' BR' 'BYDWN'<sup>97</sup> gt BR' LMYTWNyt' MH XT' dyn' L,<sup>98</sup>  
 99\* st'dydy W gt'<sup>99</sup> BR' L' LMYTWNdy<sup>100</sup> 'D[Y]Nt' ZNH tgl ptk'pwm
- (51) klys'sp'<sup>95</sup> bym MN tgl ZY tws l'd dyn' BR' st'd[d]yt  
 W gt' BR' LMYTWNyt'<sup>101</sup>
- (52) KR' 'NSWT' dyn'-bwlt'l BR' YXWWNyt' 'ywk' 'L TWB dwst'  
 W hwcšm YXWWNd

- (50) ud pas krišāsp šawēd abāg hān ī huwēhm warz, D.149  
 u-š tūs pēš estēd ud tigr andar kamān nihēd;  
 ō krišāsp gōwēd kū: "dēn be stāy, kū pad gāhānīg  
 yašt be kun, gad be abganēd cē agar dēn nē  
 \*stāyē ud gad be nē abganē ēg-it ēn tigr pahikāfom."
- (51) krišāsp bīm az tigr ī tūs rāy, dēn be stāyēd  
 ud gad be abganēd.
- (52) karw mardōm dēn-burdār be bawēd; ēwag ō did dōst  
 ud hucašm bawēnd.

95. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K klyšsp; BK klšsp'. 96. MSS; M. emends to \*hunivixt "uplifted (mace)". 97. K (and D.'s reading); BK 'BYDWNx1; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'BYDWNyt'. 98. K35, fol. 73v. begins. 99. BK, K st'dyyt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J st'dt; M. emends to stay, Nyb. to استاد. 100. BK; K LMYTWNyt' with ydy written above. 101. BK; K, J LMYTWNt'.



- (53) KR' 'NSWT' ZY zywndk' 'XL MN ZK L' YMYTWNyt'
- (54) 'ZK ZY mwlt'<sup>102</sup> sws'ns LWTB 'LHs'n' plskrt' krt'l<sup>103</sup> MNws<sup>104</sup>  
 \*hdyb'lyh XWH'd<sup>105</sup> 'L lystk' tn' \*hngycynd<sup>106</sup>
- (55) 'whrmzd 'st' MN zmyk W hwn MN<sup>107</sup> MY' mwd  
 MN 'wlwl W XY' MN w't' B'YXWNyt' 'ywk' 'L TWB  
 gwmmycyt' W 'dwynt' \*ZY BNPSH<sup>108</sup> d'lyt' YXBWNyt'
- (56) sws'ns yst'-XD<sup>109</sup> BR' 'BYDWNyt'<sup>110</sup> lyst' 5 'ywk'-XD L'L'  
 hngycyny<sup>111</sup> PWN dtygl yst' 5 'ywk'-XD PWN stygl  
 yst' 5 'ywk'-XD PWN ch'lw<sup>112</sup> yst' 5 'ywk'-XD  
 PWN pncwm yst' lyst' hm'k L'L' hngycyny<sup>113</sup>

(53) karw mardōm ī zīndag, pas az hān nē mīrēd.

D.149

(54) hān ī murd, sōšāns abāg awēšān frašegird kardār, kē-s  
 hayyārīh hēnd ō ristag tan \*hangēzēnd.

(55) ohrmazd ast az zamīg, ud xōn az āb ud mōy  
 az urwar, ud gyān az wād xwāhēd, ēwag ō did  
 gumēzēd ud ēwēnag \*ī xwad dārēd dahēd.

(56) sōšāns yašt-ēw be kunēd, rist panj ēwag-ēw ul  
 hangēzēnēd; pad dudīgar yašt, panj ēwag-ēw, pad sidīgar  
 yašt panj ēwag-ēw, pad čahārōm yašt panj ēwag-ēw,  
 pad panjōm yašt rist hamāg ul hangēzēnēd.

D.149/150

102. So M., Nyb.; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K, BK ZK MN lt'. 103. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK krt'lyh. 104. K, J; BK MNW'; MR<sub>1</sub> MNW. 105. MSS; M. reads hayyārōmand (sic). 106. MSS YK'YMWNd see Comm. 48 n.33.

107. MN lacking in BK, K. 108. M. reads xvēs (i.e. NPSH).

109. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK yst'. 110. M.'s emendation; MSS 'BYDWN[']d.

111. BK, K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'wstynynt [ēstēnēd]. M. reads hangēzēd.

112. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK chlwm; J lwmm; K lwmm'. 113. K; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'wstynynt'.

- (57) W KR' 'YŠ-I BR' sn'syt' 'YK \*XN,<sup>114</sup> L 'B'  
 W \*XN,<sup>114</sup> [L] 'X W \*XN,<sup>114</sup> L n'lyk,<sup>115</sup> W  
 \*XN,<sup>114</sup> L kt'l-c-XD MN<sup>116</sup> l'myny't'l'n' \*YT,<sup>117</sup>
- (58) hm'k hwłšn,<sup>118</sup> hw'lyh W hm'k' MND'M MNWS 'NŠWT'- 'n' l'mšn'  
 W 's'nyh W hw'lyh hcs 'ytwn' cygwn 'whrmzd PWN  
 bwndhšn' YXBWNt' L'WXL YXWNNyt'
- (59) hwłšn' W mck' 1,000 ZK 'nd cnd ZK ZY K'N  
 'YT' YXWNNyt'
- (60) MNWS XYMNNyt' hwlyt' W MNWS L' XYMNNyt' L' 'ŠTHN'yt'

- (57) ud harw kas-ē be šnāsēd kū: " \*ēd man pid" D.150  
 ud "ēd [man] brād" ud "ēd man nārīg" ud  
 "ēd man kadār-iz-ēw az rāmēnīdārān \*ast".
- (58) hamāg xwarišn xwārīh ud hamāg čis kē-š mardōmān rāmišn  
 ud āsānīh ud xwārīh aziš, ēdōn čiyōn ohrmazd pad  
 bundahišn dād abāz bawēd.
- (59) xwarišn ud mizag hazār hān and čand hān ī nun  
 ast bawēd.
- (60) kē-š wurrōyēd, xwarēd, ud kā-š nē wurrōyēd, nē xwarēd.

114. MSS XD. 115. So MR<sub>1</sub>, J; in BK the words L 'X W \*XN' L are lacking; in K the words W \*XN' L 'X are lacking. 116. MN lacking in BK, K. 117. D.'s emendation; MSS ZYt'; M. emends to HZYt' (dīd). 118. K35, fol. 74r. begins.

- (61) 'whrmzd ZNH zmyk 2 'nd dlhn'd<sup>119</sup> W p'h'n'd cnd ZK  
ZY K'N 'YT' BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'NŠWT,<sup>120</sup> \*klp<sup>121</sup> PWN nywkwkyh  
 ZK 'BYDWNd ZYs'n' BYN gyh'n' 'p'dšnyktl W ŠPYL XZYTW[N]t'
- (62) GBR' NYŠH ZY p'ths'd ZK 'nd cnd hc-s PWN  
 gytyg<sup>122</sup> bwt' '-s<sup>123</sup> L'WXL<sup>124</sup> YXBWNd
- (63) 'LH MNWS NYŠH L' bwt' \*'-s<sup>125</sup> NYŠH YXBWNd<sup>126</sup>
- (64) NYŠH MNWS swd L' bwt' '-s<sup>123</sup> swd YXBWNd
- (65) ZK GBR' W NYŠH [MNW] MN tn<sup>127</sup> k'l ZY skptyn<sup>128</sup>  
 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> 'ywk' 'L TWB YXBWNd

- (61) ohrmazd ēn zamīg dō and drahnāy ud pāhnāy čand hān D.150  
 ī mun ast be kunēd ud mardōm kirb pad nēkōgīh  
 hān kunēnd ī-sān andar gēhān abāyisnīgtar ud weh dīd.
- (62) mard zan ī pādixšāy hān and čand az-iš pad  
 gētīg būd a-s abāz dahēnd.
- (63) ōy kē-s zan nē būd, a-s zan dahēnd. D.150/151
- (64) zan kē-s šōy nē būd, a-s šōy dahēnd.
- (65) hān mard ud zan [kē] az tan kār ī skeftēn  
 kard ēwag ō did dahēnd.

119. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK dl'n'd. 120. BK مردم. 121. IO; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K plyp. 122. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K gytydy. 123. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K '-'.  
 124. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K L'WXL; BK NYŠH. 125. MSS '-'. 126. So K, J; '-s NYŠH YXBWNd lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>. 127. BK, K MN typn'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J MN tn'; Nyb. emends to \*mutfan (mwtpn') "a pair, a couple" (Man. Pahl. II.135). 128. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K sptyn'.

- (66) W 'MT lyst' L'L' 'wstynyt' 'LHs'n' MNWs'n \*hm<sup>129</sup> klynyt'  
 \*lys W \*wzynd<sup>130</sup> ZY \*<sup>131</sup>wyhdyn'n W \*'n'styh,<sup>131</sup> BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub><sup>132</sup>  
 'LHs'n' hm'k BR' YMYTWNd 3 YWM mwlt' ŠKBXWNd
- (67) 'Ps'n' 'XL lyst' L'WXL wyl'dynd 'LHs'n-c 'p'ryk' mlg'lc'n'n'<sup>133</sup>  
 KR' 'YŠ lyst'<sup>134</sup> KN wyl'dynd BR' 'LHs'n' ZY MN  
 yzd'n'<sup>135</sup> \*dwšmynšn'n'<sup>136</sup> W \*wlcšn'n'-c<sup>137</sup>
- (68) bwt' dstwbl MNWs gwpt' 'YKs'n' lyst' L'WXL wyl'dynd  
 PWN ptyt<sup>138</sup> BR' YXWWNd W KR' mlg'lc'n'-I<sup>139</sup> l'd ZYs'n krt'

- (66) ud ka rist ul ēstēnēd, awēsān kē-sān ham kīrrēnīd D.151  
 \*rēs ud \*wizend ī \*wehdēnān ud \*anāštīhā be kard.  
 awēsān hamāg be mīrēnd; sē rōz murd nibayēnd.
- (67) u-sān pas rist abāz wirāyēnd awēsān-iz abārīg margārzānān  
 harw kas rist ōh wirāyēnd bē awēsān ī az  
 yazdān \*dušmēnišnān ud \*warzišnān-iz.
- (68) būd dastwar kē-s guft kū: "-sān rist abāz wirāyēnd,  
 pad patēt be bawēnd, ud harw margārzān-ē rāy ī-sān kard

129. MSS ym; M., Nyb. read yam (ym). 130. M.'s emendation;  
 MSS wlšn' cynnd. 131. MSS wywwyh'n'n' yst'XD; the text seems to  
 be corrupt here; for M.'s and Nyb.'s readings see Comm. 48 n.39 .  
 132. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K 'BYDWNd. 133. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, K mlglc'n'n'.  
 134. K35 fol. 74 v. begins. 135. K; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J MNs'n; M. emends to  
 \*kē-sān (MNWS'n'). Nyb. reads \*MRK'-n ( šāhān, see Man. Pahl. II,  
 183). 136. BK, K dwšw' mns'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J wynšn mns'n; M. emends to  
 \*zanišn kē-sān; Nyb. reads BR' 'LHs'n' MRK'-n' ZY gnšn MNs'n' and  
 also [BR' 'LHs'n'] MNWS'n' ynšn' MNs'n' (Man. Pahl. II, 107). 137.  
 137. MSS 'LHs'n-c; M. emends to \*anēsān-ič. 138. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK  
 پت. 139. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK mlglc'nyk-I; K mlglc'n-I.

- \*,'styt' '-s'n'<sup>140</sup> 'ywb'l sl PSKWNd 'Ps'n' 3 lwc'-sp'n'<sup>141</sup> L'WXL  
 'L dwshw' LMYTWNd 'Ps p'tpl's ZY 9,000 ŠNT' BR' nm'dynd  
 (69) W LYLY' ZY stykl PWN 'wsb'm<sup>142</sup> spndrmt'<sup>143</sup> L'L' \*,'styt'  
 W YMRRWNYt' 'YKs'n' h'mwdyn' p'tpl's W 'p'ryk-c dlwnd'n' MNW  
 L' PWN mlg'lc'n'<sup>144</sup> dlwnd bwt' YK'YMWNd<sup>145</sup> 's'n' PWN wn's  
ZY krt' p'tpl's 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>  
 (70) W strywr 'ywkswst' ZY hm'k' kwpyh' ZY PWN gyh'n'  
 BR' wt'cyt'<sup>146</sup> PWMH b'l'd PWN ps'ht g's BR' \*,'styt'  
 W hm'k 'NSWT'- 'n' BYN ZK 'ywkswst' BR' wtylynd  
 W dlwnd'n' MN wn's 'pdwm PWN ZK DKY' BR' YXWWNd

estēd a-šān ēwbār sar brīnēnd, u-šān sē rōz-šabān abāz D151

ō dušox abganēnd u-š pādifrāh ī nō hazār sāl be nimāyēnd".

- (69) ud šab ī sidīgar pad ōšbām spandarmad ul estēd  
 ud gōwēd kū: "-šān hāmōyēn pādifrāh ud abārīg-iz druwandān kē D.151/152  
 nē pad margārzān druwand būd ēstēnd", a-šān pad wināh  
 ī kard pādifrāh kunišn.  
 (70) ud šahrewar ayōxsust ī hamāg kōfihā ī pad gēhān  
 be widāzēd, dahan bālāy pad passāxt gāh be estēd,  
 ud hamāg mardōmān andar hān ayōxsust be widērēnd,  
 ud druwandān az wināh abdom pad hān pāk be bawēnd.

140. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 141. K lwck'sp'n. 142. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK,  
 K, J 'wsb'n. 143. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK spyntmt. 144. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K  
 mlg'lc'n'. 145. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ایستند. 146. M. reads tāfēδ "will  
 melt", following MR<sub>1</sub>, J t'pyt'.

- (71) 'Ps'n' dwshw'lyh 'ytwn' YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs'n'  
 PWN gytydy 'ywkswst' ZY wt'htk' 'wbs ŠBKWNx<sub>2</sub>
- (72) 'hlwb'n' 'ytwn'<sup>147</sup> hw'l YXWWNyt' cygwn 'MTs'n' syl ZY glm  
 pts BYN \*t'cynd<sup>148</sup>
- (73) sws'ns L'YN' MN ZK 'MT lyst' L'L' hngycyny<sup>149</sup> PWN  
 dstwbl[yh] ZY 'LH sp'h 'l'dynd BR' 'L k'lyc'l ZY dlwc'  
 ZY 'hlmwk'yh 'ZLWNd
- (74) MN dlwc' ZY 'hlmwkyh pwsyt' 'YK dlwc MND'M ZY  
 LK 'ytwn' PWN dyn' ZY m'zdysn'n 'stwb'nyh 'YK wn's

- (71) u-sān dušxwārīh ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ka-sān D.152  
 pad gētīg ayōxsust ī widāxtag awiš hišt.
- (72) ahlawān ēdōn xwār bawēd, čiyōn ka-sān sīr ī garm  
 padīš andar \*tāzēnd.
- (73) sōšāns pēs az hān ka rist ul hangēzēnēd, pad  
 dastwār[īh] ī ōy spāh ārāyēnd; be ō kārezār ī druz  
 ī ahlomōgīh šawēnd.
- (74) az druz ī ahlomōgīh pursēd kū: "druz, čis ī  
 tō ēdōn pad dēn ī māzdēsnañ astawānīh kū wināh;

147. K35, fol. 75r. begins. 148. BK, K, J dwsynd; MR<sub>1</sub> dwsynnd;  
 M. reads stanēnd (i.e. YNSBWNd) and translates "poured" (?).

149. BK, K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'wstynynt'.

- hc-t' BYN ZK k'lpwt' krt' MNWS XN' gwpt' 'YK krt'l  
 XWHm LK MND'Mc BYN pwc' 'YT' 'ywp' L'  
 (75) W 'LH gwby't<sup>150</sup> 'YK L hwnwšk' ZY gn'g mynwk  
 XWHm MNWS MND'Mc PWN pwc' L'YT' Lyc L'YT'  
 (76) swš'ns yst'-XD BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> ZK dlwc' BR' dwb'lyt' BR' 'L  
 ZK gyw'k 'YK K'N 'YT' MN ZK gyw'k' L'WXL dwb'lyt'  
 W ZNH zmyk' PWN 4 \*'lk'<sup>151</sup> ZY 'pltwm W 3  
 'ywk' ZY 'pltwm dwb'lyt  
 (77) zmyk \*K'L<sup>152</sup> 'BYDWNyt' 'YK L' PWN ZNH dlwc' ZY \*nyh'n-c<sup>153</sup>  
 BR' ptwk' XWHm PWN m'hm'nyh<sup>154</sup> ZY LZNH PWN L L'

az-it andar hān kālbod kard kē-s ēd guft kū: "kardār

D.152

hom"; tō čiš-iz andar puḡ ast ayāb nē?"

- (75) ud ōy gōwēd kū: "man hunušak ī gannāg mēnōg  
 hom, kē-s čiš-iz pad puḡ nēst, man-iz nēst!"

D.152/153

- (76) sōšāns yašt-ēw be kunēd; hān druz be dwārēd be ō  
 hān gyāg kū nun ast; az hān gyāg abāz dwārēd,  
 ud ēn zamīg pad čahār \*ālag ī abartom, ud sē  
 ēwag ī abartom dwārēd.

- (77) zamīg wāng kunēd kū: "nē pad ēn druz, ī \*  
 be pattūg hom, pad mēhmānīh ī im pad man nē

150. BK; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K YMRRWNYt'. 151. M.'s emendation; MSS 'lwk'.  
 152. MSS K'L'Y. 153. M.'s emendation; MSS nyšnc. Nyb. reads  
viš-sinj (wyšnc') "venom spurtng" (Man. Pahl. II,216). 154. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J, K mhm'nyh.

- ptwk<sup>155</sup> XWHm MHm 'ytwn' PWN SDKWNsn' d'lyt' W SDKWNyt<sup>156</sup>  
 'cygwn gwlg ZY 4 zng 'MT 'skmb' ZY<sup>157</sup> gwspnd'n' SDKWNyt'  
 W wck' hc-s BR' d'lyt'
- (78) BR' KN SGYTWNyt' MNW m'zdysn' XWH'yt' W c'lk'  
ZY ZNH B'YXWNyt<sup>158</sup>
- (79) m'zdysn' hmgwnk' sp'h 'l'dynd W ycsn' 'BYDWNd
- (80) <sup>159</sup>ZK dlwc<sup>160</sup> MN ZK gyw'k 'YK 'YT' BR' dwb'lyt'
- (81) W ZNH zmyk' PWN ZK \*mdy'nk<sup>161</sup> slyšwtk<sup>162</sup> W PWN  
 ZK pr'ctwm slyšwtk<sup>163</sup> dwb'lyt'

pattūg hom čē-m ēdōn pad darrišn dārēd ud darrēd  
 čiyōn gurg ī čahār zang ka aškamb ī gōspandān darrēd  
 ud waččag az-iš be dārēd.

D.153

- (78) "be ōh rawēd kē māzdēsn hēd ud čārag  
 ī ēn xwahēd!"
- (79) māzdēsn hamgōnag spāh ārayēnd ud yazišn kunēnd.
- (80) hān druz az hān gyāg kū ast be dwārēd.
- (81) ud ēn zamīg pad hān \*mayānag srišwadag ud pad  
 hān frāztom srišwadag dwārēd.

155. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K ptk'. 156. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K SDKITWNyt.

157. K35 fol. 75v. begins here. 158. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK غاميد.

159. BK has also MNW. 160. BK has also ZK gywk. 161. D.'s

emendation; MSS md'nk'. 162. J; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, K slšwtk'. 163. MR<sub>1</sub>,

J, K; BK slšwtk; K, J repeat PWN ZK ZY pr'ctwm slyšwtk'.



- (82) zmyk hmgwnk' cygwnm hepl npst' \*K'L,<sup>152</sup> 'BYDWNyt'
- (83) W ZK dlwc' MN ZK gyw'k BR' dwb'lyt' BR' 'L  
 ZK gyw'k' 'ZLWNyt' 'YK K'N 'YT' W dlwc' ZY \*gwyhl<sup>164</sup>  
 'XDWNyt' 'Ps YMRRWNyt' 'YK d'm ZY spyn'g mynwkw PWN d'm'n'  
ZY gn'g<sup>165</sup> mynwkw p'tpl's YCBHNd krt'n' L hk(w)lc L'  
 hmd'tst'n' XWH'm 'YK d'm ZY spyn'k mynwkw<sup>166</sup> PWN d'm ZY  
 gn'g mynwkw p'tpl's 'BYDWNd W MN ZK gyw'k KR' 2  
 PWN 'ywb'l BR' dwb'lynd
- (84) W ZNH zmyk' ZK ZY 'dltwm sl[y]šwtk' PWN ZK ZY pr'ctwm  
 sl[y]šwtk'<sup>167</sup> BR' dwb'lynd W zmyk hmgwnk' \*K'L,<sup>152</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>

- (82) zamīg hamgōnag čiyōn-im azabar nibišt wāng kunēd. D.153
- (83) ud hān druz az hān gyāg be dwārēd, be ō  
 hān gyāg šawēd kū nun ast, ud druz ī \*gōcihr D.153/154  
 gīrēd, u-š gōwēd: "kū: dām ī spenāg mēnōg pad dāmān  
 ī gannāg mēnōg pādifrāh kāmēnd kardan; man hagriz nē  
 hamdādestān hom kū dām ī spenāg mēnōg pad dām ī  
 gannāg mēnōg pādifrāh kunēnd ud az hān gyāg harw dō  
 pad ēwbār be dwārēnd".
- (84) ud ēn zamīg hān ī ertom srišwadag pad hān ī frāztom  
 srišwadag be dwārēnd ud zamīg hamgōnag wāng kunēd.

164. D.'s emendation; BK, K gwyhl; MR<sub>1</sub>, J gwkyhl. 165. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
 BK, K gn'g. 166. K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J spyn'g mynwkw; BK سپنا مینو.  
 167. So K; BK repeats PWN ZK pr'ctwm slšwtk'.

- (85) W m'zdysn' hmgwnk<sup>168</sup> ycsn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Ps'n' PWN ycsn'  
L'WXL d'stn' L' twb'n'
- (86) W 'XL strywr PWN<sup>169</sup> ZK swl'k' 'YK 'LHs'n' BYN 'ZLWNt'  
XWH'd 'ywkswst' ZY wt'htk' QDM ŠBKWNx<sub>1</sub> 'Ps MN 'XL BYN 'ZLWNyt'
- (87) 'LHs'n' dlwc \*MN \*ZNH<sup>170</sup> zmyk 'ytwn' BR' 'L dwshw' 'wptynd  
cygwn sk'-XD
- (88) 'MT BYN 'L MY' \*,wptyt<sup>171</sup> 'ywp LMYTWNd  
tyc BR' 'L<sup>172</sup> bwn ZY MY' 'ZLWNyt
- (89) 'XL<sup>173</sup> 'MTs'n' dlwnd'n' p'tpl's krt' YXWWNyt' sws'ns yst'-XD  
BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'p'ryk dlwc' 5 'ywk'-XD BR' 'pshyt'

- (85) ud māzdēsn hamgōnag yazišn kunēd, u-šān pad yazišn D.154  
abāz dāstan nē tuwān.
- (86) ud pas šahrewar pad hān sūrāg kū awēšān andar šud  
hēnd ayōxsust ī widāxtag abar hilēd, u-š az pas andar šawēd.
- (87) awēšān druz \*az \*ēn zamīg ēdōn be ō dušox ōftēnd  
čiyōn sag-ēw,
- (88) ka andar ō āb \*ōftēd ayāb abganēnd,  
tēz be ō bun ī āb šawēd.
- (89) pas ka-šān druwandān pādifrāh kard bawēd, sōšāns yašt-ēw D.154/155  
be kunēd ud abārīg druz panj ēwag-ēw be abesihēd,

168. K; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J hmgwk'. 169. K35 fol. 76r. begins PWN swl'k'  
for ZK swl'k'. 170. D.'s emendation; J, K MND'M; BK, MR<sub>1</sub> mynym.  
171. Nyb.'s emendation; MSS 'wptynd (so M.). 172. MSS repeat 'L.  
173. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK پس.

- W dtygl yst'-XD<sup>174</sup> BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 5 'ywk'-XD stygl yst'-XD  
 5 ['ywk'-XD] W ch'lw m yst'-XD<sup>174</sup> pnc' 'ywk'-XD<sup>175</sup> W  
 pncwm yst'-I BR' 'BYDWNyt' W hm'k dlwc' BR' YBLWNd  
 (90) 'y<sub>sm</sub><sup>176</sup> W 'c BR' 'L \*gn'g<sup>177</sup> mynw<sub>k</sub> YMR[R]WNyt' 'YK dwsd'n'k'  
 gn'g<sup>177</sup> mynw<sub>k</sub> BR,<sup>178</sup> LK ywdym<sup>179</sup> Mht' BR' MN LK d'm 'XDWNt'  
 W dwc' L' \*cynynd<sup>180</sup> W L zywnstn' L' twb'n'  
 (91) pltwm 'c' ZY ŠDY'n-d't' BR' ywdyt'<sup>181</sup> 'y<sub>sm</sub> ZY hwldlws

ud dudīgar yašt-ēw be kunēd pañj ēwag-ēw, sidīgar yašt-ēw D.155  
 pañj [ēwag-ēw] ud čahārom yašt-ēw pañj ēwag-ēw ud  
 pañjom yašt-ē be kunēd ud hamāg druž be barēnd.

- (90) xēšm ud āz be ō \*gannāg mēnōg gōwēd kū: "dujdanāg  
 gannāg mēnōg, be tō jōyēm, čē-t be az tō dām grift,  
 ud duz nē \*činēnd, ud man zīstan nē tuwān".  
 (91) fradom āz ī dēwān-dād be jōyēd xēšm ī xwardrōš,

174. The words BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> ... yst'-XD are lacking in BK, K.  
 175. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J 'ywk' ZY; K 'ywk'-I. 176. D. prints this as 'sym,  
 and suggests the emendation hšm; the orthography of 'sym is almost  
 identical to 'y<sub>sm</sub> in Pahl. script. §§ 90-96 are translated by Zaehner  
 (ZZZ, pp. 354-5). 177. BK, K gwn'g; MR<sub>1</sub>, J gn'. 178. BK, K  
 repeat BR'. 179. K (so Nyb.); BK ywym; MR<sub>1</sub>, J ywd'm; M. reads  
 davom "I call". 180. MSS dwc' L' wcyn'd; M. emends to ganj nē  
 \*cīnēnd "they do not collect the treasure". Nyb. reads \*dō-cin  
 [dwcn?] nē vicīnēnd "they do not even distinguish between the two"  
 (Man. Pahl. II, 211, 69). 181. MSS; M. reads dawēd "will cry".

- W dtygl zmst'n ZY ŠDY'n-d't' W stygl syc<sup>182</sup> ZY nyh'n  
 'lwbšn' W lwm zlm'n ZY \*dwšdpt<sup>183</sup> BR' ywdyt' <sup>184</sup>D  
 'ycnd-I<sup>184</sup> pr'c m'nynd  
 (92) \*gn'g<sup>177</sup> mynw<sup>k</sup> \*L<sup>185</sup> 'c' ZY ŠDY'n-d't' YMRRWNyt<sup>186</sup> W 'c'  
ZY ŠDY'n-d't' BR' 'L gn'g<sup>187</sup> mynw<sup>k</sup> 'YK BR' LK ywdym<sup>188</sup>  
 dwšd'n'k MH yzd'n BR' MN LK d'm \*'XDWNt<sup>189</sup>  
 (93) gn'g mynw<sup>k</sup> L'L' \*'styt' W BR' 'L spyn'k mynw<sup>k</sup>  
 'ZLWNyt' 'ytwn' \*dwyt<sup>190</sup> 'YK L ZNH d'm YXBWNt' W  
 'c' ZY ŠDY'n-d't' MNWS d'm ZY L \*dwyt<sup>191</sup> K'N

ud dudīgar zamestān ī dēwān-dād, ud sidīgar sēj ī nihān  
 rawišn ud čahārom zarmān ī \*dujdaft be jōyēd tā  
 ēwčand-ē frāz mānēnd.

D.155

- (92) \*gannāg mēnōg \*ō āz ī dēwān-dād gōwēd, ud āz  
 ī dēwān-dād be ō gannāg mēnōg kū: "be tō jōyēm,  
 dujdānāg, čē yazdān be az tō dām \*grift."  
 (93) gannāg mēnōg ul estēd ud be ō spenāg mēnōg  
 sawēd ēdōn \*dawēd kū: "man ēn dām dād ud  
 āz ī dēwān-dād, kē-s dām ī man, \*dawēd nun

182. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K, J sc'. 183. M.'s emendation; MSS dwššpt'; D. suggests dwšpt'; Nyb. emends to dwšd'pt'. 184. M. reads hēc 2 "any two"; Nyb. reads hyc nyd (hēc nē) (Man. Pahl. II, 137). 185. BK, K W; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 186. K35, fol. 76v. begins. 187. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K, J gwn'g. 188. MSS; M. reads davom "I call". 189. M.'s emendation; MSS 'XDWNyt'. 190. MSS dw't'. 191. MSS dwt'.

- [ 'YK ] L BR' YCBHNyt' ywtn' LK PWN d'twblyh 'XDWNm  
 (94) 'whrmzd LWITH slws ZY 'hlwb<sup>192</sup> L'L' \* 'styt' W slws-['hl'dyh<sup>193</sup>  
 'c BR' MXYTWNyt' 'whrmzd gn'g mynw<sub>k</sub>  
 (95) LWITH spstyn<sup>194</sup> t'lykyh W 'n'kyh ZY pltwm 'MT' BYN  
 dwb'lst' BYN 'wwlt<sup>195</sup> hm'k<sup>196</sup> PWN swl'k 'YK BYN dwb'lst'  
 bylwn' \* 'sm'n<sup>197</sup> 'BYDWNyt' 'Ps ZK swl'k<sup>198</sup> 'ytwn' stlt' W  
 'bwd BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'XL MN ZK stltyh<sup>199</sup> L'WXL \* 'styt'  
 (96) bwt' MNWS gwpt' 'YK y'wyt'nk'n<sup>200</sup> PWN YKTLWNsn' 'dwynt' 'k'l  
 BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>201</sup> L' 'XL gn'[g] mynw<sub>k</sub><sup>202</sup> YXWWNyt' L'  
 ZK ZY 'LH d'm

[kū] man be kāmēd Judan tō pad dādwarīh gīrēm."

D.155/156

- (94) ohrmazd abāg srōš ī ahlaw ul estēd, ud srōš-ahlāyīh  
 az be zanēd. ohrmazd gannāg mēnōg  
 (95) abāg spastēn tārīgīh ud anāgīh ī fradom ka andar  
 dwārist andar āwurd, hamāg pad sūrāg kū andar dwārist  
 bērōn asmān kunēd, u-š hān sūrāg ēdōn stard ud  
 abōy be kunēd pas az hān stardīh abāz estēd.  
 (96) būd kē-š guft kū: "jāwēdānagān pad ōzanišn ēwēnag akār  
 be kunēd. nē pas gannā[g] mēnōg bawēd nē  
 hān ī ōy dām."

192. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, J 'hl'dyh; K hl'dyh (MS damaged). 193. BK  
 slwšhl'dyh; K slwwšhl'dyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J slws hl'dyh. 194. D.'s emendation;  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J spspyn; BK, K spyn'; M. emends to spasēn "subsequent"; Nyb.  
 emends to \*dypstyn' "full of wrath" (Man. Pahl. II, 62). 195. M.  
 reads x<sup>v</sup>ard "on the lunar-stations". 196. So MSS; possibly this  
 was originally [pad] hamēsag[īh] or [pad] hamēīg[īh], or some obscure  
 noun. 197. BK 'sym'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 's'm'n' BR'; K 's'm'n'. 198. BK,  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K gyw'k. 199. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK stwlttyh. 200. K; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J ywwyt'nk'n. 201. BK, K repeat 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>. 202. MR; K, J gwn'g; BK گناه مینو.

(97) BYN ZK 'DN' 'MTS'n dlwnd'n p'tpl's krt' YXWWNyt' W LCDr  
 'ywkšwst' BR' wtlt' XWH'd hncmm' ZY [']stw'stl'n' YXWWNyt'<sup>203</sup>  
 W KR' 'YS-I PWN ZK 'nd k'l W krpk' cnd-s krt' \*'styt'  
 mzd W p'td'sn' YXBWNd

(98) yst-XD BR' 'BYDWNd W zmyk 3 nyck' b'l' L'L' 'ZLWNyt'  
 PWN dtygl yst' 300 nyck' b'l' L'L' 'ZLWNyt' PWN stygl  
 yst'<sup>204</sup> [3,000 nyck' b'l' L'L' 'ZLWNyt']<sup>205</sup> PWN ch'lwmm yst'  
 3 bywl nyck' b'l' L'L' 'ZLWNyt' PWN pncwm<sup>206</sup> yst'<sup>207</sup> 'L  
 stl<sup>208</sup> \*p'dyk<sup>209</sup> YXMTWNyt' W glwtm'n MN<sup>210</sup> ZK gyw'k plwt'  
 'L stl<sup>208</sup> \*p'dyk<sup>209</sup> Y'TWNyt'

(97) andar hān zamān, ka-sān druwandān pādifrāh kard bawēd ud tar D.156  
 āyōxšust be widard hēnd, hanjamān ī [i]sadwāstarān bawēd,  
 ud harw kas-ē pad hān and kār ud kirbag čand-iš kard estēd  
 mizd ud pādāšn dahēnd.

(98) yast-ēw be kunēnd ud zamīg sē nēzag bālā ul sawēd,  
 pad dudīgar yast sē sad nēzag bālā ul sawēd, pad sidīgar  
 yast [sē hazār nēzag bālā ul sawēd], pad čahārom yast  
 sē bēwar nēzag bālā ul sawēd, pad panjom yast ō D.156/157  
 star \*pāyag rasēd ud garōdmān az hān gyāg frōd  
 ō star \*pāyag āyēd.

203. K35, fol. 77r. begins. 204. PWN stygl yst lacking in K; MR<sub>1</sub> has the last two and J the last three words written on the margin.

205. These words lacking in all MSS; BK leaves a blank of about three inches. 206. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K 5wm. 207. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K have also BR'.

208. BK, K stwl. 209. MSS p'hyk. 210. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; BK MNW.

- (99) 'XL 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n W hm'k yzdt' W 'NSWT'- 'n'  
 PWN XD<sup>211</sup> gyw'k YXWWNd W stl-c<sup>212</sup> W m'h W hwlsyt W 'ths  
 ZY wlhl'n' KR' 'ywk' GBR' klp' ZK ZY tgyg W hm'k  
 GBR'-I klp'<sup>213</sup> BR' YXWWNd W BR' 'L<sup>214</sup> zmyg Y'TWNd
- (100) 'XL 'whrmzd hngltynytk] d'm YXWWNyt'
- (101) 'Ps 'XL MN ZK k'l-I QDM L' 'p'yt' krtn'  
 'NSWT' PWN tn' ZY d't' ZY 40 s'lk' hwm'n'k<sup>215</sup> hm'k  
 'hws W 'mlg W 'zlm'n' W 'swdšn' W 'pwdšn' YXWWNd
- (102) 'Ps'n k'l ZNH YXWWNyt' 'whrmzd XZYTWNtn' W nm'c bwltn'

- (99) pas ohrmazd ud amahraspandān ud hamāg yazd ud mardōmān D.157  
 pad ēw gyāg bawēnd, ud star-iz ud mäh ud xwarsēd ud ātaxš  
 ī warahrān harw ēwag mard kirb hān ī tagīg, ud hamāg  
 mard-ē kirb be bawēnd, ud be ō zamīg āyēnd.
- (100) pas ōhrmazd hangirdēnīd[ag] dām bawēd.
- (101) u-š pas az hān kār-ē abar nē abāyēd kardan;  
 mardōm, pad tan ī dād ī čehel sālag homānāg, hamāg  
 ahōš ud amarg ud azarmān ud asuyišn ud apuyišn bawēnd.
- (102) u-šān kār ēn bawēd ohrmazd dīdan ud namāz burdan,

211. BK, K have also 'ywk'; in K it is ringed with five dots to indicate an error, cf. n. 215 below. 212. BK, K stwlc. 213. BK; MR<sub>1</sub> plyp'; J plp'; K plp', with k written above the first p. M. reads this (and preceding) word 2-vay karp "of two-fold forms". 214. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; lacking in BK. 215. In K there occurred a scribal error ḥw (the letters hw and the initial stroke of m are written circled with dots), followed by hwm'n'k.

W PWN hwt'y ZY 'p'ryk KR' MHS'n BNPSH l'mšnyktl MDMHNyt'  
 krt'n' KR' 'YŠ 'LH ZY<sup>216</sup> TWB<sup>217</sup> 'ytwn' \*dwst' YXWWNyt' cygwn  
 tn' ZY NPSH<sup>217</sup> W nywkyh ZY tn' ZY psyn' ywdt' MN  
 ZK ZY hcpl npst' 'ytwn' 'YT' ZYS PWN d'nšn' W  
 hlt' ZY 'NSWT'- 'n ZY s'm'nk' BR' YD'YTWNst'<sup>218</sup>  
 W gwpt' L' s'y't'<sup>219</sup>

- (103) gwspnd hm'k' L'WXL YXWWNd W mck' ZY gwst' NKB L'WXL  
 \*'L<sup>220</sup> NKB W ZKL L'WXL \*'L<sup>220</sup> ZKL \*gwmght'yny't'<sup>221</sup> 'D<sup>222</sup>  
 L'WXL 'L TWR' ZY 'ywd't' PWN ptwnd L'WXL gwmghtyt'

ud pad xwadāy ī abārīg harw čē-sān xwad rāmišnīgтар sahēd D.157

kardan, harw kas ōy ī did ēdōn \*dōst bawēd čiyōn

tan ī xwēš ud nēkīh ī tan ī pasēn juđ az D.157/158

hān ī azabar nibišt ēdōn ast ī-s pad dānišn ud

xrad ī mardōmān ī sāmānag be dānist

ud guft nē šāyēd.

- (103) gōspand hamāg abāz bawēnd, ud mizag ī gōšt. mādag abāz  
 \*ō mādag ud nar abāz \*ō nar \*gumēxtēnēd tā  
 abāz ō gāw ī ēwdād pad paywand abāz gumēxtēd.

216. K35, fol. 77v. begins. 217. This is Nyb.'s reading; BK  
 'ytwn' ywdt' YXWWNyt cygwn' ZY NPSH; K 'ytwn' dwyt' YXWWNyt' cygwn  
 tn' ZY NPSH; MR<sub>1</sub> 'ytwn' wywdt' ... as BK; J 'ytwn' dwyt'... as BK;  
 M. reads ēdōn juđ bavēd cēyōn zan; see Comm. 48 n.58. 218. MR<sub>1</sub>  
 BK, J, K YD'YTWst'. 219. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK syt'. 220. MSS '.  
 221. K; BK gwmghtn'yny't'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J gwmghtyn'yt; Nyb. emends to gumēxt  
 nivinnēt "begins to mingle" (Man. Pahl. II,142). 222. BK, K W 'D.



- (104) 'XL TWR' tn' PWN mynw<sub>k</sub> BR' 'BYDWN<sub>x<sub>1</sub></sub> BYN 'L tn' ZY  
 'NŠWT'-'n' gwnyhtyt' mck' BYN tn' ZY 'NŠWT'-'n' BR' ŠBKWN<sub>x<sub>1</sub></sub>  
 (105) 'MTs'n 'XL MN ZK BSLY' hwlšnyh<sup>223</sup> L' 'p'yt' PWN ZK  
 cym<sup>224</sup> l'd MHS'n PWN KR' 'DN' myck BSYMyh ZY hm'k  
 BSLY' BYN PWMH YK'YMWNyt'<sup>225</sup> W 'XL TWR' tn' \*L<sup>226</sup>  
 'NŠWT'-'n' L'WXL Y'TWNyt' \*tn' wmn(n)d PWN gytydy YXWWNyt'  
 (106) W GBR' W NYŠH 'ywk' LWTW TWB k'mk YXWWNyt'  
 W \*l'mynynd<sup>227</sup> W 'BYDWN<sub>x<sub>1</sub></sub> BR's'n YLYDWNsn' L' YXWWNyt'

- (104) pas gāw tan pad mēnōg be kunēnd andar ō tan ī D.158  
 mardōmān gumēxtēd mizag andar tan ī mardōmān be hilēd.  
 (105) ka-šān, pas az hān, gōšt xwarišnīh nē abāyēd, pad hān  
 čim rāy čē-šān pad harw zamān mizag xwašīh ī hamāg  
 gōšt andar dahān ēstēd, ud pas gāw tan \*ō  
 mardōmān abāz āyēd, tanōmand pad gētīg bawēd.  
 (106) ud mard ud zan ēwag abāg did kāmāg bawēd  
 ud \*rāmēnēnd ud kunēnd bē-šān zāyišn nē bawēd.

223. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K, J hwlšnyh. 224. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ZKc sm.

225. K; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J YK'YMWyt'. 226. MSS ZY. 227. MSS l'yynynd;

D. emends to l'dynynd, so Nyb., "contract a marriage" (Man. Pahl.

II,169); M.MN 'ynyнк (sic), az ēvenay "in (the usual) manner".

(107) W 'wlwl ZK 'nd sltk' ZY m'tkwł L'WXL YXWWNyt'  
 228,Ps'n' k'hyšn' L' YXWWNyt' BR' KR' g's \*wh'l<sup>229</sup> hwm'n'k  
 cygwn bwst'n-\*XD<sup>230</sup> MNWš hm'k 'wlwlyh' W spl[h]myh' BYN 'Ps  
 'pdyh W shykyh<sup>231</sup> W BSYMyh W DKY'-yh<sup>232</sup> PWN hlt'  
ZY gytyg'n 'y'ptn'<sup>233</sup> W YD'YTWNstn' L' s'yt'

(107) ud urwar hān and sardag ī mādagwar abāz bawēd, D.158  
 u-sān kāhišn nē bawēd, bē harw gāh\* wahār hōmānāg  
 čiyōn bōstān-\*ēw kē-s hamāg urwarīhā ud sprahmīhā andar u-s D.158/159  
 abdīh ud sahīgīh ud xwašīh ud pākīh pad xrad  
 ī gētīgān ayāftan ud dānistan nē šāyēd.

228. K35, fol. 79r. begins here. 229. MSS 'wh'l; M. reads  
 \*ē \*vahār. 230. BK, K bwst'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J bwst'n'. 231. BK  
shyhykyh; MR<sub>1</sub> wyh'yqh; J sh'ykyh; K sh'kyh (blurred in MS).  
 232. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K DKY's. 233. M.'s, Nyb.'s emendation; MSS  
'ptn'.

- (1) syd'ws ZY k'yws'n l'd pyt'k 'YKs wlc'wndyh<sup>1</sup> 'ytwm' YXWWNt'  
 ZYs PWN GDH ZY kd'n<sup>2</sup> kngdc PWN YDH ZY NPŠH' W  
 nylwk' ZY 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n QDM km'l BR' krt'n' l'dynyt'
- (2) gyh'n MN plm'n ZY syd'ws hm'y l'dynyt' 'D ZK  
 'MT kdhwslwb \*Y'TWNt'<sup>3</sup>
- (3) 'XL kdhwslwb BR' 'L mynwkw ZY kng gwpt' 'YK  
<sup>4</sup>'XTH ZY L (hc-m)<sup>4</sup> XWHydy W L 'X ZY LK  
 XWHm MH LK syd'ws PWN \*dstkrt'<sup>5</sup> krt' XWHydy 'Ps L

- (1) syāwaš ī kayusān rāy, paydāg kū-š warzāwandīh ēdōn būd D.159  
 ī-š pad xwarrah ī kayān kangdiz pad dast ī xwēš ud  
 nērōg ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān, abar kamāl be kardan rāyēnid.
- (2) gēhān az framān ī syāwaš hamē rāyēnīd, tā hān  
 ka kayxosraw \*āmad.
- (3) pas kayxosraw be ō mēnōg ī kang guft kū:  
 "xwah ī man (az-om) hē, ud man brād ī tō  
 hom, cē tō syāwaš pad \*dastgird kard hē u-š man

1. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K wlc'wdyh. 2. J; MR<sub>1</sub> kd'nk; lacking in BK, K.  
 3. MSS Y'TWNyt'; MSS have also lpt'l YXWWNt', which seems to be a  
 gloss. 4. MSS 'XTHl 'Pm; M. emends to 'XTHlm/x<sup>v</sup>ahar-<sup>u</sup>m following  
 Henning's suggestion that "the gliding vowel -u- of ... x<sup>v</sup>ahar-<sup>u</sup>m is  
 wrongly read w conjunction and written 'Pm" (M., p. 456, n. 3).  
 I read hc-m (az-om) and translate "of me, mine" (following Barth.;  
 MMund. IV. 3ff.) as being a gloss to amplify the poss. pron. L/man:  
 'XTH thus forms a pair with the following 'X (i.e. not brādar).  
 5. M.'s emendation; BK, K dst'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J dstk'.

PWN \*TB<sup>6</sup> krt' XWHm 7\*<sup>7</sup> L L<sup>7</sup> L'WXL wlt'

W kng hmgw[n]k' krt'

- (4) BR' zmyk Y'TWNt' BYN twl'n' 'L kwst' ZY hwl's'n' lwn'  
gyw'k' 'YK syd'wskrt' BR' \*<sup>8</sup>st't' 'Ps 1,000 \*d<sup>8</sup>lm BYN  
'pgnd 'Ps \*<sup>9</sup>myh 1,000 BYN \*<sup>10</sup>SBKWNt' W 'XL MN ZK  
L,<sup>11</sup> SGYTWNt' hm'k twl'n' LWITH \*<sup>12</sup>k'h W stwl YXSNNyt'
- (5) W kdhwslwb 'NSWT' ZY 'yl BYN BR' ns'st' XWH'd
- (6) 'Ps plsp' ZY pltwm skyn' W ZK ZY dtygl pwl'ptyn'  
W ZK ZY stygl 'pkynkyn'<sup>13</sup> W ZK ZY ch'lwmm

pad \*nēw kard hēm; \*ō man abāz ward!"

D.159

ud kang hamgō[n]ag kard.

- (4) be zamīg āmad andar tūrān, ō kūst ī xwarāsān rōn,  
gyāg kū syāwaskard be estād; u-š hazār \*darm andar  
abgand, u-š \*mēx hazār andar \*hišt, ud pas az hān  
nē raft. hamāg tūrān abāg \*kāh ud stōr dārēd.
- (5) ud kayxosraw mardōm ī ēr andar be nišāst hēnd.
- (6) u-š paris̄p ī fradom sagēn, ud hān ī dudīgar pōlāwadēn,  
ud hān ī sidīgar ābgēnagēn, ud hān ī čahārom

D.159/160

6. MSS ur (i.e. gwd/ywd/gnd/etc.). 7. MR<sub>1</sub>, J W L; BK Wwl; M.  
reads uō var "(and) a colony". 8. MSS 'lm'. 9. MSS ms.

10. M.'s emendation; BK, K ŠBKWN-xj-d; MR<sub>1</sub>, J ŠBKWNd. 11. K35 fol.  
79v. 12. M.'s reading; MSS kn'h. 13. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'gynkyn'.

'syryn' W ZK ZY pncwm ZXB'-yn' W 6wm klkh'nyn'  
W ZK ZY 7wm y'kndyn'

- (7) 'Ps k[w]sk' 'syryn' W dnd'nk ZXB'-yn' 'Ps 14 kwp'  
BYN 'Ps 7 lwt' ZY n'ywt'k BYN 'Ps 7 mwlw'  
MNWS p'nkyh PWN hwt'yyn s'yt' krtn' BYN
- (8) 'Ps zmyk 'ytwm' nywk' 'MT XMR'-I BR' mycyt'  
PWN LYLY'-I w'stl GBR'-b'l'y BR' lwdyt'
- (9) 'Ps 15 BB' ZY KR' 'ywk' 50 GBR' b'l'y<sup>14</sup> 'YT'
- (10) kng BNPSH b'l'y 'nd 'YT'<sup>15</sup> GBR'-I k'lyk' 'MT tgl BR' ŠDYTWNyt'

asēmēn, ud hān ī panjom zarrēn, ud šašom karkehānēn,  
ud hān ī haftom yākandēn.

D.160.

- (7) u-s k[ō]sk asēmēn, ud dandānag zarrēn, u-s šahārdah kōf  
andar, u-s haft rōd ī nāydāg andar, u-s haft murw  
kē-s pānagīh pad xwadāyīh šayēd, kardan andar.
- (8) u-s zamīg ēdōn nēk ka xār-ē be mēzēd,  
pad šab-ē wāstar mard-bālāy be rōyēd.
- (9) u-s pānzdah dar, harw ēwag panjāh-mard bālāy ast.
- (10) kang xwad bālāy and ast mard-ē kārīg ka tigr be wihēd,

14. MSS have also BR'. 15. MSS have also end here, probably a  
scribal addition after and.



- (14) 'NŠWT' W 'p'ryk' ZY TMH XWH'd KR' nywkyh ZYs'n'  
 'p'yt' '-s'n' 'YT' pytyd'lk' 'wc'lk' 'YT'
- (15) 'Ps'n' zywndkyh plhyst'<sup>24</sup> ['YT'] ZK \*MNW<sup>25</sup> 150  
 ŠNT' zywyt' [W 'hlwb' XWH'd] 'D tn' ZY psyn'
- (16) ZK ycsn' pl'lnw hm'y 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>
- (17) 'NŠWT' hm'k dyn'-bwlt'l W 'hlwb' XWH'd W 'NŠWT'  
 MN ZK gyw'k 'D ZK 'MT pšyd'wtn' Y'TWNyt' BR'  
 'L 'yl'n'str' L' Y'TWNd
- (18) 'MT pšyd'wtn' Y'TWNyt' 'DYNs 150 GBR'

D.161

- (14) mardōm ud abārīg ī ānōh hēnd harw nekīh ī-sān  
 abāyēd a-sān ast; petyārag ōzāarak ast.
- (15) u-sān zīndagīh frahist, [ast] hān \*kē sad ud panjāh  
 sāl zīwēd, [ud ahlaw hēnd] tā tan ī pasēn.
- (16) hān yazišn frārōn hamē kunēnd.
- (17) mardōm hamāg dēn-burdār ud ahlaw hēnd, ud mardōm  
 az hān gyāg tā hān ka pišyōtan āyēd be  
 ō ērānsahr nē āyēnd.
- (18) ka pišyōtan āyēd, ēg-iš sad ud panjāh mard

24. M. reads frāyeδ "is increased" (see M., p. 465 n. 23) and construes this š differently. 25. MSS MNWS, but -s seems superfluous.

LWTH YXWWNd W dwšmm MN 'yl'n'str' L'WXL YXSNNd  
 W hwt'y<sup>26</sup> ZY dyn' L'WXL 'L \*t'ht'<sup>27</sup> YTYBWNyt' W dyn'  
 'plyk'n'<sup>28</sup> BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W 'XL L'WXL 'L kng 'ZLWNyt'  
 W KR,<sup>29</sup> \*MNW<sup>30</sup> dyn' dhywptyh L'WXL 'p'yt' wyl'stn' Y'TWNyt'  
 W wyl'dyt' W L'WXL 'L kng 'ZLWNyt' 'D plškrt'  
 hng'm TMH YXWWNyt' pylwcyh ZY 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n' W znšn'  
 W w'nšn' W \*'pshynšn'<sup>31</sup> ZY 'hlmm W ŠDY-'n' wšwtk'n'

abāg bawēnd, ud dušmen az ērānšahr abāz dārēnd,

D.161

ud xwadāy ī dēn abāz ō \*tāxt nišīnēd; ud dēn

abarīgān be kunēd. ud pas abāz ō kang šawēd,

ud harw \*kē dēn dahibadīh abāz abāyēd wirāstan āyēd

D.161/162

ud wirāyēd, ud abāz ō kang šawēd, tā frašegird

hangām ānōh bawēd, pērōzīh ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān ud zanišn

ud wānišn ud \*abesihēnišn ī ahreman ud dēwān wišūdagān.

26. W hwt'y repeated in MSS; M. reads repeat. 27. M.'s emendation; MSS t'ht'yt'. 28. MSS; M. emends to \*vāparīyān "authentic". 29. K35 fol. 80v. 30. D.'s emendation; BK, K 'MT. 30. M.'s emendation; MSS 'pswynšn'.



'ytwn' YMRRWNd 'YK dwšhw' pwst' ZY 'lkzwl'<sup>1</sup>  
 W dwšhw L' pwst' ZY 'lkzwl BR' ZK  
 gyw'k 'YK BB' ZY dwšhw glywk'-XD 'ytwn'  
 'lkzwl glywk'<sup>2</sup> ŠM ZY \*wym<sup>3</sup> ZK BR' YMR[R]WNd  
 'YK pwst' ZY 'lkzwl PWN plc'm d't'l h'mwdyn  
 PWN 'ywkšwst' BR' hnb'lyt'<sup>4</sup>

ēdōn gōwēnd kū dušox pōst ī argzūr.

D.162

ud dušox nē pōst ī argzur, bē hān

gyāg kū dar ī dušox, grīwag-ēw; ēdōn

argzūr grīwag nām ī \*wēm hān be gōwēnd,

kū pōst ī argzūr. pad frazām dādār hāmōyēn

pad āyōxšust be hambārēd.

1. The name is written thus all four times in MSS; presumably it represents a guess at an archaic form of the name; see Comm. n. 1.

2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K glywk'-XD; in K XD is circled by dots (as being a mistake).

3. MSS wm; M. reads u-m (i.e. Wm).

4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K hnblyt'.

mhly' W mhlyd'nydy \*dws'lm<sup>1</sup> l'd<sup>2</sup> nzdst' prznđ ZY NPSH  
 BR' 'ŠTHNt' ZNH 'YK gyh'n' d'tst'n' cygwn dlwnd XWH'd  
 'ywp [L'] lwšn L' pyt'k' mtr' 'ywk' 'YT'  
 'Ps tn' 'ywk' BYN hm'k y'nwl<sup>3</sup> 'YT' BR'  
 'YT' MNWS wys W 'YT' MNWS km<sup>4</sup> 'ytn' cygwn  
 GBR'-I MNWS wyhyh wys W 'ywk' \*MNWS<sup>5</sup> wyhyh km

mahrē ud mahryānē \*dōšāram rāy nazdist frazand ī xwēs

D.162

be xward; ēn kū gēhān dādestān čiyōn druwand hēnd

ayāb [nē] rōšn nē paydāg, mihr ēwag ast

u-š tan ēwag andar hamāg gyānwar ast, bē

ast kē-š wēs ud ast kē-š kam, ēdōn čiyōn

D.162/163

mard-ē kē-š wehīh wēs ud ēwag \*kē-š wehīh kam.

1. MSS dwhšlm. 2. Lacking in BK, K. 3. MSS y'nwl; M. reads yāvar "times". 4. K has also 'YT'. 5. M.'s emendation; BK, K35, J MNW; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>.

'whrmzd 12 MND<sup>1</sup> M dwšhw'ltl<sup>1</sup> YXWNT' krt'n' 'YK plškr't'  
 W tn' ZY psyn' pltwm<sup>2</sup> 'sm'n' wyn'lt' dtygl  
 zmyk wyn'lt' stygl hwlsyt' PWN lwbsn' YXBWNT' tswm m'h  
 PWN hmlwbsn' YXBWNT' pncwm stl<sup>3</sup> PWN hmlwbsn' YXBWNT'<sup>4</sup>  
 sšwm<sup>5</sup> 'MT' ywlt'y<sup>6</sup> hwšk' BYN zmyk BR' lwst'<sup>7</sup>  
 hptwm<sup>8</sup> BYN 'wlwlyh<sup>9</sup> gwnk' bwd W mck' twm twm  
 YXBWNT' hštwm<sup>10</sup> BYN 'wlwl 'thš BR'<sup>11</sup> YXBWNT' W BR'  
 L' swcyl' nhwm<sup>12</sup> BYN 'škm'b' ZY 'MYtl'n BRH' wyn'lt'

ohrmazd dwāzdah čiš dušxwārtar būd kardan kū frašegird  
 ud tan ī pasēn: fradom asmān winnārd, dudīgar  
 zamīg winnārd, sidīgar xwarsēd pad rawišn dād, tasum mäh  
 pad hamrawišn dād, pañjom star pad hamrawišn dād,  
 šasom ka jōrdā hōšag andar zamīg be rust,  
 haftom andar urwarīhā gōnag, bōy ud mizag tōm tōm  
 dād, haštom andar urwar ātaxš be dād ud be  
 nē sōzēd, nōhom andar aškamb ī mādarān pus winnārd,

D.163

1. K35, fol. 81r. 2. Lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 3. BK stwl. 4. BK  
dād in Arabic script. 5. BK; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 6wm. 6. K; BK ywlt'yk;  
 MR<sub>1</sub>, J ywlt'k. 7. BK; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J lw't'. 8. BK; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 7wm.  
 9. BK urwarhā in Arabic script. 10. BK; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 8wm.  
 11. BK اكنش به. 12. BK; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 9wm

d'hwm mwlw' PWN w't<sup>13</sup> YXBWNt' y'cd'hwm MY' PWN  
 'lwbšn' YXBWNt'<sup>14</sup> 12wm 'bl [YXBWNt'] MNWS tn' mynwg  
 ZK ZY gyt<sub>dy</sub> MY' YBLWN<sub>x</sub><sub>1</sub>

dahom murw pad wād dād, yāzdahom āb pad  
 rawiṣn dād, dwāzdahom abr [dād] kē-s tan mēnōg  
 hān ī gētīg āb bārēd.

D.163

13. Lacking in BK, K. 14. BK dādan in Arabic script; K YXBWNtn'.

<sup>1</sup>ptytykyh 'MT NYŠH 'twb'nyk'<sup>2</sup> 'MT šwd p'ths'd  
 GBR' l'd s'yt'<sup>3</sup> 'B' ZY 'pwl'n'yk' ZY 8 s'lk'  
 'D 15 s'lk' 'MT BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> s'yt' 'p'ryk 'YŠ  
 PWN l's ZY pgt'mblyh 'MT GBR'-I BR' 'L GBR'-I  
 YMRRWNYt' 'YK 'ZLWN \*<sup>4</sup>'D L l'd PWN ptyt' YXWWNyh<sup>5</sup>

patētīgīh: ka zan atuwānīg, ka šōy pādixšāy,  
 mard rāy šāyēd; pid ī aburnāyag ī hašt sālāg  
 tā pānzdah sālāg ka be kunēd,šāyēd; abārīg kas  
 pad rāh ī paygāambarīh ka mard-ē be ō mard-ē  
 gōwēd kū: "šaw \*tā man rāy pad patēt bawēh!"

D.164

1. As D. notes (p. 164, n. 1), at the beginning J adds the following sentence on the margin:

ēn-iz paydāg, [kū] ka kas rāy gah ī gyān šudan rasēd andar  
zindagīh ī hān tan, hān pak kunēnd az be šoyišn ud jāmag  
ī kahwan abar tan ī ōy be dahišn ud kustīg be bandišn, ud  
mardōman ī xwēšīh ī ōy ō pēs ōy ašamvohūg ud patēt be  
xwanišn "this also is revealed, that when the time for  
 the soul's departure comes for a person in the life of the  
 body, they make the body pure by washing it and putting old  
 clothes upon it and tying the kustīg, and the people of his  
 family should recite before him (i.e. the departing soul) the  
 the ašamvohū and the patēt".

2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K 'tb'nyk'. 3. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 4. MSS  
 'ZLWN ZY. 5. K35, fol. 81v.

s'y<sup>t</sup>' krp<sup>k</sup>' ZY BRH ZY p'th<sup>s</sup>'y<sup>h</sup>' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>' 'B' ZY  
 p'th<sup>s</sup>'y<sup>h</sup>' hm'k KN YXWWNy<sup>t</sup>' W ZK ZY cgly<sup>h</sup>'<sup>6</sup> ch'l  
 'ywk-XD YXWWNy<sup>t</sup>' bwt' dstwbl<sup>7</sup> MNW<sup>s</sup> gwpt' 'YK 'LH'c  
 hm'k KN<sup>8</sup> YXWWNy<sup>t</sup>'

sāyēd. kirbag ī pus ī pādixsāyīhā kunēd pid ī  
 pādixsāyīhā hamāg ōh bawēd; ud hān ī čagarīhā čahār  
 ēwag-ēw bawēd. būd dastwar kē-s guft kū: "ōy-iz  
 hamāg ōh bawēd."

D.164

6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K clyh'. 7. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK dstwl. 8. K K.

plskrt' krt'l KBD XWH'd<sup>1</sup> ZK 'hws  
W 'mlg 'ywk' pšyd'wtn' 'ywk' wn<sup>2</sup>  
ZY ywdt' byš 'ywk'<sup>3</sup> gwpt'sh 'ywk' ywšt'  
ZY plyd'ny'n' W ZK MNWS XY' BYN tws W  
\*wyw'<sup>4</sup> W kls'sp<sup>5</sup> ZY tn' 'YT' 'Ps XY' L'YT'

frašegird kardār was hēnd; hān ahōš

D.164

ud amarg: ēwag pišyōtan, ēwag wan

ī ŋud bēš, ēwag gōpatšah, ēwag yōšt

D.164/5

ī friyāniyān, ud hān kē-š gyān andar, tūs ud

\*wēw, ud krišasp, ī tan ast u-š gyān nēst.

1. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J XWHd. 2. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J wn'. 3. K; BK 'ywwk; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 4. MSS wyww'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J wyww' kdhwslwd. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K, J klšsp.

- (1) s'dk' ZY m'z<sub>1</sub>dysn'n' 'MT BR' 'L ns'y 'wptyt' tn  
lymm L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> W \*nslwst'<sup>2</sup> L' znyt' wn's ZY BYN  
hmym'l'n' ŠNT mlk' L' 'm'l MH hm'y 'MTs 'mwlcyt'  
'-s<sup>3</sup> MN bwn BR' 'ZLWNyt' 'MT 'LH BR' YMYTWNyt' 'Ps BR'  
L' 'mwlcyt' 'MT hw'stk'<sup>4</sup> d'l'n'<sup>5</sup> BR' 'mwlcynd<sup>6</sup> '-c' s'yt'
- (2) pwhl-XD PWN cwp 'ywp' PWN KYP,<sup>7</sup> 'MTs mwltk' QDM  
BR' YBLWNx<sub>1</sub><sup>8</sup> 'MT BR' cnd[y]hyt' KR' MNW QDM pwhl  
\* 'styt' 'MT h'mws L' lyym' BR' 'MT hm'y SGYTWNyt'  
ZKc lyym YXWWNyt'

- (1) sāyag ī mazdēsnān ka be ō nasā ōftēd, tan  
rēman nē kunēd, ud \*nasrušt nē zanēd. wināh ī andar  
hamēmālān sāl marag nē āmār, čē hamē ka-s āmurzēd,  
a-s az bun be šawēd. ka ōy be mīrēd u-s be  
nē āmurzīd, ka xwāstag-dārān be āmurzēnd, a-z šayēd.
- (2) puhl-ēw pad čōb ayāb pad sang ka-s murdag abar  
be bārēnd, ka be čand[ī]hēd, harw kē abar puhl  
estēd ka xāmōš, nē rēman, bē ka hamē rawēd  
hān-iz rēman bawēd.

D.165

1. BK; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'BYDWNyt'. 2. MSS 'slst. As M. notes, it is  
confounded with asrust[īh] (< Av. asrusti) "disobedience", ZKA 1143.8ff.  
(M., p.470, n.1). 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K '-'. 4. Written خاسته in  
BK. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K d'lsn'. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 'mwlcynnd; K 'mwlcyt',  
with ynnd written above. 7. J; BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub> KYP'Y. 8. BK, K; MR<sub>1</sub>,  
J YBLWNd.



- (3) h[y]hl-XD<sup>9</sup> MN<sup>10</sup> YDH W LGLH 'ywp' MN hnd'm  
 BR' 'wptyt' 'MTS nm-I' pts QDM L' Y'TWNyt' h[y]hl  
 W 'MT L' ns'y MNW<sup>11</sup> [n]hwst hyl<sup>11</sup> ZY h[y]hl'wmnd<sup>12</sup>  
 ZY PWN klwm-I' PWN \*twk<sup>13</sup> pts YKTYBWNd KR'  
 'ywb'l ZY pr'c 'XR[N] t'k 'XDWNx<sub>1</sub> KR' w'ck-I' L'WXL  
 YKTYBWNd 160 wn's YXWWNyt'

- (3) hixr-ēw az dast ud pāy ayāb az handām

D.165

be ōftēd, ka-s nam-ē padīš abar nē āyēd, hixr,  
 ud ka nē, nasā. kē [na]xust xīr ī hixrōmand  
 ī pad kalam-ē pad \*tog padīš nibēsēnd, harw  
 ēwbār ī frāz any tāg gīrēnd, harw wāzag-ē abāz  
 nibēsēnd sad ud haštād wināh bawēd.

D.165/166

9. K35, fol. 82r. 10. Lacking in BK. 11. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J hwsthl;  
 K hwsthy; M. reads ōstār ['wst'r] "defiled, polluted" (470, n.3).  
 12. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hhl'wmwnd. 13. MSS 191<sup>o</sup>; M.'s reading; while  
 the sense of this phrase is odd, the many possible emendations of  
 this word seem to be equally unsatisfactory, e.g. PWN \*twc "on bark/  
 papyrus"; PWN \*TWB for PWN XZYTWnt' "clearly"; PWN t[yc sn]wk "with  
 the point", etc.

'lc'wmndyh ZY dlwn' W myzd<sup>1</sup> l'd YKTYBWNyhyt'

- (1) 'dlwn' PWN hngwsyt'k' ZY gytydy XNXTWNt'<sup>2</sup> 'styt' 'Ps gltyh  
'ytnw cygwn gytydy<sup>3</sup> glt' 'YT'<sup>4</sup> 'Ps kn'lk' kw'p' ZY hlbwlc  
'pz'dsn'<sup>5</sup> ZY mdy'n ZY dlwn' 'NŠWT' W st'lk<sup>6</sup> W 'wlwl  
g'wsd'k' ck't'<sup>7</sup> ZY d'ytyk<sup>8</sup> PWN mdy'n<sup>9</sup> ZY dlwn' \*XNXTWNtn'<sup>10</sup>  
cym ZNH 'YK'<sup>11</sup> ck't' ZY d'ytyk<sup>8</sup> PWN<sup>12</sup> mdy'n<sup>13</sup> ZY gyh'n' 'YT'  
(2) W plsst' ZK ZY 'whrmzd ZY hwt'y'<sup>14</sup> l'd PWN  
ywdt'kyh ZY MN dlwn' XNXTWNt[n]' cym<sup>15</sup> ZNH \*'YK'<sup>15</sup> 'whrmzd

arzōmandīh ī drōn ud mēzd rāy nibēsīhēd:

D.166

- (1) drōn pad hangōšīdag ī gētīg nihād estēd: u-š girdīh  
ēdōn čiyōn gētīg gird \*ast, u-š kanārag kōf ī harbuz;  
abzāyišn ī mayān ī drōn mardōm ud stārag ud urwar;  
gōšodāg, čagād ī daidīg, pad mayān ī drōn \*nihādan  
čim ēn, kū čagād ī daidīg pad mayān ī gēhān ast.  
(2) ud frasast, hān ī ohrmazd ī xwadāy rāy, pad  
judāgīh ī az drōn nihād[an] čim ēn, \*kū ohrmazd

1. MR<sub>1</sub> my'zd throughout. 2. K XNWXIWt'. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also MH gytyg. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K, J 'ytnw'. 5. BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub>; J 'pznšn'; M. emends to aβzunišn (see Comm., n. 4). 6. In Arabic script in BK. 7. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K cg't. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K d'yt'-I. 9. K m'd'n'. 10. K XNWXIWt'; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J XNWXIWt'. 11. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK. 12. Lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J mdy'nk. 14. ZY hwt'y in K only. 15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J ZNH MH; BK, K MH.

- PWN ywdt'kyh ZY 'mhrspnd'n' W yzd'n' 'p'yt' YDBXWNt'
- (3) 'W 'p'ryk LWITH 'whrmzd YDBXWNSn' BR' MN slws MH  
slws hwt'y W dhywpt' ZY gyh'n' 'YT' XN' l'd ywdt'kyh,<sup>16</sup>  
'p'yt' ystn'
- (4) plsst<sup>17</sup> kn'lk' L' 'BYDWNT[n]' cym ZNH 'YT MH KR'  
MND'M W KR' 'YŠ kn'lk' 'YT' W 'whrmzd hm'yykyh,<sup>18</sup>  
YXBWNt' l'd 'kn'lk' 'wmmd<sup>19</sup>
- (5) 'YT' XS ZY PWN dlwn' MY' ZY PWN \*zlyh<sup>20</sup>  
W pwl 'p'yt' krtn' MH L' pwlyh l'd gwk'dyh<sup>21</sup> YXWWNyt'  
'YK \*zlyh<sup>20</sup> MY' L' pwl 'pysl<sup>22</sup> wysk' ZY BYN zlyh<sup>23</sup>

pad judāgīh ī amahraspandān ud yazdān abāyēd yašt.

D,166

- (3) ud abārīg abāg ohrmazd yazišn, bē az srōš, čē  
srōš xwadāy ud dahibad ī gēhān ast; ēd rāy judāgīhā  
abāyēd yaštan.
- (4) frasast kanārag nē kard[an] čim ēn ast, čē harw  
čiš ud harw kas kanārag ast, ud ohrmazd hamēigīhā  
dād rāy, akanāragōmand.
- (5) ast may ī pad drōn āb ī pad zrēh,  
ud purr abāyēd kardan, čē nē purrīh rāy gugayīh bawēd  
kū zrēh āb nē purr; abesar wēšag ī andar zrēh.

D.166/167

16. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK ywt'yh'. 17. K fol. 82v. 18. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK hm'ykyh'. 19. MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'kn'lk' W 'YT' kn'lk' XWH'd. 20. MSS zl'h.  
21. MSS have also YXBWNt', possibly a mistake for YXWWNyt' following.  
22. MSS 'pysl; M. reads āpīr (see Comm. n.9). 23. MSS zl'h;  
K has also MY' L' pwl circled by dots.

- (6) spl[h]m 'pswn ZY 'mhrspnd'n'  
 (7) 'ysm W bwd 3 t'k hwmt' hwht'<sup>24</sup> hwwlst'  
 (8) 'MT dlwn' YDBXWNd KR' tn'-XD l'd MNW w'c 'XDWNyt'  
 spl[h]m 2 t'k' PWN dlwn' XNXTWNT[n]' KR' MNW w'c 'XDWNyt'  
 spl[h]m 2 t'k c'snyk' 'wbs YXBWNT[n'] MH 'wgwn pyt'k' 'YK  
 'MTs c'snyk YNSBXN<sub>2</sub> W spl[h]m ZY PWN dlwn' 'L \*,'wbs<sup>25</sup>  
 XNXTWNT' BYN ZK YWM KR' wn's n'mcst'<sup>26</sup> wn's ZY mlg'lc'n  
 L' s'yt' 'hlmm' W ŠDY'-n' sn'h-I<sup>27</sup> ZK gl'ntl YXWWNyt'  
 (9) MNW BYN myzd<sup>28</sup> w'tlng<sup>29</sup> p'lk'-XD 'ŠTHNyt' '-s<sup>30</sup>

- (6) spra[h]m afsōn ī amahraspandān. D.167  
 (7) ēsm ud bōy sē tāg humat huxt huwaršt.  
 (8) ka drōn yazēnd, harw tan-ēw rāy kē wāz gīrēd,  
 spra[h]m dō tāg pad drōn nihād[an]; harw kē wāz gīrēd  
 spra[h]m dō tāg čāšnīg awiṣ dād[an]; čē ōwōn paydāg kū  
 ka-s čāšnīg stad, ud spra[h]m ī pad drōn ō \*awiṣ  
 nihād, andar hān rōz harw wināh, nāmcišt wināh ī margārzān,  
 nē šāyēd. ahreman ud dēwān snāh-ē hān garāntar bawēd.  
 (9) kē andar mēzd wādrang pārag-ēw xwarēd, a-s

24. BK, K hwht. 25. MSS yws. 26. BK, K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J n'mcštyk.  
 27. BK wšn'-I; K šn'-I; MR<sub>1</sub>, J šn'h-I. 28. MR<sub>1</sub> my'zd throughout.  
 29. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K w'twlng. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K '-'.

- w't' ZY \*'hyck'<sup>31</sup> ZY PWN glwk' L' YXWNYt'
- (10) 'myzd<sup>28</sup> PWN hngwšyt'<sup>32</sup> ZY 'mhrspnd'n' XNXTWNt' \*'styt'<sup>33</sup>  
 MH 'ytwn' cygwn 'whrmzd LWTN 'mhrspnd'n' YTYBWNyt'<sup>34</sup> W MN  
 'mhrspnd'n' MND'M-c K'L' L' Y'TWNYt' 'ytwn'-c PWN myzd<sup>28</sup>  
 h'mwš 'p'yt' YTYBWNst'<sup>35</sup>
- (11) myzd ZY ms 'YT' YDH šwst' nslwšt'<sup>36</sup> MXYTWNT' wstlg 's'nyh  
 W b'lšn' nhwmt<sup>37</sup> W 'pswn nywkyh<sup>38</sup> \*QDM<sup>39</sup> \*'styt' \*LXM<sup>40</sup>  
 'ŠTHNT[n]<sup>41</sup> gyw'k' s'yt' wyl'st[n] 'psh[y]nšn' ZY ŠDY-'n'  
 'p'ryk'<sup>43</sup> pwl 'ŠTHNTn' p'nkyh ZY tn' l'd ZY 'psyl<sup>44</sup>

wād ī \*axēzag ī pad galōg nē bawēd.

D.167

- (10) mēzd pad hangōšīdag ī amahraspandān nihād estēd,  
 čē ēdōn čiyōn ohrmazd abāg amahraspandān nišīnēd ud az  
 amahraspandān čiš-iz wāng nē āyēd, ēdōn-iz pad mēzd  
 xāmōš abāyēd nišast.
- (11) mēzd ī meh ast dast šust, nasrušt zad, wastarag āsānīh  
 ud bālīš nihumt, ud afsōn nekīh \*abar estēd. nān  
 xward[an] gyāg šāyēd wirāst[an], abesīh[ē]nišn ī dēwān.  
 abārīg purr xwardan pānagīh ī tan rāy ī abesar

D.167/168

31. MSS 'hck'; M. reads \*niyāzay (see Comm. n.12). 32. K35 fol. 83r. 33. BK, K ystyt'; MR<sub>1</sub> YK'YMWNYt'; J syt'. 34. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K YKTYBWNyt'. 35. K YKTYBWNst'. 36. BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub> 'slst'; J 'slwšt (see above, ch. 55, fn.2). 37. D. emends to nhwmyt'; BK, K nhwmt'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J nhwmyt'. 38. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK nywk ZY. 39. M.'s emendation; MSS MH. 40. MSS LXM'y. 41. MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also MY' 'ŠTHNT'. 42. D. s'yt'; BK, K y'yt'; M. emends to s'yytn "to sweep". 43. K 'p'rk'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'w'pk'. 44. M. reads aḡgīr (see Comm., n.17).

BYN YDH ZY GBR 'YT'

- (12) BYN hwl'n' 'MT pyšk's<sup>45</sup> YTYBWNyt'<sup>34</sup> pyšk's 1'd 2  
y't' W 'p'ryk' KR' tn'-XD 1'd y't'-XD \*'styt' 'MT BR'  
dl'y't' <sup>46</sup>W yzdt MN TMH<sup>46</sup> BR' 'ZLWNyt' KR' tn'-XD 1'd  
ŠDY' LWT<sup>4</sup> \*'styt' W lymm'yh BYN XS 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> W KR'  
tn'-XD ZY BR' dl'y't' 1,000 ŠDY' 'pws YXWWNyt'
- (13) W 'yšm-c dl'y't' 'YK 'L gytydy 3 MND'M m'tkwl  
ZY PWN gytyg QDM<sup>47</sup>-k'1
- (14) W 'hlmm [dl'y't'] 'YK ZK<sup>48</sup> 3 MND'M MH

andar dast ī mard ast.

D.168

- (12) andar xwaran, ka pēšgāh nišīnēd pēšgāh rāy dō  
yāt, ud abārīg harw tan-ēw rāy yāt-ēw estēd, ka be  
drāyēd, ud yazad az ānōh be šawēd, harw tan-ēw rāy  
dēw abāg estēd ud rēmanīh andar may kunēd, ud harw  
tan-ēw ī be drāyēd hazār dēw abus bawēd.
- (13) ud xēšm-iz drāyēd kū: "ō gētīg sē čiš mādagwar  
ī pad gētīg abar-kār."
- (14) ud ahreman [drāyēd] kū: "hān sē čiš čē?"

D.168/169

45. BK, K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J pyšg'h. 46. BK, K yzdt' MN TMH; D. reads 'ŠTHNt'  
MH. 47. BK, K MH. 48. Lacking in BK, K.

- (15) 'yšm dl'yt' 'YK myzd<sup>49</sup> g's'nb'l W hwytwd't'
- (16) 'hlmm dl'yt' XT<sup>50</sup> LK YCBHNYdy ZNH 2 MND'M  
 c'lk' YD'YTWNYdy<sup>51</sup> MH BYN myzd BNPSH BR' YXMTWN 'Ps'n PWN  
 w'lwmm BR' YTYBWN 'D BR' dl'dynd<sup>52</sup> yzdt<sup>53</sup> MN nzdyk' ZY  
 'LHs'n' BR' 'ZLWNYt' PWN g's'nb'l BR' YXMTWN 'D 'ywk' MN  
 TWB MND'Mc BR' dwcynd 'MTs'n 'ywk' MN TWB MND'M-I BR'  
 dwcyt' g's'nb'l škst' hwytwd't'<sup>54</sup> ŠBKWN<sup>55</sup> 'YK LK BR'-s'n  
 Lyc c'l<sup>56</sup> L' YD'YTW[N]m MH 'MT l<sup>57</sup> b'l SLYTWNd hkwlc<sup>58</sup>

- (15) xēšm drāyēd kū: "mēzd ud gāhānbār ud xwēdōdah."

D.169

- (16) ahreman drāyēd: "agar to kāmē, ēn dō čis

čārag dānē, čē andar mēzd xwad be ras, u-šān pad  
 wārom be nišīn tā be drāyēnd: yazd az nazdīk ī  
 awēšan be šawēd; pad gāhānbār be ras, tā ēwag az  
 did čis-iz be duzēnd, ka-šān ēwag az did čis-ē be  
 duzīd, gāhānbār škast; xwēdōdah hil, kū tō bē-šān  
 man-iz čār nē dānēm, čē ka čahār bār gāyēnd hagrīz

49. K35 fol. 83v. 50. Repeated in BK. 51. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YD'YTydy;  
 K YD'YTWydy. 52. K; BK dl'dyn'd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also 'MT BR' dl'dynd.  
 53. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K d'tn'. 54. BK; MR<sub>1</sub> whwytwkd't' ZY; J hwytwd't'n.  
 55. BK 'nyhšnykwn. 56. BK, K35; MR<sub>1</sub>, J c'lk. 57. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK 3.  
 58. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK wlc; K wl'c wlc with wlc written again over wl'c.

GBR' W NYŠH MN hwysyh ZY 'whrmzd BR' L' 'ZLWNd  
 BR'-s'n' TWB przndyh 'p'yt' YXBWNt' gyh'n' MN km  
 przndyh l'd 'DYNS'n' pts XYMNstn' k'mk' L' YXWNNyt' 'yny'  
 PWN GBR' W NYŠH MND'Mc krtn' L' s'yt'

mard ud zan az xwēšīh ī ohrmazd be nē šawend,  
 bē-šān did frazandīh abāyēd dād. gēhān az kam  
 frazandīh rāy ēg-šān padīš wurrōyistan kāmāg nē bawēd, enyā  
 pad mard ud zan čiš-iz kardan nē šāyēd."

D.169



znd ZY iθā<sup>1</sup> āat yazamaidē LTMH 'ytwn' YDBXWNm  
 'whrmzd MNWš gwspnd W 'hl'dyh-c YXBWNt' 'Ps MY'-c  
 YXBWNt' W 'wlwl-c ZY ŠPYL 'Ps lwšnyh-c<sup>3</sup> YXBWNt' W  
 bwm-c W hlwsp' 'p'tyh<sup>4</sup> 'hl'dyh 'p'tyh ZY p'hlwm 'YT'  
 ['YK \*hnb'l<sup>5</sup> ZNH ŠPYL k'l W krpk' ZY PWN pl'lwnyh]  
 nywk' 'YT' [ZNH k'l W krpk'] nywk' 'LH MNW MN  
 ZK 'LH' nywk'yh kt'l-c-XD [YK kt'l-c-XD MN nywkyh  
<sup>6</sup>ZY 'LH nywkyh<sup>6</sup>] znd ZY iθā<sup>7</sup> W ašam vohū

zand ī iθā āat yazamaidē: ēdār ēdōn yazēm

D.170

ohrmazd kē-š gōspand, ud ahlāyīh-iz dād, u-š āb-iz  
 dād, ud urwar-iz ī weh, u-š rōšnīh-iz dād, ud  
 būm-iz ud harwisp ābādīh. ahlāyīh abādīh ī pahlom ast,  
 [kū \*hambār ēn weh kār ud kirbag ī pad frārōnīh]  
 nēk ast [ēn kār ud kirbag] nēk ōy kē az  
 hān ōy nēkīh kadār-iz-ēw [, kū kadār-iz-ēw az nēkīh  
 ī ōy nēkīh] zand ī iθā ud ašam vohū.

1. J yθā. 2. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK āt. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K lwbsn-c.  
 4. K35, fol. 84. 5. BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub> 'ywb'l; J 'ywb'l-I. 6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
ZY 'LH nywkyh lacking in BK, K. 7. BK, K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J yθa.ahu.

- (1) <sup>1</sup>ZNH 'YK gwspnd'n' W TWR'- 'n W 'p'ryk ch'lp'[d]'n hnd'm  
'ywk' 'ywk' kt'm yzdt'<sup>2</sup> NPŠH W ywdt'<sup>3</sup> ywdt' cygwn  
'p'yt'<sup>4</sup> ystn'
- (2) kwpyk hm'k 'ytn' YXWNYt'<sup>5</sup> cygwn ktyk' TWR' TWR'  
XMR' gwl mys mys<sup>6</sup> p'cyn' \*'Z<sup>7</sup> wl'c XZWLY'<sup>8</sup>  
<sup>9</sup>\*'pyk' KR' sltk' W \*'wnyk<sup>9</sup> L' lwsnk' 'YK hmsltk'<sup>10</sup> kt'l
- (3) [gwspnd] 'MT kwst' YXWNYt' '-s<sup>11</sup> g'wsd'k 'ytn' bhssn'  
'dlw'lk' 'wzw'n' W 'YNH ZY hwd hwm yzdt' NPŠH gltn'<sup>12</sup>

- (1) ēn kū gōspandān ud gāwān ud abārīg čahārpāyān handām D.189.11  
ēwag ēwag kadām yazd xwēs ud jud jud čiyōn  
abāyēd yaštan.
- (2) kōfīg hamāg ēdōn bawēd čiyōn kadīg; gāw gāw;  
xar gūr; mēs mēs; pāzen \*buz; warāz xūg; D.189/190  
\*ābīg harw sardag ud \*ūnīg nē rōšnag kū hamsardag kadār.
- (3) [gōspand] ka kušt bawēd, a-s gōšodāg ēdōn baxšišn:  
erwārag, uzwān ud čašm ī hōy hōm yazd xwēs; gardan

1. As M. notes (p.490, n.1), a text corresponding to Š1 of this chapter occurs at the end of ŠnŠ XI as found in K20, fol. 167r., 10ff. Š3 of PRDd.59 corresponds to ŠnŠ XI.4 (see F. Kotwal, *Supp. ŠnŠ*, p.23, and notes p.96). 2. MSS d'tn' for yzdt' throughout. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K ywht. 4. BK 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀. 5. K; lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 6. K; lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 7. MSS p'cyn'; see Comm. n.2. 8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, J XZWLY'. 9. The reading is uncertain; MSS 'hwk' KR' sltk' 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀 (hunī in Av. script): see Comm. n.3. 10. M. reads as two words: im sarday. 11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K '-'. 12. K; J dlwn; lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>13</sup> 'swhst yzdt' NPŠH<sup>13</sup> sl<sup>14</sup> w'y yzdt' NPŠH 'lm ZY dsn'  
 \* 'lydwyswl<sup>15</sup> yzdt' NPŠH<sup>16</sup> 'lm ZY hwd dlw'sp<sup>17</sup> yzdt NPŠH  
 hht' ZY dsn' plw'hl ZY y'm'sp NPŠH hht' ZY hwd  
 plw'hl ZY wst'sp NPŠH pwt' 'ldypwkbzt'<sup>18</sup> NPŠH p'hlwk' mynwg'n'  
 ZY<sup>19</sup> NKB-'n' <sup>20</sup> ZY 'lt'y plwt' ZY 'NŠWT'-'n' NKB-'n' NPŠH  
 'skmb' spndrmt' NPŠH gwnd wwnd stl NPŠH gwltk' hptwlng'n'  
 NPŠH synck' plw'hl ZY 'slwn'n' NPŠH sws<sup>21</sup> plw'hl ZY 'ltyst'l'n'<sup>22</sup>

ašawahišt yazd xwēs; sar wāy yazd xwēs; arm ī dašn D.190

\* aredwīsūr yazd xwēs; arm ī hōy druwāsp yazd xwēs;

haxt ī dašn frawahr ī jāmāsp xwēs; haxt ī hoy

frawahr ī wištāsp xwēs; pušt ratwōbarzad xwēs; pahlūg mēnōgān

ī mādagān ī ardā fraward ī mardōmān mādagān xwēs;

aškamb spandarmad xwēs; gund wanand star xwēs; gurdag haftōrangān

xwēs; sēnīzag frawahr ī asrōnān xwēs; suš frawahr ī artēštārān

13. These three words lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>. 14. MSS slk'.

15. MSS 'lkyswl. 16. J; lacking in BK, K; last ten words lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>. 17. BK slw'sp. 18. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K 'ldypwblzt'.

19. K35, fol. 74r. 20. M. twice misreads this as narān.

21. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK sws. 22. M. reads raθēštārān.

NPŠH ykl s<sup>23</sup>trywr NPŠH spwl m'ns<sup>24</sup>lspnd NPŠH clp ZY lwtyk'  
 'lt'y plwlt' ZY ZKL-'n' NPŠH dwmyck' plw'hl ZY zltwhst'  
 spyt'm'n' NPŠH dwmbk' w't' ZY 'lt'y yzdt' NPŠH KR'  
 MH MN<sup>25</sup> LHS'n' BR' p<sup>26</sup>lyc't' 'p'ryk 'mhrspnd'n' NPŠH  
 bwt' MNW BR' g'wsd'k gwpt'

xwēš; jagar šahrewar xwēš; spul mānsarspand xwēš; čarb ī rōdīg D.190  
 ardā fraward ī narān xwēš; dumizag frawahr ī zardušt  
 spitāmān xwēš; dumbag wād ī ardā yazd xwēš; harw  
 čē az awēšān be parrēzād abārīg amahraspandān xwēš; D.190/191  
 būd kē be gōšodāg guft.

23. MR<sub>1</sub>, J (and K corrected); BK s<sup>23</sup>trywr'. 24. M. misreads this  
 as māšayān. 25. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK MNW. 26. BK; K pltplyc't'.

znd ZY yaθā ahū vairyō cygwn' 'hw k'mk' [cygwn'  
 'whrmzd k'mk'] 'ytwn' ltyh' [W 'ytwn' dstwblyh'] MN 'hl'dyh  
 cyk'm-c-XD<sup>1</sup> [k'l W krpk' krt'n' 'ytwn' dstwb'lyh' krt'n' cygwn'  
 'whrmzd<sup>2</sup> 'p'yt' 'pz'yt'] \*ZKc<sup>3</sup> ZY whwmn dhšn' BYN kwnšn' ZY  
 'whrmzd<sup>2</sup> ['YK ZK mzd W p'td'sn'<sup>4</sup> ZY 'L whwmn' YXBWNd  
 'L 'LHc' KN YXBWNd 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMRRWNyt' 'y hwt's<sup>5</sup>  
 whwmn' YXBWNyt'] hwt'yyh<sup>6</sup> 'L 'whrmzd YXBWNt' YXWWNyt' ['Pš  
 'whrmzd QDM tn' ZY NPSH hwt'y W ŠLYT'<sup>7</sup> krt' YXWWNyt']

zand ī yaθā ahū vairyō: "čiyōn axw kāmāg" [čiyōn D.191  
 ohrmazd kāmāg] "ēdōn radīhā" [ud ēdōn dastwarīhā] "az ahlāyīh  
 čegām-iz-ēw" [kār ud kirbag kardan, ēdōn dastwarīhā kardan; čiyōn  
 ohrmazd, abāyēd abzāyēd] "\*hān-iz ī wahman dahišn andar kunišn ī  
 ohrmazd" [kū hān mezd ud pādāšn ī ō wahman dahēnd  
 ō ōy-iz ōh dahēnd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē: "xwad-iš  
 wahman dahēd"]. "xwadāyīh ō ohrmazd dād bawēd" [u-š  
 ohrmazd abar tan ī xwēš xwadāy ud pādixšā kard bawēd],

1. MSS repeat cyk'm-c-XD.
2. These eleven words lacking in BK, K.
3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J ZYs.
4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K p't'd'sn'.
5. MR<sub>1</sub> hwwyh; K35, fol. 94v. begins.
6. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K hwt'yh.
7. K, MR<sub>1</sub>; BK ww'lyt'; J p'ths' with ŠLYT' written above it.

MNW 'L dlywš'n' YXBWNyt' whyg'n'<sup>8</sup> [W plwlšn' 'YKš'n'  
 'hdyb'l'wmndyh<sup>9</sup> W y'tkgwb'yh 'BYDWNd 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMRRWNyt'  
 \*,YK<sup>10</sup> hwt'yyh<sup>6</sup> MN 'whrmzd 'YKš ZK p'thš'y MN 'whrmzd 'YT'  
 MNW 'ytwn' YMRRWNyt' 'YK<sup>11</sup> hwt'yyh<sup>12</sup> ZY 'whrmzd lwb'k' krt'<sup>13</sup>  
 YXWWNyt']

"kē ō driyōšān dahēd wehīgān" [ud parwarišn,kū-sān

D.191

hayāromandīh ud jādag-gōwīh kunēnd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd

\*kū: "xwadāhīh az ohrmazd", kū-s hān padixšay az ohrmazd.ast

D.191/192

kē ēdōn gōwēd kū: "xwadāyīh ī ohrmazd rawāg kard

bawēd"].

8. M.'s emendation; BK bhšsn' is an emendation of K wyšsn

( 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠𐭠 for 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠𐭠 ); MR<sub>1</sub>, J whšsn'. 9. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K

hd'b'l'wmndyh. 10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'K; BK, K 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠. 11. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J;

K𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠. 12. BK, J; K hwt'yyyh; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>. 13. MSS krtk';

it is supposed that the final -k has been imitated from lwb'k thus

kard bawēd is parallel to the phrase in the last line of the previous page.

(1) <sup>1</sup>

- (2) MNW BSLY' ZY gwspnd 'ŠTHNt'<sup>2</sup> \*,'styt' 'Ps L' gwk'lt'  
 \*,'styt' W wn's-I hm'y mynyt' 'ywp' YMRRWNyt' 'ywp' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
 W gwspnd-I mlg'lc'n<sup>3</sup> XD BR' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'LH' 'L bwn YXWWNyt'
- (3) 'MTs BSLY' 'ŠTHNt' \*,'styt' W wn's L' mynyt' YMRRWNyt'  
 W 'BYDWNyt' '-s<sup>4</sup> 'L bwn L'YT'
- (4) 'MTs BSLY' ZY TWR'<sup>3</sup> 'ŠTHNt' \*,'styt' W TWR' mlg'lc'n<sup>3</sup>  
 \*,'BYDWNt'<sup>5</sup> hmgwnk'
- (5) 'YT' MNW 'ytw' YMRRWNyt'<sup>6</sup> 'YK 'MT-c-s \*m'hyk'<sup>7</sup> 'ŠTHN't'  
 \*,'styt' W GMR'-I wn's 'BYDWNyt' '-c 'LH \*,'L<sup>8</sup> bwn YXWWNyt'

(1)

D.192

- (2) kē gōšt ī gōspand xward estēd u-s nē gugārd  
 estēd,ud wināh-ē hamē mēnēd ayāb gōwēd ayāb kunēd  
 ud gōspand-ē margarzān-ē bē kard,a ōy ō bun bawēd.
- (3) ka-s gōšt xward estēd ud wināh nē mēnēd, gōwēd  
 ud kunēd,a-s ō bun nēst.
- (4) ka-s gōšt ī gāw xward estēd ud gāw margarzān  
 kard, hamgōnag.

- (5) ast kē ēdōn gōwēd kū, ka-z-iš \*māhīg xward.

D.192/193

estēd,ud uštar-ē wināh kunēd,a-z ōy \*ō bun bawēd.

1. As M. notes (p.161,n.21-2) §1 of chapter 61 given in D.'s edition on p.192, 4ff. is incomprehensible in this place and belongs properly to §82 of chapter 58, after ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ēd kū murg ī meh, i.e. D., p.188, l.11. 2. K35, fol. 95r. begins. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K mlglc'n. 4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K '-'. 5. M.'s emendation; MSS 'BYDWNyt'. 6. BK, K, J have also 𐭠𐭣𐭥; MR<sub>1</sub> 𐭠𐭣𐭥. 7. MSS mytkw'; see Comm. n.2. 8. M.'s emendation; MSS '-.

- (6) \*hwsp'lm<sup>9</sup> awake<sup>10</sup> wc'lsn' ZNH 'p'hs ZY MN dst' W LGLH'  
 avaina<sup>10</sup> \*w'dndk' (?) <sup>11</sup> YXWWNyt' vizv<sup>10</sup> l'c (?) <sup>12</sup> YXWWNyt'  
 kehō<sup>10</sup> ksp' YXWWNyt' whšk' \*snyhk' <sup>13</sup> YXWWNyt' w'lc'k-c 'zg  
 YXWWNyt' YWM W s'tyh

- (6) \*huspāram awake wizārišn ēn, abaxš ī az dast ud pāy; D.193  
 avaina \*wāyendag (?) bawēd vizv rāz (?) bawēd  
 kehō kasp bawēd waxšag \*snēhag bawēd warzāg-iz azg  
 bawēd rōz ud šādīh.

9. MSS hwst'lm. 10. In Av. script; see Comm. n.4 . 11. MSS  
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥; see Comm. n.4 . 12. MSS; M. reads varāz "boar". See  
 Comm. n.5 . 13. D.'s emendation; MSS W snwšk.



- sn'dsn' ZY d't'l 'whrmzd W 'mhrspnd'n W hm'k yzd'n' ZY  
 'mynwg'n W yzd'n' ZY gytyg'n'  
 hndlc ZY 'nwsk'<sup>1</sup> lwb'n'<sup>2</sup> 'twrp't' ZY m'nsispnd'n<sup>3</sup>  
 (1) h'wst'-I 'nwsk'<sup>1</sup> lwb'n' ZY 'twr'p't' ZY \*m'nsispnd'n<sup>4</sup> bwt'  
 KBD lwck'l'n'<sup>5</sup> LWITH 'twr'p't' bwt  
 (2) 'Ps ZNHc BR' 'L 'twr'p't' gwpt' 'YKm pl'hng-I \*'BYDWN<sup>6</sup>  
 \*'D<sup>7</sup> 'MT MN nzdyk'<sup>8</sup> ZY hylpt' pr'c 'ZLWNm \*'DYNm<sup>9</sup> ZK  
 pl'hng l'd lwb'n' ŠPYL twb'n'  
 (3) 'twr'p't' gwpt' 'YK PWN yzd'n' 'pygwm'n' YXWWNyh mynsn'

snāyišn ī dādār ōhrmazd ud amahraspandān ud hamāg yazdān ī D.193  
 mēnōgān ud yazdān ī gētīgān.

handarz ī anōšag ruwān ādurbād ī mānsarspandān.

- (1) hāwišt-ē anōšag ruwān ī ādurbād ī \*mānsarspandān būd;  
 was rōzgārān abāg ādurbād būd.  
 (2) u-š ēn-iz be ō ādurbād guft kū: "-m frahang-ē \*kun,  
 \*tā ka az nazdik ī hērbad frāz šawēm \*ēg-om hān  
 frahang rāy ruwān weh tuwān".

- (3) ādurbād guft kū: "pad yazdān abēgumān bawēh! mēnišn D.193/194

1. K 'nsk'. 2. K35, fol. 95v. begins. 3. MR<sub>1</sub>; MR, J, K35  
 'mhrspnd'n'. As D. notes (p.193, n.6), BK omits the whole subject  
 with the exception of this heading and the following note: cygwm  
npštk' gyw'k-I d'lm ZNH gyw'k L' npštm. 4. D.'s emendation; MR,  
 K 'mhrspnd'n; in MR<sub>1</sub>, J this § is lacking up to here. 5. MSS; M.  
 reads was rōzgār "for a long time" (but does not indicate emendation).  
 6. D.'s emendation; MSS 'BYDWNm. 7. MSS ZY. 8. K nzdyg' (with  
 diacritics). 9. K, MR 'ynm; MR<sub>1</sub> 'ywp.

- W gwbsn' W kwnsn' pl'lw'n' W l'st' YXSNN MND' Mc wn's  
 'L myn'<sup>10</sup> 'L YMRWN W 'L 'BYDWN<sup>11</sup> W 'hlwb' YXWWNyh  
 (4) W h'wst' gwpt' 'YK PWN ZNH' hylpt'<sup>12</sup> L' spwlyk' XWHm BR'-m<sup>13</sup>  
 pl'hng ZY n'mcstyk<sup>14</sup> \*YMRWN \*D<sup>15</sup> 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> W 'hlwb' YXWWNm<sup>16</sup>  
 (5) 'twrp't gwpt' 'YK ZK 22 w'ck' ZY mtr'  
 'whrmzd ZY L<sup>17</sup> hylpt'<sup>18</sup> \*MNYTWN \*KR' \*'snwy<sup>18</sup> BYN k'l  
 YXSNN W 'hlwb' YXWWNyh  
 (6) h'wst' gwpt' 'YK XTm PWN 'lc'nyk' YXSNNydy plm'dy  
 gwptn' 'D 'SMHNM W 'BYDWNm

ud gōwišn ud kunišn frārōn ud rāst dār, čiš-iz wināh

D.194

ma mēn, ma gōw, ud ma kun, ud ahlaw bawēh!"

- (4) ud hāwišt guft kū: "pad ēn, hērbad, nē spurriḡ hēm be-m  
 frahang ī nāmcištīḡ \*gōw, \*tā kunēm ud ahlaw bawēm".  
 (5) ādurbād guft kū: "hān wist ud dō wāzag ī mihr  
 ohrmazd, ī man hērbad, ōsmār; \*harw \*ašnawēd, andar kār  
 dār, ud ahlaw bawēh!"  
 (6) hāwišt guft kū: "agar-om pad arzānīḡ dārē, framāy  
 guftan tā ašnawēm ud kunēm."

10. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR myny<sup>t</sup>. 11. K 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>; MR, J 'BYDWNm.  
 12. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, MR have also gwpt'. 13. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR, K BR' MN.  
 14. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR n'mcst'; M. marks nāmcištīḡ as an emendation.  
 15. M.'s emendation; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K YMRWNd; MR YK'YMWNd. 16. MR<sub>1</sub>, J,  
 K; MR YXWWNy<sup>t</sup>. 17. Lacking in K. 18. M.'s emendation; K, MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J, MR MN 'twr<sup>wk</sup>' 'snwy<sup>t</sup>'.

- (7) 'twr'p't' PWN<sup>19</sup> pshw' gwpt' 'YK w'ck' ZNH 3 'dwynk' l'tyh  
 4wm l'styh 5wm hwnl'wndyh<sup>20</sup> 6wm twhs'gyh 7wm  
 \*y'tkgwbyh<sup>21</sup> 8wm hwmtryh 9wm \*'st-hw'yh<sup>22</sup> 10wm<sup>23</sup>  
 d'tst'n[yk]yh<sup>24</sup> 11wm hmyh 12wm \*nh'tsnyhyh<sup>25</sup>  
 13wm ptm'nk 14wm 'ylyh<sup>26</sup> 15wm<sup>27</sup> 'ylmsnyh  
 16wm nyh'n'yh<sup>28</sup> 17wm \*hwsyh<sup>29</sup> 18wm bwndkyh  
 19wm b'lst'nyh<sup>30</sup> 20wm mltwm dwstyh 20- 'ywkw  
 hwnsndyh<sup>31</sup> 22wm 'ywkyh

- (7) ādurbād pad passox guft kū: "wāzag ēn: sē ēwēnag rādīh, D.194  
 čahārom rāstīh, pañjom hunarāwandīh, šašom tuxšāgīh, haftom  
 \*jādag-gōwīh, haštom humīhrīh, nōhom \*āst-xwāhīh, dahom  
 dādestān[īg]īh, yāzdahom hamīh, dwāzdahom \*nihādsnēhīh,  
 sēzdahom paymānag, čahārdahom ērīh, pānzdahom ērmēnišnīh,  
 šāzdahom nihānīh, haftdahom \*xwāšīh, haštdahom bowandagīh,  
 nōzdahom \*bārestānīh, wistom mardōm dōstīh, wist-ēwagom D.194/195  
 hunsandīh, wist ud dōwom ēwagīh.

19. K35, fol. 96r. begins. 20. K; MR hwnlswndyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hwnsndyh.  
 21. MR, MR<sub>1</sub>, J y'twkgwbyh; K y'tgwb'yh. 22. MR 'sth'w'kdyh;  
 K 'sth'w'dyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'yhth' 'dyh; M. reads astānāyīh "missionary  
 work". 23. J; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, MR 10m. 24. K, MR, MR<sub>1</sub> have also 10wm  
'ylyh. 25. D.'s emendation; MSS h'tsn'hyh. 26. The words  
11wm ... 14wm 'ylyh are lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, K; and the words 11wm ...  
ptm'nyk are written on margin in J. 27. MR<sub>1</sub>, MR, J 15m (in D.).  
 28. K, MR; MR<sub>1</sub>, J yh'n'yh. 29. D.'s emendation; MSS hws'.  
 30. MSS b'lyst'nyh. 31. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR hwsndyh; K hwndyh.

- (8) 1'tyh ZY ŠPYL pltwm MNWs hcs<sup>32</sup> L' B'YXWN'd<sup>33</sup> BR' YXBWNyt'  
 dtygl ZK MNWs hcs<sup>34</sup> B'XWN'd PWN gyw'k BR' YXBWNyt'  
 stygl ZK MNWs hcs B'YXWN'd W 'DN' 'BYDWNyt' PWN 'DN'  
ZY 'BYDWNyt BR' YXBWNyt' ZK ŠPYL <sup>35\*</sup>MNW 'MT<sup>35</sup> \*KN<sup>36</sup> YXBWNyt'  
 \*,<sub>c</sub><sup>37</sup> hk(w)lc' BYN 'LH 'ymyt'<sup>38</sup> L' YXSNNyt' 'YKm L'WXL  
 YXBWNyt' L' [w]c'lk'nyh<sup>39</sup> \*,y'ptn'<sup>40</sup> L' cšmk'mkyh l'd YXBWNyt'  
 (9) dtygl lwmm l'styh ZK YXWWNyt<sup>41</sup> MNW<sup>42</sup> mynšn' gwbšn W kwnšn'  
 LWTH yzd'n' ZY myn[w]g'n W 'p'ryk KR' d'm ZY gytydy<sup>43</sup>  
 l'st' d'lyt'

- (8) "rādīh ī weh, fradom, kē-š aziš nē xwāhēnd bē dahēd; D.195  
 dudīgar hān kē-š aziš xwāhēnd pad gyāg bē dahēd,  
 sidīgar hān kē-š aziš xwāhēnd ud zamān kunēd pad zamān  
 ī kunēd bē dahēd. hān weh \*kē ka \*ōh dahēd  
 \*a-z hagrīz andar ōy ēmēd nē darēd kū: '-m abāz  
 dahēd', nē [w]azāragānīh \*ayāftan nē čašmkāmagīh rāy dahēd.  
 (9) "dudīgar, čahārom, rāstīh hān bawēd kē mēnišn, gōwišn ud kunišn  
 abāg yazdān ī mēnōgān ud abārīg harw dām ī gētīg  
 rāst dārēd.

32. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, MR; lacking in K. 33. K; MR<sub>1</sub>, MR, J BYXWN'd.  
 34. K has hc-s (ringed with four dots); lacking in other MSS.  
 35. K, MR 'YK MNW; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'YK 'MT. 36. M.'s emendation; MSS. 'L.  
 37. MSS MNW (MN' i.e. az?). 38. MR<sub>1</sub>; K 'ymt'; MR 'ym't'; J  
 w'ymyt'. 39. K w'c'lk'nyh; M. follows MR: hc'lk'nyh. 40. MSS  
 wyn'ptn'; M. reads vēnāftan "to make a show". 41. K35, fol. 96v.  
 begins. 42. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR MN. 43. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR gytygyh.

- (10) 5wm hwnl'wndyh<sup>44</sup> ZK YXWWNyt MNW kwhššn' LWTH dlwc ZY mynwg  
 \*'BYDWNyt'<sup>45</sup> hyc' dlwc' BYN 'L tn' L' ŠBKWNx<sub>1</sub> PWN n'mcštyk ZNH  
 4<sup>46</sup> dlwc MN tn' L'WXL d'lyt' 'c W 'yšm<sup>47</sup> W wln' W nng
- (11) 6wm twhš'kyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW BYN KR' g's W 'DN'  
 ZK ZY mynyt' W YMRRWNyt' W 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'MT hm 'DN'  
 wtyl'n' YXWWNyt' 'DYN's bym L'YT' 'YK'm MND'M-I ywdtl  
 'p'dst' mynyt' W gwpt' W krt'
- (12) 7wm y'tkgwbyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW NYŠH ZY wdpk<sup>48</sup> W 'pln'dyk'

- (10) "panjom, hunarāwandīh hān bawēd kē kōxšišn abāg druz ī mēnōg D.195  
 kunēd; hēč druz andar ō tan nē hilēd, pad nāmcištīg ēn  
 čahār druz az tan abāz dārēd: ā-z ud xešm ud waran ud nang.
- (11) "sašom, tuxšāgīh hān bawēd kē andar harw gāh ud zamān D.195/196  
 hān ī mēnēd ud gōwēd ud kunēd ka ham zamān  
 widerān bawēd ēg-iš bīm nēst kū: '-m čiš-ē judtar  
 abāyist mēnīd ud guft ud kard.'
- (12) "haftom jādag-gōwīh hān bawēd kē zan ī wēwag, ud aburnāyag

44. K; MR<sub>1</sub> hwnsyndyh; MR hwnldyh; J hwlswndyh. 45. MSS 'BYDWNd;  
 M. emends to kard. 46. K; MR 3; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 47. K, MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J; MR 'šm. 48. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR wspk'.

- <sup>49</sup>ZY gwlsk' W 'ths'n' TWR'- 'n' gwspond'n' W 'p'ryk \* 'twb'nyk'n<sup>49</sup>  
 n'mcsty<sup>50</sup> lwb'n ZY NPŠH l'd MRY' YMRWNyt'  
 (13) 8wm hwmtr'yh ZK YXWNNyt MNW LWITH hm'k d'm ZY 'whrmzd  
 mtr' drwyst' W 'ywk'nk' YXSNNyt'<sup>51</sup> mtr' LWITH 'YŠc L' dlwcyt'  
 mtr' ZY glptk'<sup>52</sup> ZKc ZY \*YXBWNtk'<sup>53</sup> n'mcst' LWITH lwb'n'  
ZY NPŠH mtr' hwp W l'st' d'lyt'  
 (14) 9wm \* 'st-hw'hyh<sup>54</sup> d't ZY yzd'n' dytn' W<sup>55</sup> wyn'lsn' ZY  
 gyh'n' W d'st'l W plwlt'l W l'dynyt'l ZY hm'k d'm  
 W dhšn' MH MN 'pst'k' pyt'k 'YK lyst'h[y]c'<sup>56</sup>

ī gursag, ud ātaxšān, gāwān, gōspandān, ud abārīg \*atuwānīgān D.196  
 nāmcištīg ruwān ī xwēš rāy saxwan gowēd.

- (13) "haštom humihrih hān bawēd kē abāg hamāg dām ī ohrmazd  
 mihr drust ud ēkānag dārēd, mihr abāg kas-iz nē drozēd  
 mihr ī griftag hān-iz ī \*dādag; nāmcišt abāg ruwān  
 ī xwēš mihr xūb ud rāst dārēd.  
 (14) "nōhom, \*āst-xwāhīh dād ī yazdan dīdan ud winnārišn ī  
 gēhān ud dāstār ud parwardār ud rāyēnīdār ī hamāg dām  
 ud dahišn: cē az abestāg paydāg kū ristāx[ē]z

49. The words ZY gwlsk' ... 'twb'nyk'n' are lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR, K 'tb'nyk'n'. 50. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K, MR n'mcst'. 51. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K d'lyt'. 52. K35, fol. 97r. begins. 53. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K bwtk'; MR bwtwk; M. reads \*xvastay "desired" i.e. emends bwtk' to B'YXWNtk'. 54. MR, K 'sth'w'dyh; MR<sub>1</sub> 'yht'kyh; J 'yhtykyh; M. reads āstānāyīh "missionary work". 55. K; MR d't ZY st'n'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J yzd'n' ZY stwn'; M. reads \*dādestān "law". 56. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, MR; K l'st wh'c'.

- W tn' ZY psyn' krtn' W 'mlgyh wyn'lt'n'  
 PWN l's ZY 'styh<sup>57</sup> s'yt' YXWWNyt'<sup>58</sup> krtn'  
 (15) l0wm d'tst'nykyh<sup>59</sup> ZK YXWWNyt' MNW PWN d't' ZY yzd'n' \*,sty't'<sup>60</sup>  
 (16) l1wm hmyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW PWN KR' MND'M ZY pl'lw'n'  
 LWITH yzd'n' W ŠPYL-'n' hm YXWWNyt'  
 (17) l2wm \*nh'tsnyhyh<sup>61</sup> ZK YXWWNyt' MNW LWITH<sup>62</sup> hm'k' d'm ZY 'whrmzd  
 \*snyh<sup>63</sup> BR' XNXTWNyt'<sup>62</sup> 64w \*hynyh<sup>65</sup> LWITH<sup>64</sup> 66, YŠc L' 'BYDWNyt'<sup>67</sup>  
 W PWN KR' MND'M ZY 'p'lw'n'<sup>66</sup> ZY<sup>68</sup> 'hlmn' W ŠDY-'n' SLYtlyh ywdt'  
 YXWWNyt' MH wcyt'l-mynšnyh<sup>69</sup> W wcyt'l-kwnšnyh BYN nh'tsnyhyh<sup>61</sup>  
 YXWWNyt'

ud tan ī pasēn kardan ud amargīh winnārdan

D.196

pad rāh ī aštīh sāyēd būd kardan.

- (15) "dahom, dādestānīgīh hān bawēd kē pad dād ī yazdān estēd.  
 (16) "yāzdahom, hamīh hān bawēd kē pad harw čis ī frārōn D.197  
 abāg yazdān ud wehān ham bawēd.  
 (17) "dwāzdahom, \*nihādsnēhīh hān bawēd kē abāg hamāg dām ī ohrmazd  
 \*snēh be nihēd ud hēnīh abāg kas-iz nē kunēd;  
 ud pad harw čis ī abārōn ī ahreman ud dēwān wattarīh jud  
 bawēd: cē wizīdār-menišnīh ud wizīdār-kunišnīh andar nihādsnēhīh  
 bawēd.

57. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR h'wd'tyh. 58. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR YXWWNyt'.

59. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR d'tst'nyh. 60. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR YK'YMWNyt'.

61. MSS nh'tsn'hyh. 62. These seven words lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>.

63. MSS sn'h. 64. These three words lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, MR.

65. J, K hyn'h; M. reads \*snēh. 66. These nine words lacking in

MR. 67. M. reads gīrēδ. 68. K MNW. 69. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K, MR

wc'lmynšnyhr.

- (18) 13wm ptm'nyk[yh] ZK YXWWNyt' MNW KR,<sup>70</sup> MND'M BR' 'L ptm'n'  
hnd'cyt' 'YK wys W km BYN L' 'p'yt' MH KR'  
hyl bwndkyh<sup>71</sup> ptm'n \*BR,<sup>72</sup> ZK MND'M MNW ptm'n'ykyh<sup>73</sup> [BYN]  
L'YT' d'n'kyh W \*dwstyh<sup>74</sup> W krpk'
- (19) 14wm 'ylyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW hm'k' d'm ZY 'whrmzd  
l'd 'ytwn' mynyt' 'YK ZK wyh-c s'yt' bwt' 'YK L
- (20) 15wm 'ylmynšnyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW 'LH' ZY hc-s ks<sup>75</sup> PWN  
hm'l W hm'l<sup>76</sup> PWN hc-s ŠPYL W hc-s \*ms<sup>77</sup> PWN<sup>78</sup> hwt'y d'lyt'<sup>79</sup>
- (21) 16wm nyh'nyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW hwnl W d'nšn'<sup>80</sup> 'pz'l ZYs<sup>81</sup>  
L'YT' YD'YTWNyt' 'YKm L'YT' PWN B'YXWNstn' 'L NPSH' krtn'

- (18) "sēzdahom, paymānīg[īh] hān bawēd kē harw čiš be ō paymān D.197  
handāzēd kū wēs ud kam andar nē abāyēd čē harw  
xīr bowandagīh paymān, \*bē hān čiš kē paymānīgīh [andar]  
nēst: dānāgīh ud \*dōstīh ud kirbag.
- (19) "čahārdahom, ērīh hān bawēd kē hamāg dām ī ohrmazd  
rāy ēdōn mēnēd kū: 'hān weh-iz šāyēd būd kū man'.
- (20) "pānzdahom, ērmēnišnīh hān bawēd kē ōy ī az-iš keh pad  
hamāl, ud hamāl pad az-iš weh, ud az-iš \*meh pad xwadāy dārēd.
- (21) "šāzdahom, nihānīh hān bawēd kē hunar ud danišn abzār ī-s  
nēst dānēd kū: '-m nēst'; pad xwāstan ō xwēs kardan

70. K35, fol. 97v. begins. 71. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K, MR bwdkyh. 72. MSS MH. 73. MR; K ptm'nyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J ptm'nyh ZY. 74. MSS dwst'; M. emends to drust "proper". 75. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR hcškyh. 76. W hm'l lacking in MR (a haplography). 77. MR hcšmyh; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K hcšmy. 78. MR, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K 'PWN. 79. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR YXSNNyt. 80. MR, MR<sub>1</sub>; K, J d'nwšn'. 81. K چش with ZYs written above.



- QDM twšyt' W 'DN' ZY k'l W d'tst'n' sn'syt'  
<sup>82</sup>k'l W DYN' 'D 'DN' ZY NPSH<sup>82</sup> pr'c' L' 'BYDWNyt'  
nyh'n' GBR' hncmnyk W tn' \*glk-wp'l<sup>83</sup> W 'hlwb' YXWWNyt'  
(22) 17wm hwšyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW<sup>84</sup> PWN pyšyh<sup>85</sup> 'YŠ L' 'c'lyt'  
'MTs 'YŠ PWN znšn' <sup>86</sup>L 'LH<sup>86</sup> 'ZLWNyt' 'DYNs nlmh' W  
hwšyh' BR' 'L ptylk' \*,styt'<sup>87</sup> LWTH hm'k' d'm ZY 'whrmzd  
'ytwn' BR' YD'YTWNyt' s'htn'<sup>88</sup> 'YK<sup>89</sup> KR' 'YŠ PWN XN' d'lyt'  
'YK LWTH L BSYMtl  
(23) 18wm bwndkyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW ZK ZY L' scyt' L'  
mynyt' W L' YMRRWNyt' W L' 'BYDWNyt' ZK ZY scyt'

abar tuxsēd ud zamān ī kār ud dādestān snāsēd;

D.197/198

kār ud dādestān tā zamān ī xwēs frāz nē kunēd,

nihān mard hanjamanīg, ud tan \*gilag-ōbār, ud ahlaw bawēd.

- (22) "haftdahom, xwaših hān bawēd kē pad pēših kas nē āzārēd  
ka-s kas pad zanišn ō ōy šawēd ēg-iš narmihā ud  
xwašihā be ō padīrag ēstēd abāg hamāg dām ī ohrmazd  
ēdōn be dānēd sāxtan, kū harw kas pad ēd dārēd  
kū: 'abāg man xwaštar'.  
(23) "haštdahom, bowandagih hān bawēd kē hān ī nē sazēd nē  
mēnēd ud nē gowed ud nē kunēd; hān ī sazēd

82. K W k'l W DYN' 'D NPSH; M. reads harv dādestān tā zamān i x<sup>v</sup>ēs, following MR, J KR' DYN' 'D 'DN' ZY NPSH. 83. MSS gl'n 'wp'l; M. reads garān, x<sup>v</sup>apār "ponderous and dexterous". 84. MNW repeated in K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 85. K35, fol. 98r. begins. 86. K; MR, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'LH 'L; M. emends to ōi \*ō. 87. MR, J, K; MR YK'YMWNyt'. 88. MSS; M. reads raftan (SGYTWNtn') "to behave", but does not indicate emendation. 89. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; M. reads ku-s, following MR 'YKs.

- mynyt'<sup>90</sup> nzdst' hwp BR' nkylyt' 'XL<sup>91</sup> YMRRWNyt W 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>
- (24) 19wm b'lst'nyh<sup>92</sup> ZK YXWWNyt' MNW b'l<sup>93</sup> ZY lwb'n' ZY 'L  
tn' 'p'yst' 'MTs skyptyh QDM pr'c' YXMTWNyt' 'Ps 'L 'YŠ  
twb'n spwhn' L' spwcyt' BR' \*b'lst'nyh<sup>94</sup> BNPSH QDM ptglyt'
- (25) 20wm mltwm dwstyh ZK YXWWNyt' MNW swt' W nywkyh ZY  
KR' ŠPYL-'n' 'ytwn' 'p'yt' cygwn ZK ZY NPSH ZK ZYS  
PWN NPSHtn' L' nywk' MDMHNyt'<sup>95</sup> PWN<sup>96</sup> 'YŠ L' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>  
ZK YXWWNyt' MNW 'hwk' W hwnl ZY 'YŠ-'n' BR' nkylyt'  
MN 'XL 'hwk' ZY NPSH wyl'st' twhsyt' ŠPYL-'n l'd  
wyhyh ZY 'sk'lk W 'hwk' ZYS'n' 'YT' hwys<sup>97</sup> L'

mēnēd nazdist xūb be nigērēd, pas gōwēd ud kunēd.

D.198

- (24) "nōdahom, bārestānīh hān bawēd kē bār ī ruwān ī ō  
tan abāyist ka-s skeftīh abar frāz rasēd u-s ō kas  
tuwān spōxtan, nē spōzēd bē \*bārestānīhā xwad abar padīrēd.

D.198/199

- (25) "wīstom, mardōm dōstīh hān bawēd kē sūd ud nekīh ī  
harw wehān ēdōn abāyēd čiyōn hān ī xwēs; hān ī-s  
pad xwēstan nē nek sahed pad kas nē kunēd. hucašmīh  
hān bawēd kē āhōg ud hunar ī kasān be nigērēd  
az pas āhōg ī xwēs wīrāst tuxšēd; wehān rāy  
wehīh ī askārag ud āhōg ī-sān ast xwēs a nē

90. K has also YMRRWNyt' circled with dots as a mistake. 91. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also mynyt' W. 92. MR; K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J b'lyst'nyh; M. reads baharəstānīh "dispensation". 93. M. reads bahar "the lot (of the soul)". 94. MSS b'lyst'nyh; M. reads baharəstānīh. 95. K35, fol. 98v. begins. 96. PWN omitted in K at turn of page. 97. MR<sub>1</sub>, J hwys'W; MR, K hwysyh.

- PWN sn'h<sup>98</sup> BR' dwstyh' \*wyl'stn'<sup>99</sup> l'd \*gwbsn'<sup>100</sup> YMRRWNyt'
- (26) 2lwm hwnsyndyh<sup>101</sup> ZK YXWWNyt' MNW hwt'yyh W hw'stk'  
 ZYs 'YT' 'Ps 'wbs mt' \*,'sty<sup>102</sup> 103 hwnsnd W b'lst'n'<sup>103</sup>  
 PWN ZK MND'M MNWs 'pz'dsn' ZY lwb'n hcs s'yt'  
 bwt' 'ytwn' twhs'k'<sup>104</sup> W y'n 'psp'l 'D zywndk' hk(w)lc'  
 hcs \*hwnsnd<sup>105</sup> L' YXWWNyt'
- (27) 22wm 'ywkyh ZK 2 l's YXWWNyt' ZY PWN dyn'  
 pyt'k' 'YK l's BR' ZK ZY 2 \*t'k'<sup>106</sup> \*,'pwlynyt'<sup>107</sup>  
 W 'ywk pl'wn'<sup>108</sup> W 'ywk' 'p'wn' ZK ZY 'p'wn'<sup>108</sup> hc-s  
 BR' wltyt'<sup>109</sup> W PWN ZK ZY pl'wn' pt-s BR' YK'YMWNNyt'<sup>110</sup>

pad snāh be dostīha \*wirāstan rāy \*gōwišn gōwēd.

D.199

- (26) "wist ud ēwagom, hunsandīh hān bawēd kē xwadāyīh ud xwāstag  
 ī-s ast u-s awiṣ mad ēstēd hunsand, ud bārestān;  
 pad hān ciṣ kē-s abzāyišn ī ruwān aziṣ sāyēd  
 būd ēdōn tuxsāg ud gyān - abespār, tā zēndag hagriz  
 aziṣ \*hunsand nē bawēd.
- (27) "wist ud dowom, ēwagīh hān dō rāh bawēd ī pad dēn  
 paydāg kū rāh be hān ī dō \*tāg \*āfurēnīd  
 ud ēwag frārōn ud ēwag abārōn; hān ī abārōn az-iṣ  
 be wardēd ud pad hān ī frārōn pad-iṣ be ēstēd;

D.199/200

98. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR snyh. 99. M.'s emendation; MSS wyl'yt'.  
 100. M.'s emendation; MSS hwbsn'. 101. MR, K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hwnsyndyh.  
 102. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; MR YK'YMWNNyt'. 103. MR; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K hwnsnd  
b'lyst'n'. 104. K has twhsyt' with twhs'k' written above.  
 105. MSS hwnsnd. 106. M. emends thus, and translates "two-fold";  
 MSS 2 'D. 107. MSS 'pwlynyt'; M. reads ōraṣēd "leads".  
 108. These six words lacking in MR. 109. K wltnytn'. 110. MR,  
 MR<sub>1</sub>; J, K YK'YMWNNd.

- hk(w)lc' MN ZK l's BR' L' \*SGYTWNyt'<sup>111</sup> W L' wlyt'<sup>112</sup>  
 W MND' Mc 'p'lwnyh L' mynyt' L' YMRRWNYt' L'<sup>113</sup> 'BYDWNyt  
 (28) h'wst' gwpt' 'YK hylpt' hwt'y 'hlwb' YXWWNyh MH MN<sup>114</sup> pl'hng  
 ZY hylpt' <sup>115</sup>BR' krt PWN gyh'n'<sup>115</sup> 'hlwb' PWN n'mcst' PWN  
 LNH 'yw'c ZY ZNH pl'hng <sup>116</sup>pz'l ZY hdyb'lynyt'ltl-c'<sup>116</sup> W  
 whšyny'tltl<sup>117</sup> W XT MN<sup>118</sup> hlt' XT MN<sup>119</sup> twhs'kyh LNH  
 BR' L' m'ny't<sup>120</sup> \*,DYN'<sup>121</sup> LNH W hlwsp' 'NSWT' MN ZNH<sup>122</sup>  
 pl'hng 'MT BYN k'l YXSNnd 'hlwb' \*YXWWNd<sup>123</sup> PWN yzd'n'

hagriz az hān rāh be nē \*rawēd ud nē wardēd

D.200

ud čiš-iz abārōnīh nē mēnēd nē gōwēd nē kunēd."

- (28) hāwišt guft kū: "hērbad xwadāy, ahlaw bawēh, čē az frahang  
 ī hērbad be kard pad gēhān ahlaw. pad nāmcišt pad  
 amā ēwāz ī ēn frahang abzār ī hayyārēnīdārtar-iz ud  
 waxšēnīdārtar, ud agar az xrad agar az tuxšāgīh amā  
 be nē mānēd, \*ēg amā ud harwisp mardōm az ēn frahang ka andar  
 frahang ka andar kār dārēnd ahlaw \*bawēnd pad yazdān

*Indeep!*

111. MR 'st't'; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K yst't'. 112. K35, fol. 99r. begins.  
 113. K l'd. 114. Lacking in MR. 115. MR BR' krt MNW dhšn'; MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J BR' KRH PWN sht'; K BR' KRH' PWN gyh'n'; M. emends to bē kard kē paδ  
dānišn ([i] ahlaw) "given ... who for the holy wisdom". 116. MR  
 'pz'lynyt'ltl W; MR<sub>1</sub> 'pz'l hdyb'lynyt'ltl PWN; J 'pz'l hdyb'lynyt'ltl  
 PWN; K W 'pz'lhdyb'lynyt'tl PWN; M. reads aβzārhayārēnīdārtar "the  
 great giver of the means of help". 117. K hšyny't'ltl; MR<sub>1</sub> whšyny't'l.  
 118. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, MR; K m. 119. MR; lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K. 120. MR<sub>1</sub>,  
 J, K; MR mynyt'. 121. MSS W 'DN'; M. emends to uδ \*ēx. 122. MR,  
 K; MR<sub>1</sub>, J MND'M. 123. MR YXWWN'nd; MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K YXWWNynd; M. reads  
bavānd "we would become" (?).

k'm 'wc' nylwk' hw'plyh<sup>124</sup> W 'mwlcyt'lyh  
 plcpt' PWN ŠRM W s'tyh W hwlmyh W 'pybymyh

kām, ōz, nērōg, xwābarīh ud āmurzīdārīh.

D.200

frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud huraṃīh ud abēbīmīh.

124. MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K; MR hw'p'lyh.

šn'dšn' ZY d't'l 'whrmzd wsp'n yzd'n hm'k yzd'n' ZY  
mynwg'n' W gytyg'n'

(1) 'pswn ZY tp'<sup>2</sup> surahī vīśra<sup>3</sup> amnaō<sup>4</sup> karōšī vašā ahras  
ahrās<sup>5</sup>

(2)<sup>6</sup> W lys<sup>7</sup> ZY 'M W BRTH lsytn' PWN ŠM ZY ZK tn' 3 t'k'

(3) XT tp' ZY ch'lw m 'YT' ZK glyh<sup>9</sup> ZY TBN' ZY PWN dyw'l<sup>10</sup>  
L'WXL \*'styt' 'BYDWNyt'<sup>11</sup>

šnāyišn ī dādār ohrmazd, wispān yazdān, hamāg yazdān ī D.201  
mēnōgān ud gētīgān.

(1) afsōn ī tab: "surahī vīśra amnaō karōšī vašā ahras  
ahrās".

(2) ud rēs ī mād ud duxt, rasīdan pad nām ī hān tan sē tāg.

(3) agar tab ī cahārom ast, hān grīh ī kāh ī pad dēwār  
abāz estēd kunēd.

1. The text of PRDd. chs. 63-65 is resumed in K35, fol. 202v. 1.

12, i.e. immediately after the conclusion of Dd.XLII. The remainder of this § is in Av. characters. 3. MR<sub>1</sub> 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀.

4. MR<sub>1</sub>, J 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. 5. MR<sub>1</sub>, J 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. 6. This § is obscure. The reading is tentative only. 7. K wl'hm'n'; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J lysm'n.

8. MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also Whm 3 t'k'. 9. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J gl'h. 10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K srd'l 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. 11. J; BK, K 'BYDWNt'.



- (1) nys'n' ZY mwhlkyh,<sup>2</sup> ZY ['MT] PWN k'l \*d'lyt'<sup>3</sup> ZY nywk'  
 'bysz MNW 'sm'n' W 'NŠWT' hwlmtl W l'msn'tl YXSNNyt'  
 (2) mwhlk' ZY spz<sup>4</sup> 'MT PWN k'l d'lyt' \*, \*ZKL-ŠM-'n<sup>5</sup>  
 \*LYDWNd<sup>6</sup> W bl ZY ZK<sup>7</sup> ŠPYL YXYTYWNyt  
 (3) mwhlk' ZY syd' MNW s'dsn'<sup>8</sup> spyt' p'tz'hl' ZY  
 KR' z'hl mwhlk'yh' wc'lyhyt'  
 (4) mwhlk' ZY zlt' MNW d'lyt' mynwg wlwdsn'<sup>9</sup> YXWWNyt  
 (5) mwhlk' ZY swhl PWN MND'Mc L' s'yt'

- (1) nišān ī muhragīhā ī [ka] pad kār \*dārēd ī nēk, D.202  
 bēšaz, kē asmān ud mardōm huramtar ud rāmišntar dārēd.  
 (2) muhrag ī sabz ka pad kār dārēd, \*a \*nar-nāmān  
 \*zāyēnd ud bar ī hān weh āwarēd  
 (3) muhrag īsyā, kē-š sāyišn spēd, pādzhahr ī  
 harw zahr muhragīhā wizārīhēd.  
 (4) muhrag ī zard kē dārēd, mēnōg wurrōyišn bawēd.  
 (5) muhrag ī suxr pad čiš-iz nē sāyēd.

1. This chapter is transcribed and translated by de Menasce, Anthropos (1942-1945), 180-85. 2. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K mwhlyh'. 3. MSS k'lt; de M. reads kārt "couteau", but this is surely dārēd parallel to that in §2. 4. MSS spz; de M. reads spez "brillante" in §§2, 8, 14, 20, 25, 30. 5. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>; K 'SLWNYnd; J 'SLWNd; de M. reads bandēnd. 6. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J zlyyn; BK zlyn'; de M. reads zargōn. 7. MSS blkzy (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥). 8. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K has s'yh with s'dsn' written above. 9. de M.'s reading virravišn "croyant"; K wylwddsn'; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J wylwddsn' (perhaps confused with wyl'dsn').



- (6) mwhlk' ZY hšyn'<sup>10</sup> [MNW d'lyt'] ptyhw'yh 'pz'yt' W l't YXWWNyt'  
 (7) mwhlk' ZY \*'sm'n'<sup>11</sup> gwn [MNW d'lyt'] 'ws PWN g's YXSNNyt'  
 L,<sup>12</sup> 'šwpyt'<sup>13</sup>  
 (8) mwhlk' ZY spz MNW d'lyt' hlpstl'n'<sup>14</sup> L' gcyt'  
 (9) mwhlk' ZY zlt' 'Ps s'dšn' spyt' MNW d'lyt' KR'  
 'dy'pt' MN<sup>15</sup> yzd'n' W 'NŠWT'- 'n' B'YXWNyt tycyh' XSKXWNyt'  
 (10) mwhlk' ZY syd' MNW d'lyt' PWN KR' \*hmy'm'l<sup>16</sup> W ptk'l bwhtyt'  
 (11) mwhlk' ZY swhl MNW<sup>17</sup> d'lyt' KR' k'l ZY pr'c 'BYDWNyt  
 plc'myny't' BR' L' <sup>18</sup>zwt' SGYTWNyt'<sup>18</sup>

- (6) muhrag ī xašēn [kē dārēd], padēxīh abzāyēd ud rād bawēd. D.202  
 (7) muhrag ī \*asmān gōn [kē dārēd], ōs pad gāh dārēd  
 nē āsōbēd.  
 (8) muhrag ī sabz kē dārēd, xrafstarān nē gazēd.  
 (9) muhrag ī zard, u-š sāyišn spēd, kē dārēd harw D.203  
 ayāft az yazdān ud mardōmān xwāhēd tēzīhā windēd.  
 (10) muhrag ī syā kē dārēd, pad harw \*hamēmāl ud pahikār boxtīd.  
 (11) muhrag ī suxr kē dārēd, harw kār ī frāz kunēd  
 frazāmēnēd, bē nē zūd rawēd.

10. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K hš'n'. 11. MSS 'sym'n'. 12. BK, K have also  
 '-s MNW mwhlk' ZY spz MNW d'lyt' hlp[s]tl. 13. MSS; de M. reads  
višōfēt "sera vaincu". 14. K; BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J hlpstl. 15. K35, fol.  
 203v. begins. 16. BK, K hymym'l; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hym'l. 17. K repeats  
 MNW. 18. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K zwtk' YXWWNyt'; cf. §15 below.

- (12) mwhlk' ZY hšyn MNW d'lyt' KR' gyw'k 'YK YXMTWNYt dwst'  
 pt-s wst'hw' YXWWNd W KR' MH B'YXWNYt' wys YXBWNd
- (13) [mwhlk' ZY] \*,sm'n<sup>11</sup> gwn m[y]ns'n' ZY 'NŠWT'- 'n QDM t'pyt'  
 nywk YXWWNYt'
- (14) mwhlk' ZY spz MNW d'lyt' KR' s'n' ZY p'dšn<sup>19</sup>  
 zwt' tyc' YXMTWNYt'
- (15) mwhlk' ZY swhl MNWs s'dsn' spyt' MNW d'lyt'  
 KR' k'l ZY pr'c 'BYDWNyt' zwt' tyc' SGYTWNYt'
- (16) mwhlk' ZY syd' MNW d'lyt' m[y]nšn' tyc zwpl  
 W MH hnd[y]šyt'<sup>20</sup> nywk' 'y'pyt'

- (12) muhrag ī xašēn kē dārēd, harw gyāg kū rasēd dōst D.203  
 pad-iš wistāx bawēnd, ud harw čē xwāhēd wēš dahēnd.
- (13) [muhrag ī] asmān gōn m[ē]nišn ī mardōmān abar tābēd,  
 nēk bawēd.
- (14) muhrag ī sabz kē dārēd, harw sān ī payišn  
 zūd tēz rasēd.
- (15) muhrag ī suxr, kē-s sāyišn spēd, kē dārēd,  
 harw kār ī frāz kunēd zūd tēz rawēd.
- (16) muhrag ī syā kē dārēd, m[ē]nišn tēz zufr  
 ud čē hand[ē]šēd nēk ayābēd.

19. MSS; de M. reads pāsān. 20. de M. reads xvēšēt: see below  
 n. 54.

- (17) mwhlk' ZY zlt' MNW d'lyt' KR' gyw'k 'p'dšnyk'<sup>21</sup>  
W gl'myk' YXWWNyt
- (18) mwhlk' ZY hšyn' [MNW d'lyt'] KR' 'YK YXMTWNyt' PWN  
KR' gyw'k 'YK KTLWNyt' lwb'k YXWWNyt'
- (19) mwhlk' ZY 'sm'n gwn 'MT 'šk'lk' L'YN' ŠDY'n<sup>22</sup> W  
dlwc'n YXSNNyt' MND'Mc wyz'dšn'<sup>23</sup> W wn'sšn' pt-s krtn' L' twb'n'  
W bym hc-s L' YXWWNyt
- (20) mwhlk' ZY spz MNW d'lyt' 'DYN'-s<sup>24</sup> PWN k'lyc'l MND'Mc  
\*z'hm<sup>25</sup> W \*nys<sup>26</sup> MN<sup>27</sup> nyck' W špšyl ptš L' YXWWNyt'
- (21) mwhlk' ZY hšyn' MNWs s'dšn' spyt' 'MT NYŠH YXSNNd<sup>28</sup>

- (17) muhrag ī zard kē dārēd, harw gyāg abāyišnīg D.203  
ud grāmīg bawēd.
- (18) muhrag ī xašēn [kē dārēd], harw kū rasēd, pad  
harw gyāg kū mānēd rawāg bawēd.
- (19) muhrag ī asmān gōn, ka āškārag pēš dēwān ud D.203/204  
druzān dārēd, čiš-iz wizāyišn ud wināhišn pad-iš kardan ne tuwān,  
ud bēm az-iš nē bawēd.
- (20) muhrag ī sabz kē dārēd, ēg-iš pad kārezār čiš-iz  
\*zaxm ud nēš az nēzag ud šafšēr padīš nē bawēd.
- (21) muhrag ī xašēn, kē-s sāyišn spēd, ka zan dārēnd,

21. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K 'p'dšn'. 22. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K ŠDY'. 23. J;  
BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub> yz'dšn'. 24. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K 'yns; de M. reads anyā  
"sinon". 25. D.'s emendation; MSS 'h'm. 26. D.'s suggestion  
(so de M.); BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub> nnsb (𐭪𐭣𐭥); J nnyh. 27. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K, J  
MNW. 28. K has YXSNNyt corrected to YXSNNd.

- PWN ŠM ZY GBR' YXSNNd<sup>29</sup> BYN 'L 'YNH<sup>30</sup> 'hncynd  
 'DYN's ZK GBR' dwst<sup>31</sup> YXWWNyt<sup>32</sup> 'Ps wstn<sup>33</sup> L' twb'n'  
 GBR'n' PWN tn<sup>34</sup> 'p'yt' d'stn'  
 (22) mwhlk' ZY syd' MNW d'lyt' gyw'k 'YK YXMTWNyt' hwsלב<sup>35</sup>  
 W QDM KR' 'YŠ gl'myk YXWWNyt  
 (23) mwhlk' ZY zlt' MNW d'lyt'<sup>36</sup> 'YK gyw'k<sup>37</sup> 'ZLWNyt mynynd  
 \*plstynynd<sup>37</sup> 'Ps hwd'k'yh' L'YN' YK'YMWNyt'  
 (24) mwhlk' ZY swhl MNW d'lyt'<sup>38</sup> KR' gyw'k' 'p'dšnyk' YXWWNyt  
 'pyltl PWN hncmn' mdy'n ZY hmym'l'n'

pad nām ī mard dārēnd, andar ō ʕašm āhanjēnd,  
 ēg-iš hān mard dōst bawēd u-š waštan nē tuwān;  
 mardān pad tan abāyēd dāštan.

D.204

- (22) muhrag ī syā kē dārēd, gyāg kū rasēd husraw  
 ud abar harw kas grāmīg bawēd.  
 (23) muhrag ī zard kē dārēd, kū gyāg šawēd mēnēnd,  
 \*paristēnēnd, u-š hudāgīha pēs ēstēd.  
 (24) muhrag ī suxr kē dārēd, harw gyāg abāyišnīg bawēd,  
 abērtar pad hanjāman mayān ī hamēmālān.

29. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K s'dyn'd (i.e. YXSNNd); de M. corrects to xvēšend following his reading of §29. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K ZNH.

31. K dwstn'. 32. K35, fol. 204r. begins. 33. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK str'. 34. Lacking in BK, K. 35. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K slwb'. 36. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K d'lyt' with YXSNNyt written above; BK YXSNNyt'. 37. MSS plystynynd. 38. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK YXSNNyt'.

- (25) <sup>39</sup> mwhlk' ZY spz MNW d'lyt' KR' 'YK YXMTWNyt dws-ptyhwyh  
L' YXWWNyt'
- (26) mwhlk' ZY 'sm'n' gwn<sup>40</sup> MNWs s'dsn' spyt' MNW d'lyt' b'st'n<sup>41</sup>  
PWN l'msn 'Ps hkwlc' bys PWN tn' m'hm'n L' YXWWNyt'
- (27) mwhlk' ZY syd' MNWs s'dsn' spyt' <sup>42</sup> MNW d'lyt' <sup>42</sup> KR'  
MH byscsnyh<sup>43</sup> dlm'n' YBLWN<sub>2</sub> lwb'k YXWWNyt'
- (28) ZK ZY zlt' 'L KBD MND'M wyz'yt<sup>44</sup> MH 'MT 'L  
c'h W kts W h'nyk' LMYTWNyt' MY' k'hyt' 'MT 'L  
'pl QDM YXSNNyt' plgnyt<sup>45</sup> W w'l'n' L' YXWWNyt' BR' 'MT  
swhl p'ths'y QDM 'c'lyt'<sup>46</sup> 'MT d'lyt' whst' dwst' YXWWNyt'

- (25) muhrag ī sabz kē dārēd, harw kū rasēd, duš-padēxīh  
nē bawēd. D.204/205
- (26) muhrag ī asmān gōn, kē-s sāyišn spēd, kē dārēd, bāstān  
pad rāmišn u-s hagurz bēš pad tan mehmān nē bawēd.
- (27) muhrag ī syā, kē-s sāyišn spēd, kē dārēd, harw  
čē bēšazišnihā darmān barēd rawāg bawēd.
- (28) hān ī zard ō was čiš wizāyēd, čē ka ō  
čah ud kahās ud xānīg abganēd āb kāhēd; ka ō  
abr abar dārēd, parganēd, ud wārān nē bawēd, bē ka  
suxr pādixšāy abar āzārēd ka dārēd, wahišt dōst bawēd.

39. §25 is lacking in K, written on margin in BK. 40. K yk' with gwn written above. 41. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK w'st'n'. 42. Lacking in K; MNW lacking in BK, J. 43. J; BK, K byšz'snyh'; MR<sub>1</sub> byscsnyh. 44. BK wysyt'. 45. BK plgnyt'. 46. de M. reads āpārēt "emporte".

- (29a) MNW swhl d'lyt' 'D \*TWB<sup>47</sup> \*blyhynsn<sup>48</sup> pr'c YXMTWNyt 'DYN's  
MND'Mc<sup>49</sup> L' tlv[y]nyt'
- (29b) MNW hsyn' GBR'- 'n' 'MT PWN ŠM ZY NYŠH \*YXSNNd<sup>50</sup> 'L  
csm ZY NYŠH 'hncynd ZK NYŠH 'LH GBR' dwst' YXWWNyt  
'Ps<sup>51</sup> wstn' L' twb'n' ZKc gwh'l PWN tn' d'st' 'p'yt'
- (30a) MNW spz mdy'n-c ZY<sup>52</sup> wyd'p'n 'p'yt' d'stn' W w'l'n'  
w'lyt' ptyhwyh 'pz'yt' KR' MH plm'dynd 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>
- (30b) ZK MNW ['sm'n gwn'] d'lyt' m[y]nšn' ZY 'NŠWT'- 'n' YD'YTWNyt'  
[w]cwstn'<sup>53</sup> MH 'MT 'L L'YN' 'ZLWNd ptk'l 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub> 'MT SLY'  
hnd[y]synd<sup>54</sup> kwst ZY hwd W 'MT nywk' ZK ZY dšn'

- (29a) kē suxr dārēd,tā \*did \*brēhēnišn' frāz rasēd ēg-is D.205  
ēis-iz nē tarw[ē]nīd.
- (29b) kē xašēn mardān, ka pad nām ī zan \*darend, ō  
čašm ī zan āhanjēnd hān zan ōy mard dōst bawēd,  
u-s waštan nē tuwān; hān-iz gōhr pad tan dāst abāyēd.
- (30a) kē sabz,mayān-iz ī wiyābān abāyēd dāstan, ud wārān  
wārēd, padēxīh abzāyēd, harw cē framāyēnd kunēnd.
- (30b) hān kē [asmān gōn] dārēd m[ē]nišn ī mardōmān dānēd  
[wi]zōstan, cē ka ō pēs šawēnd pahikār kunēnd, ka wad ID.205/206  
hand[ē]šēnd kust ī hoy, ud ka nēk hān ī dašn

47. MSS ۛۛ ; de M. leaves blank but notes his conjecture gand 'puant'. 48. MR<sub>1</sub>, J bl'hynšn; BK, K wl'hynšn'. 49. K, J; BK BK ZNHc; MR<sub>1</sub> MND'c. 50. MSS hwyšwnd; de M. reads \*dārēnd but translates "pense" (see below n.54). 51. Repeated in BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub>. 52. K35, fol. 204v. 53. de M.'s restoration. 54. de M. reads xvēšēnd, noting the usual meaning "faire sien, saisir, s'assimiler", but translates "pense", as in §§16 and 29, because the sense requires it (art. cit., n.16, p.185); however, clearly here, as in §16, the verb is handēs.

gl'dyt 'MT 'wct' ZY 'YŠ l'd hnd[y]synd<sup>54</sup> W PWN m[y]nšn'  
 'YXSNNd L' gl'dyt'

- (31) ZNH mwhlk' ZY<sup>55</sup> gwh'l ZY yzd'n' MNW nylwk' ZY hptlng  
 d'lyt' ZNH gwh'lyh' 'YT' ZY MY' W 'YT' ZY zmyk  
 'YT' ZY 'wlwl W 'YT' ZY w't y'nwl'n cyhlk' YXWWNd

grāyēd; ka ozad ī kas ray hand[ē]šēnd ud pad m[ē]nišn  
 dārēnd,nē grāyēd.

D.206

- (31) ēn muhrag ī gohr ī yazdān kē nērōg ī haft rang  
 dārēd,ēn gōhrīhā,ast ī āb ud ast ī zamīg  
 ast ī urwar ud ast ī wād,gyānwarān čihrag bawēnd.

55. MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also MN.

- (1) ZNHc MN 'pst'k pyt'k' 'YK MN zmyk 'D 'L stl  
 \*p'dyk<sup>1</sup> hmystk'n<sup>2</sup> \*MN<sup>3</sup> stl \*p'dyk 'D 'L hwlsyt' \*p'dyk  
 ZK ZY p'swm 'hw'n<sup>4</sup> MN hwlsyt' \*p'dyk 'D 'L 'sm'n  
 ZK ZY 'sl-lwšnyh W glwtm'n BYN ZK 'sl-lwšnyh
- (2) W plw'h1 ZY 'šwk'n MNWš krpk' W wn's l'st  
 'Ps yst krt' \*styt'<sup>5</sup> W ZK MNWš krpk' wys  
 'YK wn's<sup>6</sup> 'Ps yst' L' krt' \*styt'<sup>6</sup> 'Ps yst' L'  
 krt'n' l'd '-s<sup>7</sup> g's PWN hmystk'n' PWN stl \*p'dyk
- (3) lwbsn' ZY stl'n l'd lwc(y)n' \*90<sup>8</sup> PWN 'ws(?)stl W \*90<sup>8</sup>  
 PWN dws(?)stl nyh't' YK'YMWNYt stl'n PWN XN' 'nd lwc(y)nyh'

- (1) ēn-iz az abestāg paydāg, kū az zamīg tā ō star D.206  
 pāyag hammistagān; \* az star pāyag tā ō xwarsēd pāyag  
 hān ī pāsom axwān; az xwarsēd pāyag tā ō asmān  
 hān ī asar-rōšnīh, ud garōdmān andar hān asar-rōšnīh.
- (2) ud frawahr ī ašōwān kē-s kirbag ud wināh rāst  
 u-s yašt kard ēstēd, ud hān kē-s kirbag wēs  
 kū wināh u-s yašt nē kard ēstēd, u-s yašt nē  
 kardan rāy a-s gāh pad hammistagān pad star pāyag. D.206/7
- (3) rawišn ī starān rāy, rōzan nawad pad ōšastar, ud nawad  
 pad dōšastar nihād ēstēd; starān pad ēd and rōzanīhā

1. MSS have p'hyk throughout. 2. K, MR<sub>1</sub>, J have also BYN  
pytyd'lk'wmndyh[-I] W MY' ZY 'lkdswl PWN hmystk'n'. 3. MSS PWN.  
 4. MSS have also PWN hwlsyt' p'hyk'. 5. BK استير; MR<sub>1</sub>, K ystyt';  
 J YK'YMWNYt'. 6. These five words lacking in BK, K. 7. J; BK, K  
 '-'; MR<sub>1</sub> 's. 8. D.'s emendation; BK, K مردو; MR<sub>1</sub> wyhyk; J wyd'k.  
 So MSS throughout. 9. K35, fol. 205r. begins.



- Y'TWNd W 'ZLWNd W klp W 'dwynek' ZY MY' W zmyk<sup>9</sup>  
 PWN stl \*p'dyk BR' YXBWNt' YK'YMWNYt' W stl 'ywk' 'ywk'  
 'nd cnd ktk'-ms'd PWN 22 Y'TWNd W \*'ZLWNd<sup>10</sup> 'Ps'n'  
 22 'sp' 'hncyt'<sup>11</sup> klp W 'dwynek' ZY stl(MH)MN  
 klp ZY NPŠH W 'dwynek' ZY NPŠH \*'ywk'<sup>12</sup> MN  
 ZK MY' W zmyk W 'wlwl  
 (4) klp' W 'dwynek' ZY gwspnd'n' PWN m'h \*p'dyk YXBWNt' YK'YMWNYt'  
 W p'swm 'hw'n' PWN m'h \*p'dk 'D 'L<sup>13</sup> hwlšyt' \*p'dyk  
 (5) lwbšn' ZY m'h l'd lwc(y)n 135 PWN  
 'wsstl<sup>14</sup> W 135 PWN dwsstl<sup>15</sup> nyh't \*'styt'  
 m'h PWN XN' lwcnyh,<sup>16</sup> Y'TWNYt' W 'ZLWNyt'

āyēnd ud šawēnd, ud kirb ud ēwēnag ī āb ud zamīg

D.207

pad star pāyag be dād ēstēd. ud star ēwag ēwag

and čand kadag-masāy, pad wišt ud dō āyēnd ud \*šawēnd, u-šān



wišt ud dō asp āhanjed; kirb ud ēwēnag ī star(čē) az

kirb ī xwēš ud ēwēnag ī xwēš, \*ēwag az

hān āb ud zamīg ud urwar.

- (4) kirb ud ēwēnag ī gōspandān pad mäh pāyag dād ēstēd,  
 ud pāšom axwān pad mäh pāyag tā ō xwaršēd pāyag.  
 (5) rawišn ī mäh rāy, rōzān sad ud sīh ud panj pad  
 ōšastar ud sad ud sīh ud panj pad dōšastar nihād estēd;  
 mäh pad ēd rōzanihā āyēd ud šawēd.

9. K35, fol. 205r. begins. 10. BK, K, MR<sub>1</sub> 'ZLWNyt'; J 'ZLWNt'.

11. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K 'ncyt'. 12. BK 'Ps; K ; MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'ynš; see n.33 below. 13. BK, K have also . 14. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K 'ws'stl.

15. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K dws'stl. 16. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J; K lwcnyh'.

- (6) plw'h1 ZY 'šwk'n MNWS krpk' wys 'YKS wn's 'Ps yst'  
 krt' \*,'styt' ['y<sup>17</sup> MNW wys krpk' slwšwcln'm<sup>18</sup> YMRWNyt']  
 '-s<sup>19</sup> PWN m'h p'dyk
- (7) BYN-c ZK p'dyk MNW wys krpktl '-s hcpl W  
 ZK ZY hcdltl 'L 'LH bwlcyt' MNWS g's 'pltl
- (8) W gltk' ZY m'h KXDH 2 plsnq dlhn'd W 2  
 plsnq p'hn'd W lwšnyh ZY m'h MH MN tn'  
ZY m'h \*,'ywk'<sup>20</sup> MN klp W 'dwynek' gwspnd'n' PWN hwlsyt' p'dyk
- (9) lwšn' ZY hwlsyt' l'd<sup>21</sup> lwc(y)n 180 PWN 'wsstl<sup>22</sup>  
 W 180 PWN dwsstl<sup>23</sup> nyh't' \*,'styt' hwlsyt' PWN XN'  
 'nd lwc(y)n'yh' Y'TWN'yt' W 'ZLWNyt'

- (6) frawahr ī ašōwān kē-s kirbag wēs kū-s wināh u-s yašt D.207  
 kard ēstēd, [ay kē wēs kirbag srōšočaranām gōwēd], D.207/8  
 a-s pad mäh pāyag.
- (7) andar-iz hān pāyag kē wēs kirbagtar a-s azabar, ud  
 hān ī azērtar ō ōy burzēd kē-s gāh abartar.
- (8) ud girdag ī mäh hammis dō frasang drahnāy ud dō  
 frasang pāhnāy; ud rōšnīh ī mäh čē az tan  
 ī mäh, ewag az kirb ud ēwēnag gōspandān pad xwaršēd pāyag.
- (9) rawiṣn ī xwaršēd rāy, rōzan sad ud haštād pad ōšastar  
 ud sad ud haštād dōšāstar nihād estēd; xwaršēd pad ēd  
 and rōzanīhā āyēd ud šawēd.

17. BK, K 'y<sub>y</sub> (س); perhaps this should be '-s as in §10 below.

18. J; BK, K slwš'cln'm; MR<sub>1</sub> slwš'wcln'm. 19. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K '-'.  
 20. MSS 'yny'; see n.33 below. 21. Lacking in BK, K. 22. MR<sub>1</sub>,

J; BK, K 'ws'stl. 23. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K dws'stl.

- (10) plw'hl ZY 'šwk'n<sup>24</sup> MNWS krpk'-I tn'pwhl wys 'YK wn's  
 'Ps yst' krt'<sup>25</sup> YK'YMWNYt' '-s<sup>26</sup> g's PWN hwlsyt' p'dyk  
 W BYN hwlsyt' p'dyk ZK ZY lwsn' glwtm'n'
- (11) BYN ZKc p'dyk KR' MNW wys krpctl '-s<sup>27</sup> g's  
 hcpltl W ZK ZY hcpltl 'IH bwlcyt' MNWS g's hcpltl
- (12) W lwb'n' ZY 'pwn'yk'n MNWS d't'<sup>28</sup> 7 s'lk' ZKc MNWS  
 7 ŠNT km 'D 'B W 'M wtl't' d'tst'n ZY 'B  
 W 'M BR'-s 'MTs ZWZN-I pwl PWN<sup>29</sup> lwb'n' BR' YXBWNd  
 'hlwb'n' ywdt'k' BR' YXWNYt'<sup>30</sup> ZK ZY 7 s'lk' ZKc ZY 'D  
 15 s'lk' 'm'l ZY NPSH cygwn' PWN dyn' pyt'k KN YXWNYt'

- (10) frawahr ī ašōwān kē-s kirbag-ē tanāpuhl wēs kū wināh D.208  
 u-s yašt kard ēstēd, a-s gāh pad xwaršēd pāyag;  
 ud andar xwaršēd pāyag hān ī rōšn garōdmān.
- (11) andar hān-iz pāyag harw kē wēs kirbagtar, a-s gāh  
 azabartar, ud hān ī azērtar ōy burzēd kē-s gāh azabartar.
- (12) ud ruwān ī aburnāyagān kē-s dād haft sālāg, hān-iz kē-s D.208/9  
 haft sāl kam, tā pid ud mād widard dādestān ī pid  
 ud mad; bē-s ka-s drahm-ē purr pad ruwān be dahēnd,  
 ahlawān jūdāg be bawēd; hān ī haft sālāg hān-iz ī tā  
 pānzdah sālāg amār ī xwēs čiyōn pad dēn paydāg ōh bawēd.

24. BK, K have also XN'. 25. K35, fol. 205v. begins. 26. MR<sub>1</sub>;  
 J wys; BK, K '-'. 27. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K, J '-'. 28. BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J, K yst'.  
 29. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; lacking in BK, K. 30. MR<sub>1</sub>, J; BK, K YXBWNYt'.

(13) gltk' ZY hwłsy't 'ndcnd 'yl'nwyc 'yl'nw[y]c<sup>31</sup> 'nd cnd 7 'ywk'  
ZY \*hwnyls<sup>32</sup> lwsnyh hwłsy't MH MN mynwg ZY hwłsy't  
'ywk'<sup>33</sup> MN klp W 'dwynek' 'NSWT'- 'n

(14) pyt'k 'YK KR' LYLY' 'hlmm W ŠDY'n' W dlwc'n mwlncynytn'  
ZY d'm'n ZY 'whrmzd l'd MN dwšhw BR' dwb'lynd 'MT  
hwłsy't BYN 'ZLWNYt' 'whrmzd W whmm W 'rtwhst' W štrywr<sup>34</sup>  
W spndrmt'<sup>35</sup> W hwrđt' W 'mwrđt' W mtr' W slwš  
W lšn' yzdt' W wys yzdt' KR'-s'n' k'lyc'l LWTH 'hlmm  
W ŠDY'n' W dlwc'n' 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> wlhl'n' yzdt' W bwlc yzdt'

(13) girdag ī xwaršēd and čand ērānwēz; ērānwēz and čand haft ēwag D.209  
ī \*xwanirah; rōšnīh ī xwaršēd čē az mēnōg ī xwaršēd,  
ēwag az kirb ud ēwēnag mardōmān.

(14) paydāg kū harw šab ahreman ud dēwān ud druzān murnjēnīdan  
ī dāmān ī ohrmazd rāy az dušox be dwārēnd; ka  
xwaršēd andar šawēd, ohrmazd ud wahman ud ardwahišt ud šahrewar  
ud spandarmad ud hurdād ud amurdād ud mihr srōš  
ud rašn yazd ud wēš yazd, harw-išān kārezār abāg ahreman  
ud dēwān ud druzān kunēnd. warahrān yazd ud burz yazd

31. K (and has also 'yl'nwc); lacking in BK, MR<sub>1</sub>, J. 32. MSS  
hwnylyh. 33. MSS; this word is confused with similar words in  
BB3 and 8. 34. MR<sub>1</sub>; BK, K štrywr; J W štrywrl. 35. MR<sub>1</sub>, J;  
BK, K spynrmt'.

- W d'hm'n' 'pryn W nyl[y]wksng<sup>36</sup> yzdt' W<sup>37</sup> kd'n' GDH W hm'k  
 'plw'h1 ZY 'šwk'n LWITH 'hlmm W ŠDY'n W dlwc'n' k'lyc'l  
 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub> 'Ps'n' PWN stwb'yh L'WXL 'L t'l W twm<sup>38</sup> lMYTWNd  
 (15) W mtr' PWN YWM L'YN' hwlsyt' SGYITWNyt' 'MT hwlsyt'  
 BYN 'L lwc(y)n' 'ZLWNyt' mtr' L'WXL gltyt' PWN LYLY'  
 srd'lyh ZY d'm'n' ZY 'whrmzd MN ŠDY'n' W dlwc'n' mtr' 'wdlwc'n'  
 'BYDWNx<sub>2</sub>

plcpt' PWN ŠRM W s'tyh W 'wlw'hmyh<sup>39</sup> W 'pybmyh

- ud dāhmān āfrīn ud nēr[y]ōsang yazd ud kayān xwarrāh ud hamāg D.209  
 frawahr ī ašōwān abāg ahreman ud dēwān ud druzān kārezār  
 kunēnd u-šān pač stōwīh abāz ō tār ud tom abganēnd. D.209/210  
 (15) ud mihr pad rōz pēs xwarsēd rawēd; ka xwarsēd  
 andar ō rōzan šawēd, mihr abāz gardēd pad šab;  
 sālārīh ī dāmān ī ohrmazd az dēwān ud druzān mihrōdruzān  
 kunēd.

frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud urwāhmīh ud abēbīmīh.

36. BK, K nylywkyh'. 37. Repeated in BK, K. 38. K tm'; K35, fol. 206r. begins. 39. BK; K 'wlw'hmm with hwlmh written above; MR<sub>1</sub>, J hwlmh.

509662

The Pahlavi Rivāyat

Accompanying the

Dādestān ī Dēnīg

Volume II

Alan Vincent Williams

7/2/85



TRANSLATION



*In the Name of God the Giver of Justice*

*Praise to Ohrmazd the Creator the Majestic the Glorious*

Frawardīgān<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd : "At what time do the fravašis of the righteous come to visit the world?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said : "During the ten days of Frawardīgān<sup>2</sup>, at their own time [that is] the Frawardīg days at the beginning of Māh Ādur<sup>3</sup>, if one continuously worships them and invokes them".
- (3) If someone dies during the five Gāthā days, then in the first month his month-day<sup>4</sup> should be observed in exactly thirty days [time].<sup>5</sup> In the other months, Rōz Frawardīn should be observed for him. His year-day should be observed on its proper day.<sup>6</sup>
- (4) If it is not known in which month and on which day he died, then his month is Māh Ādur<sup>7</sup> and his day is Frawardīn.<sup>8</sup>
- (5) If the month is known, and the day is not known, then his month is that which is known, and his day is Rōz Frawardīn.
- (6) If the day is known, and the month is not known, then his day is that which is known, [his] month is Māh Ādur.
- (7) If one knows for certain that [he did not die in Māh Ādur and one knows for certain that] he did not die in Rōz Frawardīn, then the month Dai<sup>9</sup> and the day Warahrān should be observed for him.

Cooked and Uncooked Food; Fire and Water

- (1) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd: "If someone dies in a house with one door, then what must be done?"<sup>1</sup>
- (2) "(As regards) cooked food which is in the house with one door —cooked food (comprises) bread and stewed and roast meat and (other) eatables<sup>2</sup>— and that which is uncooked<sup>3</sup>, then how shall the periods of 'nine nights' and 'a month' apply to it?"
- (3) Ohrmazd said: "If someone dies in summer in a house with one door, then until a month passes, one must not go into it; in winter until nine nights pass, one must not go into it"<sup>4</sup>.
- (4) "Food which has not been cooked should not be used in summer until one month is complete, in winter it should not be used until nine days are complete; the cooked (food) is useless"<sup>5</sup>.
- (5) "Whoever brings fire into the house in the periods of 'nine nights' and the 'month', then he has one tanāpuhl<sup>6</sup> sin; if he kindles (it) on the same place (where death occurred), (he has) one tanāpuhl sin [and on any other place one yād]."<sup>7</sup>
- (6) "Whoever brings [water] into the house (in the 'nine nights' and the 'month'), then he has one framān sin<sup>8</sup>; if one pours (it) on the same place (where death occurred), [it is one tanāpuhl sin], and on any other place one yād.<sup>9</sup>
- (7) "Should anyone go in on a (mere) whim<sup>10</sup>, then has one framān sin.
- (8) "Any cooked food which they bring into the house is all unclean."<sup>11</sup>

Bodily Effects of Sins and Good Deeds

- (1) And this also he<sup>1</sup> asked of Ohrmazd: "If a man commits a sin through all the bodily members, then to which of his members does its evil come first?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "Because in the human body the organ of the tongue is the most valuable, then it comes first to the tongue."<sup>2</sup>
- (3) And this also he asked: "Then where does it come?"
- (4) And Ohrmazd said to him: "Then it comes to the heart,<sup>3</sup> and then it comes to his stomach.
- (5) "And spoilt and hateful children are born of him, because he sins and does not perform good deeds."<sup>4</sup>
- (6) "If people do good deeds, then to which of their members does the goodness come first?"
- (7) Ohrmazd said: "It comes first to the tongue, because the tongue has been created best of all the organs, and then it comes to his heart, and then it comes to his stomach, and then to his whole body.
- (8) "And well-brought up, dutiful, law-abiding and sociable children will be born of him, because he does good deeds and does not sin."

On Forbearance

- (1) Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "If [someone] were to deceive you in the world, and intend to do you harm —that is, deprivation of property — then he would be your enemy; speak to him mildly and according to the law, for if you speak mildly and according to the law, then you can better oppose and defeat him than if you were to speak to him angrily and harshly.
- (2) For if a man of good faith pleads his case, and during the conduct and delivery of the case complains bitterly and pleads the case improperly, then that is worse for him than for a man of bad faith who pleads his case properly and [yet] has injustice in his action; for the sin of a man of deceitful intention arises from ill-will towards someone. It would be the same (lit. 'thus') in the case of both, one [is guilty] of stealing property, and the other of bearing ill-will towards someone."<sup>1</sup>

Old Age

Ohrmazd said this also to Zardušt: "In the world there is no one by whom this can be done, (namely) that he says this to a person: 'You remain alive, I shall pass away as your substitute': because everyone passes away from the world, except those who are created immortal.<sup>1</sup> Even one who is saved from all evils, then even he is not saved from old age; for Zarmān<sup>2</sup> undertook (to do this) from Ahreman (saying): 'In everything in the end I destroy everyone; from me, (I) who am Zarmān, escape is not possible'. Let them do good deeds,<sup>3</sup> because it is through those that the soul can be (in existence); in no way will the body come to one's help."<sup>4</sup>

On Breaking Covenant

- (1) Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "How many kinds of breaking a covenant are there?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "Six kinds."<sup>1</sup>
- (3) This also is revealed: when someone breaks a covenant with someone, [the retribution for] that is very swift, then it will come upon him within nine years.
- (4) This also is revealed: if a man commits (this) sin and crime - (that is) breaking a covenant - it comes upon the children who are born to him after the committing of the sin and crime.

The Man of Good Religion and the Margarzān

- (1) This also is revealed (when) something occurs to a man of the Good Religion, and he does not know whether doing it is a good deed or a sin, if it is something of the kind which can be postponed when he does not do it, and he is able to postpone it, then it should not be done but postponed; if he has something of the kind which cannot be postponed, if he has sought and consulted with a dastwar, (if it is) sinless, if he does it, then it will not go to his account; if it is \*sinful then it goes to his account, and it may be cancelled from his account through the decision.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) (When) someone goes over from the faith to which he belongs to another faith, he is margarzān,<sup>2</sup> because he is deserting the faith of the Good Religion, and he is taking up \*this bad faith; on account of taking up the worse faith he thereby becomes margarzān.
- (3) For that faith which came to him through inheritance, then thereby he does not himself become a sinner, and on this day when he takes up another, through that (act) he is a sinner.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) And when someone (who is) margarzān comes to the faith of men of the Good Religion, immediately he becomes righteous.<sup>4</sup>
- (5) (As regards) the Good Religion, then this (is) the greatest virtue of it, when one accepts it so that one performs worship, then that worship removes and sweeps away all sin from one's account, like a swift and strong wind when it blows over a plain and sweeps and bears away; and likewise indeed that worship makes the man's soul pure from sin.<sup>5</sup>
- (6) It is revealed that on the day when one performs a yašt of \*Nābar,<sup>6</sup> the amahraspands come down from Garōdman and carry the soul to Garōdman, their own place, three times in that one day, and they bestow goodness upon one and they give one reward and recompense.



xwēdōdah<sup>1</sup>

- a(1) And (as for) an infidel<sup>2</sup>, this is the greatest virtue, if he comes from the law of evil religion to the Good Religion; and (as for) the man of the Good Religion, after he has performed worship this is the greatest virtue, if he performs xwēdōdah, for on account of that xwēdōdah, which is so venerable and marvellous and very great, (there is) the smiting of dēws.<sup>3</sup>
- (2) And (as for) Ohrmazd, (with regard) to performing xwēdōdah, it is revealed that when Zardušt sat before Ohrmazd, and Wahman and Ardwašt and Šahrewar and Hordād and Amurdađ and Spandarmad are sitting around Ohrmazd and Spandarmad sits at his side, and she put her hand upon his neck, Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Who is this who is sitting at your side to whom you are so dear, and she is also dear to you?"<sup>4</sup>
- (3) "You who are Ohrmazd do not turn your eyes from her, and she does not turn (hers) from you; you who are Ohrmazd do not release her from (your) hand and she does not release you from (her) hand."
- (4) And Ohrmazd said: "This (is) Spandarmad, who (is) my daughter and my Queen of Paradise, and the mother of (my) Creation."
- (5) Zardušt said: "Since in this world they call this a most perplexing thing,<sup>5</sup> how (do you answer) you who are Ohrmazd, if you are asked?"
- (6) Ohrmazd said: "O Zardušt, this should have been the best thing enjoyed by mankind."
- (7) "Since from the creation onwards, Mahlē and Mahlēnī<sup>6</sup> practised thus, you also should have practised thus, because when that thing was altered by mankind then they should not have altered it."
- (8) "Just as Mahlē and Mahlēnī practised xwēdōdah, so mankind should have practised thus; all mankind would have known its own lineage and stock, never would a brother have been abandoned in affection by his brother, nor a sister by her sister."<sup>7</sup>

- (9) "For all nothingness, emptiness and drought came to mankind on that account, when men came to them from an alien land and from an alien province and from an alien country, and they married, and when they take their wives away, the fathers and mothers (of the women) wept, with these (words): 'They are taking our daughter into captivity'."
- b(1) This also (is revealed), that xwēdōdah is so miraculous, it is the salvation from hell from the most grievous sin such as death-deserving sorcery.<sup>8</sup>
- (2) And exclusion from Hell, i.e. exclusion from the dēws, comes into being at that time (even) if from his desire to practise sorcery (a person) was made margarzān.<sup>9</sup>
- (3) And if they practise xwēdōdah, they are thereby saved and excluded from Hell, the prison of Ahreman and the dēws; xwēdōdah is such a miraculous (thing).
- c(1) In one place it is revealed that Ohrmazd said to Zardušt:<sup>10</sup> "These are the four best things: worship of Ohrmazd the Lord; and offering firewood and incense and oblation to the fire; and satisfying (the needs of) the priest; and he who practises xwēdōdah with (his) mother or daughter or with (his) sister.
- (2) "And of all those he who practises xwēdōdah is greatest and best and foremost."
- (3) And xwēdōdah is so miraculous, (it is a) smiting of Ahreman, the dēws and the evil of mankind, for the sake of Ohrmazd the Lord and all the yazads; every time they commit sodomy<sup>11</sup> (it is) with all the dēws, hunger and trouble and thirst and old-age and sickness and illness and ruin and oppression by xrafstars, and all the other evils which are in the world, increase [as a result of] sodomy.
- (4) It is revealed that if all the xrafstars in the world, to the height

of a mountain, die and all the poison and stench and filth were to go to one place, the stench would not reach Ohrmazd and paradise.<sup>12</sup>

- (5) When men commit sodomy, the stench from the sodomy goes to the world of hostile powers.
- (6) Just as today the most evil (comes) from sodomy, so when Sōšans comes, all men will practise xwēdōdah, and every demon will be destroyed through the miracle and power of xwēdōdah.
- d(1) This also is revealed, that a man practises one xwēdōdah [with] (his) mother and one with (his) child, (his) daughter; the one with his mother is superior to the other because he who has come from (her) body is nearer to her.<sup>13</sup>
- (2) For it is revealed that when the accursed Ahreman committed sodomy with himself, then it was more grievous than his committing it with the dēws.<sup>14</sup>
- (3) That (xwēdōdah) which is (practised) with the daughter is superior to that which he practised with the (woman who is his) sister but who is not his child.
- (4) Assuredly a daughter who was born of (his own) mother, when the father practises (xwēdōdah) with the daughter who was born from his own copulation, so it is superior to that (first copulation) when he is not her brother.
- (5) When a sister and brother are of the same father and a different mother, then it is (the same) for them, and when they are of the same mother and different father, then it is the same for them.
- (6) If a man's daughter is born illegitimately from the wife of another person, when that time (comes) when he takes her in marriage, then the authority, then the merit of xwēdōdah is his, and the sin of breaking covenant is this in the child's (account), like the xwēdōdah.<sup>15</sup>
- (7)<sup>16</sup> Also the soul of a child who dies before (the age of) seven years, then

its soul remains in the sun station; and if the father is righteous (it goes) with the father to Paradise; and if the father is wicked, if the mother is righteous, it goes with the mother to Paradise; if its father and mother are both sinful it goes with the father and mother to Hell.

(8) There was a dastwar who said thus: "If they found a name-fire for it (i.e. the child), they kill a xrafstar in its soul, then its soul becomes separate from the mother and father; it does not go to Hell."

(9) There was a dastwar who said; "That is because of one's own good deeds, for it is revealed in the Avesta that love belongs to Ohrmazd when a father nurtures a child. Then he thus established that for seven years its soul is with the father and mother; indeed the souls of children are like infants."<sup>16</sup>

e(1) And xwēdōdah is so miraculous, concerning Yim it is revealed that when the glory of sovereignty went from him, he was with Yimag his sister.<sup>17</sup> He went to flee from the assembly of Dahāg, mankind, dēws and parīgs to the var, that is the lake.<sup>18</sup>

(2) And he was sought by them in Hell, and he was not seen; and he was sought by them among mankind and water and earth and cattle and plants and in the mountains and in the river-beds, and he was not seen by them.

(3) Then Ahreman brayed: "I think this, Yim is in the var, that is the lake."

(4) And a dēw and a parīg undertook this saying: "We shall go and seek Yim."

(5) And they crept off and went, and when they approached that var where Yim was, that var which was the water of Tīr, Yim said: "Who are you?"

(6) And they said: "We are those who are just like you, who have fled from the hands of the dēws: we too have fled from the dēws. Let us be united."

(7) "And you give this sister in marriage to me, that I also shall give this (woman) to you."

- (8) And Yim, because he did not distinguish the dēw from men, then made the parīg his wife, and gave his sister as wife of the dēw.
- (9) And from Yim and that parīg, the bear and \*monkey and Gandarw<sup>19</sup> and gōšwar<sup>21</sup> were born; from Yimag and that dēw the tortoise<sup>21</sup> and cat and hawk<sup>21</sup> and frog and leech<sup>21</sup> and also many other xrafstars were born; and Yimag saw that that dēw was evil and she must seek a separation (from) him.
- (10) And one day, when Yim and that dēw had been drinking wine, then (it was that) she changed places and clothes with those of the parīg, and when Yim came he was drunk, unknowingly he slept with Yimag who was his sister, and the merit of xwēdōdah came into the case; many dēws were defeated and died, and at once they (i.e. those two demons) crept away and fell back into hell.
- f(1) This also is revealed in the Avesta, that Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Much thought, much speech and much action, then, is prescribed by you who are Ohrmazd, as being necessary to think, speak and do; of all thought, speech and action, which is the best to think, speak and do?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "Much thought, speech and action, then, is prescribed by me, O Zardušt; of that thought, speech and action which must be thought, spoken and done, that is best and most excellent him who performs xwēdōdah."
- (3) For it is revealed that the first time he has intercourse<sup>23</sup>, one thousand dēws die, and two thousand sorcerers and parīgs<sup>24</sup>; when he has intercourse twice two thousand dēws die, and four thousand sorcerers and parīgs; when he has intercourse three times, three thousand dēws die, and six thousand sorcerers and parīgs; when one has intercourse four times, manifestly the man and woman are blessed (i.e. in heaven).
- g(1) Thus he says, (one of) those who may give the son to the mother -

for physical intercourse: "So that we shall not have fear of Hell, and the sins we have committed shall go from the account, and at the <sup>v</sup>Cinwad Bridge we will be [pure in] heart, and a good and seemly place shall be ours, and we well propitiate Ohrmazd and cause torment for Ahreman." So (too) says the mother to (her) son if she speaks righteously: "I give (myself) to you" for physical intercourse, just as has been said, "you, my son." So says the father to (his) daughter; \*so says the brother to her who is (his) sister; [so] says the sister to him who is (her) brother, just as I have written.

- (2) From that act of xwēdōdah there is such a smiting and tormenting of dēws, if, afterwards those men and women become sorcerers and unlawfully kill and thousand sheep and cattle at one time, and give offerings to the dēws, on account of that smiting and tormenting which happened to them (i.e. the dēws) as a result of xwēdōdah, then for them (i.e. the dēws) the satisfaction is not complete, and for them it is not (possible) to believe: "Their souls will come to us".<sup>25</sup>

h(1) He who maintains xwēdōdah in marriage for one year,<sup>26</sup> thus it is as though by one third of all this world, with water, with plants and with corn, then, has been given by him as asōdād<sup>27</sup> to a priest; and when he maintains (xwēdōdah) in marriage for two years, it is as though by him two thirds of all this world, with water, plants and corn, have been given as asōdād to a priest.

- (2) When he maintains (xwēdōdah) in marriage for three years, thus (it is) as though all this world, with water, with plants and with every thing, have been given as asōdād to a priest.

- (3) When he maintains it in marriage for four years, and he has performed worship, then manifestly his soul goes to Garōdmān - and if not, then (at least) it goes to Paradise.

- i(1) Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "If (there is) a man of xwēdōdah and he has performed worship, and he offers a service, then is his merit such as though he had offered it without xwēdōdah? What is the rule?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "(It is) just as if it had been offered by one hundred men without xwēdōdah."
- (3) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd: "How is it when a man of xwēdōdah performs an āfrīn?"
- (4) (Ohrmazd) said: "(It is) just as if one hundred men without xwēdōdah are performing the āfrīn."
- j(1) And he asked this also: (As for) those who give help, they counsel and convert to xwēdōdah, and on account of their words (someone) practises xwēdōdah, what is the merit?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "Then his merit is just as if there were one hundred priests each of whom has one hundred disciples, and he keeps them (all) in food and clothing for one winter."
- k(1) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd: "(As for) those who prevent people from performing xwēdōdah, and on account of their words (someone) does not practise xwēdōdah, then what is their sin?"
- (2) "Then their place is Hell."
- l(1) In (one) passage it is revealed that (he is) wiser than the wise, more righteous than the righteous, he in whose thoughts, words and deeds the dēws are least powerful; and Ahreman and the dēws are least powerful in the body of him who is [a man of] xwēdōdah and by whom worship has been performed.<sup>28</sup>
- m(1) (It is) revealed in the religion that at that [time] when Zardušt came from the presence of Ohrmazd the Lord in one place of the world where he had gone,<sup>29</sup> he then said this: "Praise the religion, practise xwēdōdah!"
- (2) "And I speak of the good (man), and the devout; as for negligent and bad

men, then by them this was said harshly: 'A thing which is so hard and grievous in our law, xwēdōdah, is not to be practised.'

(3) "Then this also (is) a grievous thing;<sup>30</sup> as the most excellent (thing) of everything it is said that it must be practised.

(4) "This is revealed to me also, that in all the law and belief of those confessing the faith, although by them (i.e. the negligent) that is then called the most grievous sin, in this law and belief of good (men), i.e. that of Mazdā-worship, it is called the most excellent and the best good deed."

n(1) This also is revealed in the religion, that Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "Perform the doing of good deeds." And Zardušt said: "Which good deed shall I perform first?"

(2) Ohrmazd said: "Xwēdōdah, because of all those good deeds it should be performed first; for in the end it is through xwēdōdah that all who are in the world join the religion."

o(1) This also is revealed in the religion, that Zardušt said to Ohrmazd: "In my eyes it is bad and hard and strange that I should make xwēdōdah so prevalent among mankind."

(2) Ohrmazd said: "In my eyes also (it would be) as in yours, except for this (reason) that it is the most excellent thing of all; then let it not be difficult and hard for you.:

(3) "Be diligent in practising xwēdōdah and others too will practise diligently."<sup>31</sup>



Merits of Services

- (1) This chapter, where I write in detail, as I know and can explain from the Avesta, about the merit of (the ceremonies of) worship, and about those which minimally I perform.
- (2) Whoever celebrates a Drōn<sup>1</sup> (service), then (it is) one tanāpuhl<sup>2</sup> merit for him, and its wondrousness and victoriousness and power and strength are so great that the Spirit of the Drōn, when the sun goes in and Ahreman comes out from Hell to the world, and the dēws in numbers like (the hairs in) the mane of a horse, for the destruction of the world,
- (3) the Spirit of the Drōn, when the service is performed, does battle with those dēws, ninety-nine times he struggles so fiercely. He strikes those dēws to (hit) the ground like flies, and like hail when it falls upon the earth.<sup>3</sup>

. . . . .

- (9) And if (there is) gōsodāg<sup>4</sup> and drōn, it is very meritorious, and the šnūman<sup>5</sup> of Lord Ohrmazd is a blessing and merit of 300 (staters). Because of the greater merit of drōn and gōsodāg it is liberality and righteousness towards the yazads, and if one increases the recitation of the Avesta in more gāhs (i.e. watches of the day) it creates more joy, and the drōn of three dānags' weight (has) the merit of three (ordinary) drōns. There was one who called (the service) "The Lesser Worship".<sup>6</sup> If the service with a broad drōn is undertaken, then the merit of the number of Drōn (services) is to be twice the number of Drōn (services performed); and if the number of the drōns is double, then its merit is to be double the number of Drōns (performed). The merit of an (act of) worship without zōhr<sup>7</sup> is to be 100 tanāpuhls, the merit of one with zōhr is to be 1000 tanāpuhls.

- (10) To perform worship is so great and important, now in particular, and valuable, that it is revealed in the Avesta that when a man is fifteen

years old and has not performed worship, then food and water should be given to him in the manner (appropriate) to dogs and birds.<sup>8</sup>

(11) The merit of a Wisparād<sup>9</sup> (service) without zōhr (is) 1,000 tanāpuhls, that which is with zōhr (is) 100,000 tanāpuhls.

(12) The merit of a Hādōxt<sup>9</sup> (service) without zōhr (is) 2,000 tanāpuhls that which is with zōhr (is) 200,000 tanāpuhls.

(13) (As for) a Dwāzdah-hōmāst<sup>10</sup> (service) without zōhr, then its merit is 200,000 tanāpuhls, that which is with zōhr (is) 1,000,000 tanāpuhls.

(14) The merit of a Hamāg-dēn<sup>11</sup> (service) with ten-Hōmāst is to be one hundred times as much as that of one Hōmāst; and the merit of a Hamāg-dēn (service) of ten-Hōmāst with zōhr is to be one hundred (times that of) a Hamāg-dēn (service) of ten-Hōmāst without zōhr; the merit of a Hamāg-dēn (service) of one-Hōmāst without zōhr is 1,000 tanāpuhls, that of one-Hōmāst with zōhr, 100,000, that of ten-Hōmāst without zōhr, 100,000, that of ten-Hōmāst with zōhr, 1,000,000. The more the Avesta (they recite, the more) they increase merits. That of ten-Hōmāst with zōhr (is) as (I have) written; for this reason, when one Hamāg-dēn (service) is celebrated, then all sins disappear from one's account, except the margarzān sin.<sup>12</sup>

(15) When merit is a thing so great, (it is yet) so easy to perform in that there is so much merit in one Hamāg-dēn ceremony. Then when the human soul comes to the Činwad Bridge, they put (his) sin and merit into the balance, and if the merit is more by a little as a single thread of a spindle, they lead him off to Paradise: if his sin is more by as little as a single eyelash and (indeed) the tip of that eyelash, then they lead him off to Hell.

(16) Just as it is easy to do good deeds, then it is easy to sin also, and it is necessary to be diligent in doing good deeds and refraining from sin, for if one refrains from sin, one will not go to Hell.

On Truthfulness and Charity

- a(1) This chapter: Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Which is the one virtue that is best for mankind?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "Truthful speech<sup>1</sup> is best, because in truthful speech there is honour in the world and good life<sup>2</sup> and salvation in Paradise; and as for your descendants and progeny, by doing meritorious works it will be better for their families, and your soul will be truly blessed." For he who is condemned as regards material things for the sake of truth, it is better for him than for one who is condemned as regards the soul for the sake of falsehood<sup>3</sup>, because it is possible to amass wealth again, but when people die, (their) souls pass on. Then there is no help for it.
- (3) For (it is) revealed that no friend will be a friend to him, no brother will be a brother to him, no father (will help) him as a son; and even if their meritorious works are more than that by which they will be righteous, when they have gone from the world, they cannot give (that merit) one to another.<sup>4</sup>
- b(1) This chapter: charity is a merit so great and valuable and renowned that the coming of the yazads and good men, and the goodness of Ohrmazd and the amahraspands are greater in the world from the houses of the charitable. If charity is performed righteously to the good and worthy, (it is) goodness for the worthy; teachers and disciples will resort to the houses of the charitable who are the righteous.
- (2) Every good action of theirs which they perform in the houses of the charitable, it will be as though the charitable person who is righteously charitable shall have performed it with his own hands.
- (3) As for the charitable who are sinful<sup>5</sup> in their charity, who [give to] bad and negligent men, thieves and robbers come to (their) houses; from that house (comes) affliction for Ohrmazd and the other yazads;

the evil which those wicked ones think and speak and do in that house, will be just as though the charitable man who is sinful shall have performed it with his own hands.

c This also is revealed in the religion, that Ohrmazd said to Zardušt:

"He who performs charity knowingly and discriminately like me, I who am Ohrmazd; and he who performs charity ignorantly and without understanding and indiscriminately [is like] Ahreman."<sup>6</sup>

d(1) This also (is) revealed in the religion, that when two men are contesting, and one says: "Since I apply discrimination in giving, except that I investigate thoroughly his goodness and character and means, until then I do not give him anything", when he thus speaks with those words, he will go to Hell.

(2) The other one says: "I do not investigate whether he is righteous or wicked, but he who undertakes from me (to perform) meritorious works, so that he praises righteousness and afflicts the dēws, and I do not know of any sinfulness of his, then in a case of doubt, I consider him a good man, and I give him food and clothing," when he speaks so with those words, he goes to Paradise.

e This also (is) revealed in the Avesta, that he who gives something to a righteous man goes to Paradise. And he who gives something to a sinner,<sup>7</sup> and does not know that he is sinful, when he comes to know that he is sinful, then he must take it (i.e. the gift) back; if he has to produce a witness (to prove his claim) that: "this thing was not given by me to you," and he does so, whatever harm he (the sinful man) is able to do, (even if) he does it, let him not take possession of the property.

f This also is revealed in the religion, that charity is so miraculous, that when one gives property to a good man, then immediately the sound

of his words comes before Lord Ohrmazd, and they give him (i.e. the man who is charitable) reward and recompense.

g This also (is) revealed, that charity is so valuable that when Ohrmazd [created] corn, its \*stem was hollow (every) four finger-breadths, and its ear was at the height of three lances, that is three reeds; the dēws went and ... that corn ... except what Mahliyā and Mahliyān<sup>8</sup>, seized in (their) fists, so that it (hān) was not destroyed again by them (the dēws). Ohrmazd solved the problem and Hadiš, \*who has been granted (the reward) by the Righteous One<sup>9</sup>, comes to Mahliyā and Mahliyān to find the solution to the problem; and he asked for corn, and corn was shown (i.e. given) to him; and then the Spirit of Charity, and also that Hadiš and Dahmān Āfrīn<sup>10</sup> went to judgement, and they annihilated and defeated the dēws.

h This also (is) revealed in the religion, that Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "Charity is something so marvellous, there are thirty-three paths from heaven to the Činwad Bridge, and everyone who is blessed on account of meritorious action is able then to go on one path, and he who is blessed on account of charity is able to go on all those paths".<sup>11</sup>

i This also (is) revealed, that he who performs a good action and then gives something to someone who has nothing, then all meritorious action is in this.

j This also (is) revealed, that (a) man should keep (his) thought away from sin, protect (his) tongue from words which should not be spoken, and control (his) spirit from women; he should not strive so for the sake of (his) appetites (thinking) whatever he hears of must then be his.<sup>12</sup>

k This also (is) revealed, that all men should behave with one another as though they were brothers; they should enjoy (things) amicably, and they should do what they ought to do, and perform meritorious works for the

sake of the soul, and give gifts to righteous men, and behave towards people without ill-will and without anger, and give things with discrimination.<sup>13</sup>

- 1(1) This also (is) revealed, that Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "These five things were created very beautiful by me: the sun when it rises; the body of Yim when it was full of glory; when it has rained and water has settled on the grass and the sun light falls upon it; Mihr of the broad pastures, when he comes to a country and spreads (lit. makes) friendship in the land; and the fire, red and blazing, when they offer oblations to it at the Gāhānbār (festival); (but) more beautiful and more essential than those five things this was created by me, the man who utters a true thing consciously through knowledge.
- (2) "And these five things appeared to me very ugly: when a tomb has been made on a plain, and a recently dead (body) is placed in it and it remains there in a state of putrescence; when on a dark winter's night enemies are on the road; the tongue of the tyrannical evil rulers of Hell, when in their anger they have given an order of evil rulers cruelly with it (i.e. the tongue); when in a country people had no love even when others did them good; and old-age when it has overtaken someone and he has gone to the place(?)<sup>15</sup>; (but) more ugly than all those things for me to behold was this thing, the man who consciously utters falsehood."

m This also (is) revealed, that charity is such a marvellous virtue, it seems best for the earth when the charitable man walks over it, it seems [best] for the wind when it reaches the body of the charitable (man); it seems best for the woman when the charitable man is her husband; it seems best for the horse when the charitable man upon it

draws the bow; and it seems best for the good animal when the charitable man consumes its products; by the glory of charitable men the sun travels best on its path, the moon also goes best on its course, the stars go on their ways;<sup>16</sup> because the charitable are giving gifts, the people of the earth are alive, and the young ones of birds survive in the egg and out of the egg.

n This also (is) revealed, that Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "Whatever charitable men give, I give them two-fold in return, and I store it up."

o This also (is) revealed, that Ohrmazd said: "I honour the charitable. When I have seen the souls of the charitable passing over Mount Harborz, they have gone to Heaven (Garōdmān)."<sup>17</sup>

p This also (is) revealed, that Ohrmazd said "You are good, O charitable man, who approach more strongly and more victoriously than other souls."

q This also (is) revealed, that Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "For the sake of all men I say to you, who are Zardušt, that Heaven, the Paradise of Ohrmazd, belongs to those who give charity to righteous men." Then He also said this: "For the sake of all men I say to you, who are Zardušt, that the Hell of darkness belongs to those who give charity to the wicked."

Penalties of Different Crimes

- (1) If men have untied their sacred girdle (kustīg)<sup>1</sup> and have put on (only) the shirt of one piece<sup>2</sup>, the first step which they take, (it is) one framān sin; the fourth step (it is) then one tanāpuhl sin for them, and then, until one stops it is not more than one tanāpuhl sin.
- (2) If one stops, then goes, then the judgement for it is the same as that for (the sin of) "running with one shoe",<sup>3</sup> in principle; then the judgement for it is the same as for (the sin of) "running (with the kustīg) untied", which is very bad, because (the sin of) "running with one shoe" decreases all the milk of females in the world.
- (3) (If) someone urinates standing (=on foot) then it is one tanāpuhl sin for him; and if someone urinates one span and two inches beyond the sole of the foot, then it is one tanāpuhl sin for him.<sup>4</sup>
- (4) And (if) someone wastes his semen, then it is one tanāpuhl (sin) for him.<sup>5</sup>
- (5) And (if) someone spoils food and eatable things then it is one tanāpuhl sin.
- (6) (If) someone pours water at night towards the north, then it is one tanāpuhl sin for him.<sup>6</sup>
- (7) (If) someone takes or steals one drahm from a man, (then it is) a sin on the spot, and in (this world he must give four drahms for (each of) those he takes by force, and two drahms for (each of) those he steals.
- (8) If someone steals a sheep or takes it away, then it is a sin on the spot,<sup>7</sup> and he must pay back four-fold and two-fold.
- (9) And (if) someone steals a horse or takes it away, then spiritually<sup>8</sup> it is a one stater sin for him, and physically he must pay back four-fold and two-fold.
- (10) If someone steals a slave, then spiritually it is one tanāpuhl sin for him, and physically he must pay back four-fold and two-fold.



(11) And if someone gives a woman to a man, and the man<sup>9</sup> to whom he gives her has received her as a righteous gift, then he gives the young woman<sup>9</sup> to a second man, and the young woman consents to being given to the man, just as to that first man also, if he keeps her for the period of one year, then the husband, the young woman and also that man to whom she was afterwards given become margārzan; it is written in the chapter (relating) to them, and by me the details are written below.<sup>10</sup>

*On Breaking Covenant I I*

- (1) *If (someone) makes an agreement in friendship verbally with someone and (then) breaks that covenant, every one of the descendants of that man (shall) all (live in) fear for three hundred years, and (the punishment for) that breaking of covenant will come upon them.*
- (2) *Second, he who shakes hands to this effect, saying "Make a covenant with me", and breaks the covenant, (it is) as I have written, for six hundred years.*
- (3) *Thirdly, he who offers a sheep or goat,<sup>2</sup> saying: "Make a covenant with me", and breaks the covenant, (it is) as I have said for seven hundred years.*
- (4) *Fourthly, he who offers a cow or horse<sup>3</sup> to this effect, saying: "Make a covenant with me", and breaks the covenant, (it is) as I have said, for eight hundred years.*
- (5) *Fifthly, he who offers five hundred drahms<sup>4</sup> to this effect saying: "Make a covenant with me", and breaks the covenant, it is as I have said, for nine hundred years.*
- (6) *Sixthly, he who offers a village<sup>5</sup> to this effect saying: "Make a covenant with me", and breaks the covenant, it is as I have said, for a thousand years.*

The Affliction of Ahreman

- a(1) This also is revealed, that Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Can the (sacred) word and also other good actions be used in the same way as weapons?"<sup>1</sup>
- (2) And Ohrmazd said: "When it is used to smite the life<sup>3</sup> of Ahreman and the dēws".
- (3) Zardust said: "What (causes) his affliction?"
- (4) Ohrmazd said: "When a yathā ahū vairuō and an asəm voḥu are recited against him, then he cannot do any sin or harm at all, and the advantage which (comes) from this is well known."<sup>4</sup>
- (5) "For there are many things which the wicked Ahreman created for the purpose of damage to my creatures; and that which was from him, by me profit was brought from it, there was great advantage and help from it for my creatures, and serious disturbance and damage from it for the creatures of Ahreman.
- (6) For it is revealed that Ahreman considered three things most grievous, in this (way): "I shall always do (those things) to the creatures of Ohrmazd from which the harm to Ohrmazd will be greatest".
- (7) (Yet) if those things had not been created by him,<sup>5</sup> it would have been more advantageous for the wicked Ahreman, and there would have been serious injury to my creatures by him.
- (8) One of those (things is) when he created death, men died; (this was advantageous) for it is clear [that] if greed, need, deceitfulness and strife had been created and people did not die of old age, it would have been necessary to kill, and all the people would have fought and quarrelled all the time with one another, and would have said this: "If we are not going to die, then we need more possession", and then on account of fear of the other (person) a (hiding-) hole would have been necessary for all the people to preserve one's body,<sup>6</sup> and there would have been grievous harm for the existence of the creatures.

- (9) One of those (things is) when [he dried up] water, for if there had not been a drying up [of water] it would have covered all this earth, and there would have been grievous harm from it.
- (10) One of those things (things is) when he extinguished fire, for if fire had thus been burning, but had not been extinguished, fire would thus have covered all this world, then everyone would have had the fear of burning, and there would have been grievous harm and suffering from it.
- b(1) This also is revealed, Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "All men in the world, as long as they are alive, then for them there are necessarily three states."<sup>7</sup>
- (2) "If they are healthy and they have no illness or punishment, then all the goodness of the world is needed by them.
- (3) "If there is hardship and misfortune for them, then it is necessary for them that (lit. 'when') their souls go from their bodies.
- (4) "And when their souls were at the (point of) severance (from the body), and they were free of worldly desire (lit. without hope in/of the world), then thereafter the blessedness of their soul is more desirable than anything (else)."

Slaughter of Gōspand

- (1) (In a) passage it is revealed that Ohrmazd said to the beneficent animals: "Give yourselves to the world so that mankind may eat you."
- (2) And the beneficent animals then saw spiritually the afflictions which continually come to them now from mankind, and they disputed much with Ohrmazd about (his) decision.<sup>1</sup>
- (3) Then Ohrmazd made a compact with them, namely: <sup>2</sup>"Give yourselves (i.e. to the world); whatever sin you commit will not then go to your account", so long as they had not given themselves.
- (4) And the beneficent animals said: "The sins which we commit, to whose account will they go?"
- (5) Ohrmazd said: "He who eats your flesh and puts his hand into sin, all the sins which the animal does go to his account."<sup>3</sup>
- (6) For he who has eaten (even) a small fish and sins, if a camel kills a man then indeed it goes to his account.<sup>4</sup>
- (7) It is not permitted to buy meat from non-Iranians and infidels more than on one occasion;<sup>5</sup> and to an infidel, unless you think that otherwise he will die, you must not give anything at all.<sup>6</sup>

Services which go to the Bridge; Margarzān Sins, and Confession

- a(1) This chapter: which services, if performed, go to the Bridge.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) The Xwarsēd,<sup>2</sup> Gāhambār,<sup>3</sup> Rapihwin,<sup>4</sup> Stōš<sup>5</sup> and Frawardīgān<sup>6</sup> services go to the Bridge.
- (3) The matter is this, that if one does not perform (these services) one must pay the penalty at the Činwad Bridge, the end of which is on the Lawful Summit,<sup>7</sup> and below which is Hell.
- (4) <sup>8</sup>And when a man dies, (if) he confesses the sins which he has committed, at the third dawn<sup>9</sup> he is led to the Lawful Summit, and he is led to Heaven.<sup>10</sup>
- (5) He who has committed a margarzān<sup>11</sup> (sin), and he confesses while in the physical state, and he is beheaded, then at once Stōš should be prepared and performed, and (thus he will be) saved; and if he confesses, and it is not possible to behead him and in the spiritual state on the third night<sup>12</sup> he is beheaded at the end of the (Činwad) Bridge, then also on the fourth [day] Stōš should be performed, and (thus he will be) saved.<sup>13</sup>
- (6) And if he does not confess, he will go to Hell; he will be in Hell until the Future Body.<sup>14</sup>
- (7) And for a time he will be restored (to) corporeality,<sup>15</sup> and he will be beheaded and he will be made to experience<sup>16</sup> the punishment of Hell.
- (8) There was a dastwar who said: "He who has committed one margarzān (sin) will thus be saved; he who has committed two will not, because he has killed a man in the physical state; unless he himself is killed in the physical state in return, then he shall not have atoned for that (crime)."
- (9) (There was) that (dastwar) who said: "(with) one margarzān (sin) he may be saved, (with) two margarzān (sins) he will not," then he gave

the reason for (this) thing, saying: "That man may be beheaded (only) once in the physical state."<sup>17</sup>

- (10) And that (dastwar) also who said: "(With) two margarzān sins he may be saved", then he gave [the reason] for (these) things, [saying]: "When (he is) in the physical state, he is beheaded bodily, and on the third night,<sup>18</sup> in the spiritual state at the end of the Bridge, (his) soul is beheaded."
- (11) And the religious leaders have all agreed upon this, that if one has confessed, one does not go to Hell, because (even) if the soul is beheaded (once), the soul can be beheaded (again) many times.
- (12) If he has committed many margarzān sins (but) he does not confess, he will go to Hell, and in the Future Body he will be restored to corporeality, and for each one (of the margarzān sins) he will be beheaded once, he will be made to experience the punishments of hell, and (only then will he be) saved.
- (13) He who does not celebrate the gāhāmbār (festivals during) one year, then for every single one (of the festivals not celebrated by him) it is one ōwirišt sin on his account, and those sins go to the Bridge; until he has paid the punishment, he is not able to step upon the Bridge.
- (14) He who once in the day does not recite the Xwaršēd (niyāyišn), then it is one framān sin for him; and if twice he does not recite it, then it is two framān sins for him; and if thrice he does not recite it (i.e. not at all), then it is one ōwirišt sin on his account, and that also goes to the Bridge; if he does not recite it all three times on the next day, then it is just the same for him.
- (15) And (if one does not perform) Rapihwin and Stōš and Frawardīgān, for each one (the sin) is not more than one framān, and these also go to the Bridge.

- b(1) When men go from the (physical) world, when account of their souls is taken, (it is) in this way, if their good deeds are more than their sins, then they are led to Heaven.
- (2) <sup>18</sup>Those who are hamemal<sup>19</sup> (sinners) through (owing) debts, then in the Future Body they should give alms<sup>20</sup>; and (for) the sins and merits "of the soul"<sup>19</sup> then they will be given reward for the merit, and they will be punished for thir sin.
- (3) At the time of passing away men must confess before someone (\*ōy) who knows by heart the religious law and commentary, and who is very knowledgeable of (the degrees of) sin and merit, and he (the sinner) should remember his sins one by one.<sup>21</sup>
- (4) Everyone who is able should pay,<sup>22</sup> if a man is able and does not pay, then there will be no (true) confession by him, for (spoken) confession alone<sup>23</sup> is something for those who are incapable (of paying).
- (5) And for an offence against others a man must make amends, and he should confess to it in the presence of the injured party; but for (the offence of) adultery [he must give] compensation, for he must confess to that in (the presence of) his own rad, and as he knows the wish of the husband, he must then give compensation to the husband, to this end so that his (i.e. the husband's) love for his wife and children may not disappear.<sup>24</sup>
- c If a man commits a sin for the first time, he (can) confess; and if he does (it) a second time, he (can) confess; and if he does (it) a third time he (can) confess; and if he does (it) a fourth time he can confess; the fourth time then four times what he has done goes back to the account.
- d(1) If a man confesses in detail on three days (i.e. times) all the sins which he has committed, he is redeemed; then (if) he were to commit



those sins again wilfully, then (the sins of) all four times go back to his account.

- (2) When (men) confess, then they should first confess margarzān (sins), then they should confess other sins.
- (3) There was a dastwar who said: "It is revealed thus by the Avesta that if a man says: 'Once and for all I confess all the sins which have assailed me', then he will have (truly) confessed."
- (4) There was a dastwar who said: "Unless a man has recounted one by one the sins which he has committed and confesses, otherwise there is no (true) confession in him." That also

e(1) is revealed in the Avesta that a man should practise both these \*two (things): contrition, and avowal, i.e. confession.<sup>25</sup>

- (2) And contrition (is) this: when a man is contrite in thought.
- (3) And avowal is this: when on account of shame a man hangs down his head (and) declares the sins which he has committed one by one before the spiritual teacher, the dastwar, and confesses.
- (4) There was a dastwar who said thus: "At the (time of a man's) passing away, if his relative does this (i.e. on his behalf), then also it is proper, for this reason, that as long as someone declares before his (i.e. the dying man's) dastwar the sins which he has concealed,<sup>26</sup> they may go from his account."
- (5) It is revealed in the Avesta<sup>27</sup> that if the spiritual authority, the dastwar, makes public a little of the sins<sup>28</sup> which that man recounted before (him) in detail, (then) the dastwar of the man is margarzān.

Gāhāmbār and Offering

- a(1) Concerning the Gāhāmbār<sup>1</sup> it is revealed that when (a man) prepares, celebrates, consumes, and gives (to others) charitably and sincerely, then the merit for him will be such as if he had offered a thousand ewes with their lambs as a righteous gift to a priest.<sup>2</sup>
- (2) He who consumes, he who prepares, he who gives, then the merit will be the same as this for him.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) If they celebrate a Gāhāmbār among ten men, from this Gāhāmbār until that (next) Gāhāmbār every meritorious action which one of those ten men performs will thus be the portion of all (ten men), as if it had been performed by them with their own hands, and if (they celebrate the Gāhāmbār) among a hundred and a thousand men, it will be just the same.
- (4) And concerning the Gāhāmbār, it is revealed that before the five days, when they come in,<sup>4</sup> all the created things of Ohrmazd, those which are under the earth, such as the fox and the weasel and the stoat and musk-rat,<sup>5</sup> and all the other created things upon the earth, like water and plants and beneficent animals and men, have (this) hope: "By the spirit of the Gāhāmbār we shall increase." And (it is) revealed that the offering which is greatest and best is that of the Gāhāmbār.
- b(1) (In) one passage (it is) revealed that Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Did you ever make an offering?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "I did (so), for when I created the world,<sup>6</sup> then I made an offering when I gave the soul to Gayōmard, then I made an offering; when you, Zardušt, were born from your mother, then I made an offering. When you received the religion from me, then I made an offering."<sup>7</sup> The offering is so marvellous [that] (in) all works and judgements that men perform righteously, then at the beginning they should make an offering.

- (3) For it is revealed that an offering (which is made) by three men, then ten thousand fravašis of the righteous come to it.
- (4) Zardušt asked this of Ohrmazd: "(When) an offering goes to the yazads, then what is the sign of this?"
- (5) And Ohrmazd said: "One sign (is) when rain is needed, during the offering it rains.
- (6) "And this also is a sign, when those who are making an offering, and among them there has been discord beforehand, during the offering they make peace.
- (7) "And this also is a sign, when a good, fine, worthy man, who has not been invited to the offering, arrives at that offering as a fellow guest,<sup>8</sup> and they receive him and treat him well."
- (8) And this also he asked: "(When) an offering goes to the dēws, then what is the sign of this?"
- (9) And he said:<sup>9</sup> "When the flat clouds which should have rain in them produce \*lightning;<sup>9</sup> (people) fight and quarrel with one another during the offering; wicked men arrive at the offering. And whenever it is so, the offering is gone to the dēws".

Performance of the Yašt

a(1) This chapter: a seven year old boy should not perform the worship; an eight year old should do so.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The woman who has performed the worship, she need not then perform niyāyeš of xwaršēd and Ātaxš ī Warahrān;<sup>2</sup> and they (i.e. women) should not celebrate and partake of the Ustōfrīt,<sup>3</sup> and they should not perform the service which is with zōhr<sup>4</sup> because they are not to be allowed into the fire-sanctuary;<sup>5</sup> and they should celebrate the Gāhambārs, and they should celebrate Rapihwin outside, if it is being celebrated within (the fire-sanctuary), they are authorised (only) if they do not go (in); (in) all the offerings in which the āfrīnagān should be said, such as the Gāhambārs, and Nōg-Nābar and the year-festivals and Frawardīgān and the Ustōfrīt they should not occupy the front places.

b This also Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "I commanded both men and women, saying: 'Perform worship!' rather than to men (alone), because after fifteen years (of age) marriage for women<sup>6</sup> seems preferable to recitation of sacred words and performance of worship; for no-one in the human race will be righteous and worthy of heaven who has not learned by heart the Gāthās,<sup>7</sup> O righteous Zardušt, except for that man who is without sin through performing worship and who gives something, and he says: 'perform worship on my behalf!'; that worship is called 'the world has thus been bought'".<sup>8</sup>

c This chapter: if those in authority and powerful lords coerce men against their will into a contract of marriage,<sup>9</sup> if they conclude that contract of marriage, to do (so) is best, or (if not, it is better) if they leave the city and land and go away; and (it is) true that it is a difficult thing for (the man) who marries under pressure from kings.

- d(1) But it is revealed in the Avesta that Ohrmazd spoke thus to Zardušt:  
*"Perform the worship of that being, which if you do, you will be certain that you will attain to Heaven."*
- (2) Zardušt said: *"Which (is) that (act of) worship?"*
- (3) Ohrmazd said: *"Perform the worship of the Creator Ohrmazd, for everyone is agreed upon this, that one should perform the worship of the Creator Ohrmazd."*
- (4) And take care of the beneficent animals, for if (everyone is) not agreed concerning the soul, even then (they are) agreed concerning the body; it is revealed that if beneficent animals have access to water and fodder, from beneficent animals there is food and clothing (for people).
- (5) And make intercession for the poor, for everyone is agreed upon this, that one should make intercession for the poor and give something to the dastwars, for everyone is agreed upon this, that one should (give) something to the dastwars; they conduct matters most beneficially.
- (6) For everyone is agreed to this, that everyone should consider the greatest good.
- (7) For if they act oppressively towards (a man) and he leaves the place and goes away, and evil rulers order (judgement of) the case of that person: *"He is the person by whose action there will be desolation for the city and land, and harm to people, and damage to property, that man who leaves the city and land"*; and if he had not left the city and land on account of (their) doing that act (i.e. the act of oppression), he could not have caused that harm and damage and desolation to the city and land and people; and (since) he, out of self-interest, when there is no danger of death for him, does not perform his proper activity then the injury and loss to people in that city goes to (his) account.<sup>10</sup>

- (8) For he should consider the greatest good, for Ohrmazd and the amahraspands consider the greatest good, and they know that (it is) for the greatest good (that) they are doing those things for the benefit of the world, from which there is benefit for mankind.
- (9) For they make rain, and many a person dies in the rains, the rivers carry away many a person, many a person dies in the waters, and even then, because the making of rain is very beneficial, Ohrmazd and the amahraspands - for the sake of the making of rain - Ohrmazd and the amahraspands struggle and do battle none the less with Ahreman and the dēws.
- (10) In the Avesta it is revealed that if a foreign enemy comes and they intend to take prisoners and (cause) great damage in the land of Īrān, and (our) warriors go towards them to restrain them, many are they who kill many of (our) warriors, and even then, because of the greatest good, (if) the foreigners come and destroy the fire of Warahrān and (kill) the righteous man, and they take prisoners and (cause) harm in the land of Īrān, the warrior who does not fight and (who) flees is margarzān; he who does (his duty), and is killed in battle, he is blessed.<sup>11</sup>
- (11) This is the greatest good which also man should consider, if a foreign enemy is appointed (to govern) in his city, and he causes damage and destruction in his city, and (yet) there is no danger of death for (hims) himself, and he (nevertheless) abandons the city to the enemy and goes away, (though) being able to restrain (the enemy), and there is damage to the fire of Warhrān and the righteous man and beneficent animals and water and plants, that man must atone (for the injury he has allowed); and concerning this I have said that, when there is no danger of death for him, then he is not justified unless he does (his duty).

(12) In the Avesta it is revealed that if a fellow countryman has a farthing for himself, and the loss to other people is one thousand, then he is justified if he does not help them; when he has a profit for himself, and men are in possible danger of their lives, [he is not justified] unless he gives away his wealth and helps them; and if he is in possible danger of his life, and (other) people (are) in certain danger of their lives, he is not justified unless he forfeits his life, saying "I shall help them"; when he is in certain danger of death, and (other) people too are in certain danger of death, he is justified if he does not act.

(13) And it is revealed that when Ohrmazd fashioned and created<sup>12</sup> in time the men of this time which is so difficult, then the fravašis of the men of this time stood before Lord Ohrmazd in complaint.

(14) Those fravašis were satisfied by Lord Ohrmazd with these two things: one (was) that, when he said: "For the good deeds which you perform, then I shall give you more reward and recompense",<sup>13</sup> and one (was) that, when he said: "I shall fashion for you in that time the man<sup>14</sup> by whom you will be saved from that distress; when the needs of the yazads have been revealed through him, if you should turn yourselves away from those matters, you will be sinners thereby"; because the fravašis of those men were satisfied with those reasons; when Ohrmazd spoke.

The Value of Fire

- a(1) This chapter: about the value of establishing the Fire of Warahrān<sup>1</sup>,  
(in) one passage it is revealed that Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Is the world better or the Fire of Warahrān?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "The Fire of Warahrān is better than the world."
- (3) Zardušt asked: "Why?"
- (4) Ohrmazd said: "For this reason that if the Fire of Warahrān had not been, there would not have been the ordering of the world." And (in) a passage it is revealed that Zardušt said to Wištāsp<sup>2</sup> the king of kings: "In every place and time establish the Fire of Warahrān, do not hold yourself back from establishing the Fire of Warahrān,<sup>3</sup> for no living person would ever have remained in the world, neither he who is prosperous and rich nor he who is needful of what is beneficial - if the Fire of Warahrān had not been created by me, for (it is) on account of the Fire of Warahrān if at night it is possible (for a man) to come and go, (and it is) on account of the Fire of Warahrān if Ardišwang<sup>4</sup> is a guest in the house."<sup>5</sup>
- b This also is revealed, just as the coming of the royal messengers<sup>6</sup> is swift, (so) also is the coming of the yazads to the dwelling of the Fire of Warahrān.
- c(1) The Fire of Warahrān is so wonderful, when it is made to blaze up at midnight, it smites Ahreman, and it smites the 99,999<sup>7</sup> offspring and diseases<sup>8</sup> of Ahreman.
- (2) If incense<sup>9</sup> is put on the fire on that side where the wind comes, that Fire of Warahrān [smites a thousand dēws] and twice as many sorcerers and witches.
- (3) And if it is made to blaze up at midnight, it smites a thousand dēws and twice as many sorcerers and witches.
- (4) And if the Ādurōg<sup>10</sup> is made to blaze up at midnight, it smites a thousand dēws and twice as many sorcerers and witches.



(5) And if it is made to blaze up not at midnight,<sup>11</sup> it cuts through the darkness and blackness (and) lessens them.

d(1) (In) one passage it is revealed that the fire is so venerable, Ohrmazd created the body and soul of Fire,<sup>12</sup> from his own heart and thought, and he created its splendour and glory from the light of the Endless Light.<sup>13</sup>

(2) And he made five (fires)<sup>14</sup>. One (is) that which burns before him in Garōdmān,<sup>15</sup> and with this he makes true the essence of men;<sup>16</sup> and one is that which is created in the body of men;<sup>17</sup> one is that by which he smites the dēw \*Spanjagr;<sup>18</sup> and one is that which is created in water and plants;<sup>19</sup> one is that which he desired to created on the earth.<sup>20</sup>

(3) It is revealed that Ohrmazd held a meeting with the amahraspands, and (the yazad) Fire also was at the meeting.

(4) And before Ohrmazd and the amahraspands he hung his head and wept.

(5) The amahraspands sat around (the yazad) Fire and wept.

(6) When he saw that the amahraspands too were weeping, he stood before Ohrmazd and wept.

(7) And he said to Ohrmazd: "You, the beneficent, are going from this wicked world to Garōdmān<sup>21</sup> which is free from assault, and you are leaving me here.

(8) "And they will treat me with unlawful treatment; and in the dwellings of men, when the master of the house goes to sleep, then I should be placed in (someone else's) care, (but) they will leave me to affliction; and they will make me bright, and in order to search a house they will bring me into the house, and (then) they will cast me away and extinguish me.<sup>22</sup>

(9) "Second (is) that, when from that place where they should protect me, they

will bring me to another place, and they will not take care of me, and I shall fall stunned there.

- (10) "Thirdly (is) that, when wicked whores in menses<sup>23</sup> will approach (me) and stench as great as a house will come to me from their whoredom, and I shall be ill, and I shall (have to) consume filth.
- (11) "Fourthly (is) that, when witch-whores are allowed to the fire-place<sup>24</sup> and they arrange (their) tresses and scatter(?) hairs, and I shall (have to) consume their tresses and filth.
- (12) "And fifthly (is) that, when children come and throw foulness and filth upon me, and I shall (have to) consume their foulness and filth.
- (13) "Sixthly (is) that, when for blacksmith's work they pour dirty metal on me, and they blow with (their) mouths, not with bellows, and grudgingly and against my will I shall heat that metal.
- (14) "Seventhly (is) that, when at the tested ordeal, when the innocent and the guilty are declared by me, they will disagree, saying: 'Truly, he has not acted with reason and justice.'
- (15) "Eighthly (is) when they take me for toil and work,<sup>25</sup> and they bring me as a spirit into the (physical) world and I am able to help the wicked and the righteous alike."
- (16) And this also he said: "O Ohrmazd, do not create me in the material world,<sup>26</sup> as the stars and the moon and the sun give light in the world,<sup>27</sup> so would I also do in a material form."
- (17) When Ohrmazd had heard the complaint of Fire, he then said to the amahraspands: "Since Fire is complaining in this way, and I cannot create the creations in the world without Fire, what do you think is better and more advantageous -
- (18) "If I leave this complaint and lament for Fire, and create the creation in the (physical) world, and he will have no complaint and lament? For

me it is possible to remove this complaint and lament, if I do not create him in the (physical) world."

- (19) And the amahraspands said: "It is better and more advantageous if you create the creations in the (physical) world, than if Fire does not complain and you do not create the creations in the (physical) world. But Thou, O Ohrmazd, take Fire and establish him victoriously<sup>28</sup> in a dwelling; thus we may help him." And he took the fire of Gušnāsp in his hand and established him victoriously and he established the fire of Farrobag and also that of Burzēmihr<sup>29</sup> with his own hands, and he spoke blessings over them one by one, saying: "May you be the light of the Creator and the goodness of the Creator in your own dwellings."
- (20) And he said to Fire: "Do good among men, in all dwellings and in all villages and in all districts and in all lands; and they will honour you, (those) who are the Water, the Plants and the fravašis of the righteous, when they (i.e. men) bring to you the offering, and when they present to you wood, dry, which has been inspected in the light."
- (21) Even then Fire did not agree to being created in material form in the (physical) world, until Ohrmazd provided him with a safeguard, and made him the lord at the gate of Heaven; and he gave him a mace, and he ordered him, saying: "Everyone with whom you are not pleased, cast down into Hell with this mace."<sup>30</sup>
- (22) And then he agreed to his being created in the (physical) world.
- e(1) (In) a passage it is revealed: "When someone establishes a Fire of Warhrān, the greatest possible number of fires which are unprotected and uncared for should be collected by him."<sup>31</sup>
- (2) There was a dastwar who said thus: "One thousand and one should be collected."
- (3) He who collects a fire, and brings it to the Ādurōg of the Fire of Warhrān, then (it is) a merit of 90 for him.

- (4) (As for) someone who through negligence extinguishes (a fire), there was a dastwar who said thus: "He is margarzān."
- (5) If one extinguishes the fire of Warahrān either through negligence, or deliberately, or (in) whatever way, he is assuredly margarzān.
- (6) If someone were to collect (the fires), the first that must be collected is the one threatened with cooking carrion.
- (7) And the second that by which unclean matter is cooked.
- (8) And the third that by which polluting dung is baked.
- (9) The fourth that by which pots are fired.
- (10) The fifth that by which bricks are baked.
- (11) The sixth that from goldsmiths.
- (12) The seventh (from) silversmiths.
- (13) The eighth (from) swordsmiths.
- (14) The ninth from ovens.
- (15) The tenth from cauldrons.
- (16) The eleventh from donkey-drovers<sup>32</sup> and \*villagers.
- (17) The twelfth from musicians (who play) before noblemen.
- (18) The thirteenth from brave horsemen.
- (19) The fourteenth from other work.
- (20) And when he collects a thousand and one fires, at that time he is authorised to establish (them) victoriously, and if the tending is entrusted to the faithful, (at) every gāh and Gāhāmbār he will be able to give the pure offering (to it).<sup>33</sup>
- (21) And one can thus maintain it (as to) daily sustenance through wood and incense whose body is as great as an average sized man('s body).
- (22) If he establishes (it) when he cannot do all this, then he has no authority to establish (it).
- (23) If he has committed a margarzān sin, then he has no authority to establish it.

(24) If first he establishes the fire, then commits a margarzān sin, even if its (i.e. the fire's) existence and maintenance is not from the wealth of the margarzān sinner, then the dedication must be change and it is left (by him i.e. withdraws from all responsibility for it).

f<sup>34</sup> (1) And it is revealed that fire is so venerable, Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "(As for) the soul,<sup>35</sup> that of whom seems best, if you could see it?"

(2) And Zardušt said: "That of Krišāsp."<sup>36</sup>

(3) Ohrmazd summoned the soul of Krišāsp,<sup>37</sup> and the soul of Krišāsp appeared; on account of the torment which he had seen in Hell he (i.e. Krišāsp) *healer 66, 5* said to Zardušt: "Would that I had been a herbad<sup>38</sup> so that there would have been a power for my protection. For the sake of seeking a livelihood I wandered continually through the world, and the world used to be hateful in my sight, and the world used to be frightened of my miraculous power."<sup>39</sup>

(4) And Ohrmazd said: "Stand away, O soul of Krišāsp, for you are hateful in my sight, because my son Fire<sup>40</sup> was extinguished by you and you did not take care of him."

(5) And the soul of Krišāsp said: "Forgive me, O Ohrmazd, and grant me that which is the Best Existence, and grant me Garōdmān. I slew the horned dragon,<sup>41</sup> which devoured horses (and) which devoured men. And its teeth were as big as my arms and its ears were as big as fourteen felts, and its eye was as big as a chariot, and its horn was as big as a bough in height.

(6) "And I ran so much through the day along (his) back until I\* seized his head in my hand, (I) struck him with a mace up on the neck, and I slew him."<sup>42</sup>

- (7) "And if that dragon had not been slain by me, then your whole creation would have been destroyed by him, and you would never have found a remedy against Ahreman."<sup>43</sup>
- (8) Ohrmazd said: "Stand away, because my son Fire was extinguished by you."<sup>44</sup>
- (9) Krišāsp said: "O Ohrmazd, grant me that which is the Best Existence and Garōdmān, for I slew Gandarw,<sup>45</sup> who devoured twelve villages at one time.
- (10) "When I looked into the teeth of Gandarw, then (I saw) dead men were hung on the teeth; and he seized my beard, and I was dragged by him to the sea, and for nine days and nights we struggled in the sea; and then I prevailed upon Gandarw, (lit.: I was more powerful than G.)
- (11) "And I seized the sole of the foot of Gandarw, and I flayed the skin up to the head, and with it I bound the hands and feet of Gandarw,<sup>46</sup> and I dragged (him) to the edge of the sea, and I entrusted him to Āxrūrag.<sup>47</sup>
- (12) "And I slept in the \*nest of the horses, and Gandarw dragged off (my) friend Āxrūrag, and dragged off this my wife, and he dragged off my father and mother.
- (13) "And I was wakened from sleep by everyone,<sup>49</sup> and I rose and I sprang forward a thousand steps for every step, and everything that was struck by that which leapt from (under) my foot burst into flames. I went to the sea and I brought them back, and I seized Gandarw and slew him.
- (14) "If he had not been slain by me, Ahreman would have become king over your creation."
- (15) Ohrmazd said: "Stand away for you are hateful in my sight, because my son Fire was extinguished by you."
- (16) Krišāsp said: "O Ohrmazd, grant (me) Paradise and Garōdmān, for I slew the highway robbers,<sup>50</sup> who were so big in body (that) when they were

going along, people thought that the stars and moon were below them and that 'the sun went below their ears, and that the waters of the sea came up to their knees.<sup>51</sup>

(17) "I was up to (the level of) their ankles, and I struck them on the ankles, they fell down and smashed the mountains on the earth.

(18) "And if these fallen highway robbers had not been slain by me, Ahreman would have become king over your creation."

(19) Ohrmazd said: "Stand away, for you are hateful in my sight, because my son Fire was extinguished by you."

(20) Krišāsp said: "O Ohrmazd, grant me Paradise and Garōdmān \*for I exhausted and defeated the wind.<sup>52</sup> The dēws deceived the wind, and they said to the wind: 'Of all the creation, you are the most powerful'; then he thinks like this: 'Nobody is more powerful than me! Krišāsp is going over this earth and he is despising the dēws and men, and even you who are the wind, then he is despising you.'

(21) "When the wind heard those words, it rushed out so violently that all the trees and bushes which were in its path were uprooted by it, and all the earth which was in its path was stirred up, and there was darkness.

(22) "And when it came to me who am Krišāsp, then it was not possible for it to lift up my foot from the ground and I stood up and held it (the wind) upon the ground, and I stood with both feet upon its belly, until it made a promise saying: 'I shall go back under the earth; I shall do what Ohrmazd ordained, namely, support the earth and the heaven! (and) I shall not neglect this.'

(23) "And if I had not done this thing, Ahreman would have become king over your creation."

(24) Ohrmazd said: "Stand away, for you are hateful in my sight, because my son Fire was struck by you."

- (25) Krišāsp said: "O Ohrmazd, grant (me) Paradise and Garōdmān for thus it is revealed in the religion that when Dahāg escapes from the chains, then no one except me (will be) able to find a remedy against him; for that reason then grant me Paradise and Garōdmān."
- (26) "And if it is not possible to grant me Paradise and Garōdmān, then give me back the strength and supremacy which was in life; for if then, you give back to me that strength and supremacy which was mine when I was alive, I shall slay Ahreman along with the dēws, I shall destroy the darkness of Hell, (and) I shall make (it) good, and light, and alone may be I shall reside in it and walk therein."<sup>53</sup>
- (27) Ohrmazd said: "This I shall not give to you, O soul of Krišāsp, for men are committing sins, and until men do not commit sins, it is not possible to make you alive again, nor is it possible to make any other men alive again; for the resurrection<sup>54</sup> will be brought about thus, when all men are sinless."
- (28) "When men die, and their souls are unrighteous, then they lose all their repose, and all (kinds of) torment and suffering are inflicted upon them."
- (29) When Krišāsp had spoken of his own deeds in this manner, the spiritual yazads and the physical yazads wept and Zardušt Spitaman wept, and said: "Since you are not a deceiver, will you be a deceiver in my sight, O Ohrmazd towards the soul of Krišāsp? Since, if Krišāsp had not existed physically and spiritually, nothing of your creation would have had permanence in the (physical) world."
- (30) When Zardušt had become silent again, Fire rose to his feet and spoke of the sinfulness of Krišāsp against himself, and he said: "I will not allow him into Paradise."



(31) And Fire had said these many words, and the yazad Gōšurwan<sup>55</sup> rose to his feet, and said: "I will not allow him into Hell, for he did much good to me."<sup>56</sup>

(32) Gōšurwan had said these many words, and Zardušt rose to his feet, and bowed to Fire and said: "I shall take care of you, and I shall speak of your deeds in the world, and I shall speak of them to Wištāsp and Jāmāsp, saying: '(see) how Fire acted magnanimously when Krišāsp confessed and was forgiven by him.'"<sup>57</sup>

(33) Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "(Who will be) the first arrived of those whom you restore?"

(34) And Ohrmazd said: "He who is Krišāsp."

(35) And Zardušt felt aggrieved, and he said to Ohrmazd: "Since Krišāsp's deed was the killing of men,<sup>58</sup> why should you make him the first arrived?"<sup>59</sup>

(36) Ohrmazd said: "Do not be aggrieved, O Zardušt, for if Krišāsp had not been, and had not done those many deeds which have been spoken of, neither you nor any creature of mine would have had permanence (in the world)."

g(1) And it is revealed that a man should not be confident of his own achievement<sup>1</sup> (i.e. of acquired merit).

(2) And it is revealed that an offence against an adversary<sup>2</sup> will be expiated only when the adversary is satisfied by him; it is revealed that the yazads also will consider the case of the greatest good.

(3) And it is revealed that when a yazad is (his) helper, then he will not be admitted to Hell.<sup>3</sup>

(4) And it is revealed that when a yazad is his adversary, then he will not be admitted to Heaven.

(5) Since from establishing the Fire of Warahrān, a man will have this benefit, when that help of the yazad is his, he will not go to Hell—even then its (whole) value is not known.

h (In) one passage it is revealed that Ohrmazd said: "I have not declared then, the value of the Fire of Warahrān,<sup>4</sup> and if I declare the value, then it is the basis of all prosperity, and the fruit of the manifestation of all righteousness and the value of the existence of all the material creation of the Holy Spirit.

Carrying out the Dead

*In one passage it is revealed that when the master or mistress of a house dies in the house, he should not be carried out through the outer door, for the fortune of the house will go out with it (i.e. the dead body).<sup>1</sup>*

Making Offerings

- (1) In one passage it is revealed that if a man declares: "If this goodness comes to me I shall make an Ustōfrīt offering,"<sup>1</sup> then even if it does not come to him, (even) then he should make it (i.e. the offering), for the yazads are the granters of (real) benefit, not the granters of wishes, and the yazads know well the interests of men.
- (2) There was a dastwar who said that [if a man declares]: "If this benefit does not come to me, then I shall not make (the offering)," he is authorised if he does not make it.
- (3) When an Ustōfrīt is recited, then one is not authorised unless one gives bread also, and wine and herbs and rue, and whatever outlay is necessary for that (offering).
- (4) And when the Ustōfrīt is performed, one is not authorised to give to that person who has not performed worship or who has eaten while chattering,<sup>3</sup> nor to him also who is exposed as a thief<sup>4</sup> and that which they eat, as much as they eat that will not be [of any worth to them], and this is likewise so for the Drōn, and if they (i.e. the offerings) have not gone to them (i.e. the donors)<sup>5</sup> they should be given to the dogs and the birds.

The Killing of Evil and Good Creatures

- a(1) This chapter: [whoever] kills a sodomite, then for him (there is) one tanāpuhl merit.<sup>1</sup> (i.e. a merit which atones for a tanāpuhl sin).
- (2) Whoever kills a man who is margarzān, then for him there is one tanāpuhl merit.
- (3) Whoever kills a winged serpent,<sup>2</sup> then for him (there is) one tanāpuhl merit.
- (4) And whoever catches a frog in water, kills it and takes it out of the water, then for him (there is) one tanāpuhl merit; if he kills it in the water and he kills 1500, [then for him] (there is) one tanāpuhl [merit].<sup>3</sup>
- (5) Whoever kills an ant, [then for him] (there is) a merit of 90 (stērs).<sup>4</sup>
- (6) Whoever kills a serpent, while reciting Avesta over it, then for him (there is) one tanāpuhl merit; if he does not recite Avesta over it,
- (7) if he kills twelve, then for him (there is) one tanāpuhl merit.<sup>5</sup>
- (8) If he kills 100 scorpions, \*parasites, \*turtles and \*tortoises,<sup>6</sup> then for him (there is) one tanāpuhl merit.
- (9) If he kills a dung-worm,<sup>7</sup> (there is) a merit of 12 (stērs).
- (10) And whoever kills a chameleon,<sup>8</sup> then for him (there is the merit of) the period of one month of the greater yast, that is, chanting of the Gāthās.
- (11) Whoever kills a \*sea-\*crab then for him (there is) one tanāpuhl merit.<sup>9</sup>
- (12) Whoever kills [a snake which is] a dog-lizard,<sup>10</sup> then for him (there is the merit of) the period of one month of the greater yašt, that is, chanting of the Gāthās.
- (13) Whoever kills a \*turtle, then for him there is one tanāpuhl merit.<sup>11</sup>
- (14) Whoever kills a worm-producing fly,<sup>12</sup> then for him (there is a merit of) ten days of the greater yašt, that is, chanting of the Gāthās.

- (15) Whoever kills 100 cheetahs, then for him (there is the merit of) the period of one year of the greater yašt, that is chanting of the Gāthās.
- (16) Whoever kills a carrion\*-carrying cat,<sup>13</sup> then for him the merit is such as if he had (killed) four lions of the wolf species; and if he kills a cheetah of the wolf species, and a lion of the wolf species, then as much as the body of a lion of the wolf species weighs, then for him (there is) so much tanāpuhl merit.
- (17) And whoever kills two bugs or two fleas, for him (there is) the merit of one day of the greater yašt, that is, chanting of the Gāthās.
- b(1) This also is revealed, that Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Which of the xrafstars of Ahreman lives longest in the \*world?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "The ant and the serpent; and concerning both of them, they live for a thousand years, the ant for 1133 years. Wings will grow on the serpent;<sup>14</sup> when wings have grown on it, then horns grow upon the serpent. Among the xrafstars of Ahreman it is so poisonous [that if] one kills a snake of one finger's breadth, then for him there is (the merit of) a day of the greater yašt, that is, chanting of the Gāthās.
- (3) Whoever kills a hedgehog,<sup>15</sup> then for him (there is) a five-tanāpuhl<sup>16</sup> sin.
- (4) Whoever kills an otter or a fox, or a weasel, then for him (there is) a two-and-a-half-tanāpuhl sin.
- (5) Whoever kills a dog, then for him (there is) a four-tanāpuhl sin.<sup>17</sup>
- (6) Whoever kills a water-beaver, then for him (there is) a 150 tanāpuhl sin.<sup>18</sup>

The Omniscience of Ohrmazd<sup>1</sup>

- (1) This chapter, Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Are you wise and omniscient?"
- (2) And Ohrmazd said: "I am wise and omniscient."
- (3) And Zardušt said: "Of what nature is your knowledge?"
- (4) Ohrmazd said: "My knowledge is such that if they take all the milk of every (living) thing into one cup, \*then one by one separately I know how to tell \*from whose breast (the milk comes); and if they let all the water which is in the world (flow) into one place, I know how to tell separate(ly) one by one from which spring (the water comes); and if they compress (together) finely all the plants which are in all the world, I know how to put them back one by one in to their own place."

The Fate of the Souls of the Righteous and the Wicked<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Zardušt said: "Creator, you are omniscient and you know all things; (when) the righteous pass away from the world, whither do their souls go?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "For three days and nights the righteous soul sits in that place where his head lies when his soul departs, he wears a white garment, (and) he speaks these words: "It was good for me if I did (my) duty, I belong to Ohrmazd, and according to his wish he therefore treats me with goodness."<sup>2</sup>
- (3) And on the first night they show him as much felicity as (that of) a man who all his life then experienced the greatest felicity in the world.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) And on the second and third nights then it is the same for him.
- (5) On the third night, in (this) very place, it seems as if all the most fragrant plants in the world were brought to this place, and he sits amid those fragrant flowers, and he says: "This smell is so fragrant and so pleasant which the breeze brings to my nose, and never in the (physical) world did I experience a fragrance such as this."<sup>4</sup>
- (6) Ohrmazd said: "That breeze and fragrance is brought from Paradise."
- (7) When the soul looks into that breeze, he sees a maiden whose whole body is bright and comely, and her form is so lovely that never among the creatures of Ohrmazd was anyone seen to be lovelier than her.<sup>5</sup>
- (8) And he asks: "Maiden, to whom do you belong?"
- (9) The maiden says: "Young man of good thought, good speech and good action, I am your Action, I am yours."
- (10) And the soul says: "By whose doing are you (made) so great and excellent and victorious and lovely and sorrowless as you seem to me?"
- (11) The maiden says: "By your doing I am just as I seem to you."<sup>6</sup>



- (12) "When you saw him who was performing demon-worship and who did not carry out the wishes of his friends, and who slammed the door (on them) and who did not give anything at all, then you sat down and performed worship,<sup>7</sup> and you gave something to the righteous man who came from near and who came [from] afar, and I was lovely, and by you I was made lovelier, I was comely and by you I was made more comely through the duty which you performed. Until the Future Body [when] mankind will perform worship of Ohrmazd in the physical state,<sup>8</sup> day by day it will become better for me."
- (13) The first step which the soul takes, he steps into that place where (are) the stars, in Humat, he takes the second step into that place where is the moon, in Huxt, he takes the third step (in)to that place where the sun, in Huwaršt, and he takes the fourth step in(to) Garōdmān, which is light.<sup>9</sup>
- (14) And the souls of the righteous who have departed from the physical world before him and are in Garōdmān then bring to him the pleasant fragrance, saying: "You are welcome! and you have (done) well (to) come from the tormented, afflicted, physical world to this place which is free from torment and affliction, and for the Long Duration it will be well for you."
- (15) Ohrmazd says: "Do not ask questions of him!<sup>10</sup> for on account of love and affection for (his) body when he came out of the body, then it was difficult for him; and give him food!"
- (16) The souls say: "Which food shall we give him first?"
- (17) Ohrmazd says: "Give (him) mares' milk, and cream and butter and sweet wine, or butter which is prepared in springtime, first give him the spring butter,<sup>11</sup> because for the souls of the righteous when they depart from the world, then for them until the Future Body this is their food."

- (18) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd: "When he who is wicked dies, whither does his soul rush?"
- (19) Ohrmazd said: "For three days and nights it sits in that place where his evil head lies when his soul departs. And a torn and foul garment which rests on his two shoulders has then clothed him, and this indeed he says: 'It was indeed evil for me when I did not perform my duty, I belong to Ahreman, to what land shall I go? and whom shall I seek? and who shall hold back this affliction from me?'"<sup>12</sup>
- (20) And on the first night they show him as much misery as (that of) a man who, all his life then experienced the greatest misery in the world.
- (21) And on the second and third nights then it is the same for him.
- (22) On the third night, in (this) very place, it seems as though he is in snow, and as if (all) the stench which is in the world were brought to this place, and he lies down in it; when that stench assaults his nose, he says: "Whence has the wind brought this stench which is so strong, that never in the world did a stench such as this assault my nose?"
- (23) And that wind is from Hell, the stench of Ahreman! When he looks into that wind, then he also sees his own Action, which is uglier and filthier than any of the xrafstars, which (are) the miscreations of Ahreman, which he had ever seen.
- (24) And he asks: "To whom do you belong?"
- (25) And the Action says: "Young man of evil thought, of evil speech, of evil action, I am your Action."
- (26) And the (soul) says: "By whose doing are you (made) so evil and sinful and filthy and fetid and foul and full of defeat and so rowful, as you seem to me?"

- (27) *The Action says: "By you doing I am just as I seem to you. When you saw him who was performing worship, and (who) gave something to the righteous man, then you slammed the door (on them) and you harmed your friends and you did not give anything; and I was miserable, and by you I was made worse, I was ugly, and by you I was made uglier through the sins you committed. Until the Future Body, when Ahreman is destroyed, then day by day it will become worse for me." Then he rushes to Hell.*
- (28) *And the wicked (soul) says: "If they cut off my head, or smite me with arrows and kill me, or first take me prisoner then stab me with a dagger, then it would seem better to me than on this path, where my treasure has been carried away (from me); then (although) I must go to Hell, I do not go willingly."*
- (29) *And the dēw Wizarēš casts a noose upon his neck, and his own Action stands before him terribly and fearsomely. On account of fear of his own Action he runs before the dēw Wizarēš just like a horse which has been made to gallop when it gallops on a race-course because of fear of the whip, so he too gallops to Hell.*
- (30) *The first step which the soul takes he steps (in)to Dušmat, and the second step (in)to Dušhuxt, and he takes the third step (in)to Dušxwaršt, and he takes the fourth step into Hell, which is darkness.*
- (31) *And the wicked who have rushed from the world before him, then rush towards him with the stench.*
- (32) *And they say to him: "Ill it was to you! and ill have you come from that tormented, mortal world to this place where for you that (wordly) torment was easy in (comparison with) this torment!"*
- (33) *Ahreman brayed: "Wicked one, why have you come to my hell-hole? Since here except the pain and misfortune and torment with which they abuse you, there is nothing else at all, and all is torment for you"*

(34) And he says to the souls of the wicked: "Do not ask questions of him!

And give him good of which he (is) worthy!"

(35) And the wicked say: "Shall we give him freshly voided filth?

Is it best if we give him that filth, or that which has not been  
freshly voided?"

(36) Ahreman says: "Give him fresh filth, because for the souls of the wicked,  
then for them until the Future Body this is their food."

The Affliction of the Wicked After Death

- (1) This also is revealed, that (as for) the souls of the righteous, after the soul departs from the body, when the wolf<sup>1</sup> and fox and dog and bird rend and devour (the body), there is nothing at all of distress for the souls of the righteous; and (as for) the souls of the wicked, after their souls depart from the body, when the wolf and fox and dog and bird rend and devour his body, there is thus such a pain and distress that it (the soul) cries out.
- (2) It says: "If I had devoured all the creation of Ohrmazd, (even) then this punishment and torment would be enough for me." And he moans to the body, he says: "O thieving, wicked body, great wealth was amassed by you in the world, and today your sons and brothers and relatives are fighting over it; and you did nothing at all of good for me, who am the soul, and those (relatives) do nothing at all of good for you, and they do not perform even one Drōn (service) for your soul; and I am weeping in Hell in the grip of demons, and I must endure the torment until the Future Body;<sup>2</sup> and dog and bird and wolf and fox devour you here; and (as for) your wealth which you amassed, then not a thing will come to your aid. Whoever commits sin, then this is his punishment.

Frašegird<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Righteousness<sup>2</sup> is so marvellous and great and valuable that in one passage (it is) revealed that Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "How much time remains<sup>3</sup> until the time of Frašegird, that is the bringing about healing, the Final Body?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "Three thousand years."<sup>4</sup>
- (3) Zardušt was afraid and said: "A long time remains!"<sup>5</sup>
- (4) Ohrmazd said: "Then do not let this time seem long to you, for so long as the souls of the righteous are in Garōdmān then this much time of three thousand years will seem in their sight as long a period and as easy as when a beautiful maiden of fifteen years and a young man of twenty years come with one another to their house and sleep upon their soft quilts and the young man loves the girl with (all his) soul,<sup>6</sup> and for them that (alone) is required: "May night never become day!" So for those also who are righteous in Garōdmān, for them because of the pleasure and peace which is theirs then for them that (alone) is required: "May that time never come!"<sup>7</sup>

The Ox, the Horse and Hōm Curse Those Who Neglect Them.

- (1) This also is revealed: the Ox and horse and the yazad Hōm curse<sup>2</sup> (men) if they are treated unjustly.
- (2) And the ox curses that person,<sup>3</sup> and it says to him: "May you not have children, and may you have dishonour and other afflictions together with every (kind of) affliction, you who kill me and cook me and do not give me to worthy men,<sup>5</sup> and who only care for and keep your wife and sons and your own stomach!"<sup>6</sup>
- (3) The horse curses<sup>7</sup> that person who sits upon him (saying): "May you not be able to sit upon me,<sup>8</sup> you who do not help good men through my strength and power,<sup>9</sup> and may you not keep back (your) enemies!"
- (4) And the yazad Hōm curses that person,<sup>10</sup> he says: "May you not have children, and may dishonour and other afflictions be yours, you who do not use me in worship,<sup>11</sup> and do not consecrate the food which (my) father Ohrmazd gave<sup>12</sup> to me, the jaw along with the tongue and left eye of all beneficent animals, and the varieties<sup>13</sup> of beneficent animals, you do not consecrate (for me), but you devour (it)!<sup>14</sup> Whoever does not consecrate that food which my father Ohrmazd gave to me, but devours it, in his house will be born neither priest nor warrior nor husbandman, in his house the man of the race of sorcerers will be born, and he will destroy the creations of Ohrmazd,<sup>15</sup> (he is) the miscreator who ruins things,<sup>16</sup> and (even if) he will undertake many duties and obligations, he will bring nothing at all to completion,<sup>17</sup> and I shall bind him in the spiritual state with those chains with which I bound Frāsyāb the Tūr.<sup>18</sup>

The Value of ašəm vohū Recited on Different Occasions

- (1) This also is revealed, that there is a time when a man recites one ašəm vohū (when) that one ašəm vohū is more valuable than ten ašəm vohūs.
- (2) And there is a time when one ašəm vohū is more valuable than one hundred ašəm vohūs.
- (3) And there is a time when one ašəm vohū is more valuable than one thousand ašəm vohūs.
- (4) And there is a time when one ašəm vohū is more valuable than a myriad ašəm vohūs.
- (5) There is a time when one ašəm vohū is more valuable than the region of Xwanirah, excluding men.<sup>2</sup>
- (6) There is a time when one ašəm vohū is more valuable than all the world and (all) physical things.
- (7) When (a man) recites it (i.e. one ašəm vohū), and consumes the Srōš drōn then for him that is more valuable than ten.<sup>3</sup>
- (8) And when (a man) recites it (then) consumes the parahōm, then for him that is more valuable than a hundred.<sup>4</sup>
- (9) And when (a man) recites it (and then) goes to sleep, then for him that is more valuable than a thousand.<sup>5</sup>
- (10) (When he recites) it when he awakes (and then) turns onto (his) other side, then for him that is more valuable than a myriad.
- (11) When a man recites it at the final end<sup>6</sup> [of life], then for him it is more valuable than the region of Xwanirah.
- (12) If the judgement is such for him (that he must go to Hell) when [he recites] an ašəm vohū he will come out of Hell to Hammistagān, then that is more valuable for him than all (other) things.<sup>7</sup>



The Value of Righteousness and Good Works<sup>1</sup>

a This also is revealed: Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "All good works and meritorious actions which you may be able to do, do (them) all on the same day on which they present themselves for if you say: 'I shall do them later,' there is (a time) when Astwihād<sup>2</sup> will come, and you will not be able to do them."

b This also is revealed: If a man says: "Until my wealth amounts to one thousand (drahms), I shall not perform meritorious actions and I shall not have mercy on my soul," then, in his (act of) saying that, Astwihād will come to him, and thereafter he will not be able to do them.

c This also is revealed: Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "Be diligent in doing good works and meritorious actions,<sup>3</sup> for in (the course of) one day all these things may come to a man: in the first watch he is rich, he is well-esteemed in the hearts of the rulers; by the watch of the noon-time meal they keep him from the ruler's gate; (in the) afternoon then they take away his riches to the palace; then, when evening comes they have killed him and he is eaten by birds."

The dastwars, such as was Warahrān, son of Ādurmāh, have taught that Astwihād and Zarman come to even the birds that fly in the air, mortal in body, mortal they fall to earth and die.<sup>4</sup> Mortal body does harm to mortal body, for this reason it strives, "lest my wealth should disappear", for this reason it strives, "lest my children should perish," for this reason it strives, "lest my cattle should die."<sup>4</sup>

If (he is) aware, (as man) knows through his own wisdom<sup>5</sup> that mortal (things) die and turn to dust: the cow turns to dust, the horse turns to dust, gold and silver turn to dust, the strong man turns to dust, all things of the world turn to dust; that one thing does not turn to dust, when a man contemplates righteousness, does good works and meritorious actions, and having done many good works and meritorious actions, gives gifts to priests.

The Privileges of Seniority<sup>1</sup>

- (1) This also is revealed, Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: "If a father is engaged in a lawsuit with his son, or a teacher with his pupil, or a father-in-law with his son-in-law, and if the father has one witness on his side, and the son one witness on his, give the decision in favour of the father, and entrust the property (at stake) to the father, for this reason, that the good that the father does for his son, the son can never pay back that goodness; he has nurtured him from childhood and immaturity until that (time) when he becomes an adult; indeed according to this saying: 'until a son is fifteen years old his nurture (comes) from his father', then indeed so long as he (i.e. the father) is alive the (son's) earnings belong to the father, and all the good works and meritorious actions which the son does, will so belong to the father as if he had done them with his own hands."
- (2) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd: "Do the good deeds which a son or a daughter perform belong to the mother or the father?"
- (3) Ohrmazd said: "They belong equally to both, for both of them are to him the father and the mother (equally)."
- (4) "And if the teacher also has one witness on his side and the pupil one witness on his, give the decision in favour of the teacher, for this reason, that the teacher of the righteous<sup>2</sup> has spoken to the pupil according to the Avesta and the Zand; who thereby redeems him from the torment of Hell, and he gives him prosperity, and he makes for him a pathway upon the Činwad bridge [so that] he will arrive in paradise; also every good work and meritorious action which the pupil does according to those utterances, which were taught by the teacher, will thus belong to the teacher as if he had done them with his own hands. And indeed at the resurrection of the dead they will resurrect the teacher and pupil at the same time;<sup>3</sup> for it is revealed that the

teacher is superior to the father and mother, for the father is the nourisher of the body and the teacher is the nourisher of the soul; he who is the nourisher of the soul is superior to him who is the nourisher of the body,<sup>4</sup> for if the soul becomes margarzān then the body also cannot survive, for it is beheaded.

- (5) And if the father-in-law (has) a witness on his side and the son-in-law (has) a witness on his, give the decision in favour of the father-in-law, for the son-in-law can never repay that (goodness) of the father-in-law, for this reason that he gave to the son-in-law [the Dādwarīh, Mowbadīh, Radīh, Mowqān-Handarzbādīh or Mowbadān-Mowbadīh,<sup>5</sup> and he gave to him], he gave the marriage, from which all this good can come.

On Selling a Slave to an Unbeliever

- (1) This also is revealed, that it is not lawful to sell a slave to unbelievers.
- (2) [He] who sells and he who buys him (i.e. the slave), with regard to the slave they are both, before the Rad, thieves of a youth of the Good Religion.
- (3) With regard to the drahms indeed which they took for him, they are thieves; the judges must punish (them).
- (4) If they have made him an unbeliever, thereafter all the sins which he has committed on account of evil religion, including that of his own being taken into evil religion, then become such as if he who sold him and he who bought him had committed them with their own hands.

Yim's Sin and Confession<sup>1</sup>

- a(1) It is revealed that confession is something so valuable and marvellous that Zardušt asked Ohrmazd: "Show me the soul of him who was most active in human body in the world."
- (2) Ohrmazd summoned the soul of Yim from the northern direction. (i.e. Hell)
- (3) He approached all upon (his) knees and elbows and he was covered by a torn garment which had holes on all sides.<sup>2</sup>
- (4) And he was wearing clothes which were sinful.
- (5) And because of his shame in the presence of Ohrmazd, he sat twelve paces away from Ohrmazd.
- (6) Zardust said: "O Ohrmazd, who is this, who because of his shame in your presence has sat [twelve paces] away [from you]?"
- (7) And Ohrmazd said: "This is Yim son of Vivanghān."
- (8) Zardušt said: "What did Yim son of Vivanghān do for which the judgement is so severe?"
- (9) Ohrmazd said: "I revealed this religion first to Yim of (all) worldlings: when it was necessary for him to be wiser, he set (himself) on the path of Ahreman and the dēws."
- (10) And he said: "I created the waters, the earth, the plants, the cow, I created the sun, the moon and the stars, I created all the creations of the heavens, I created all the creations of the world";<sup>3</sup> he uttered lies such as must be rejected, these (statements) that he created (the world); but this, i.e. how he created, this then he did not know. And through that false speech, his glory and lordship were then taken away from him, and his body fell into destruction at the hands of the dēws. Moreover, whoever<sup>4</sup> praises himself for those virtues which he does not have, those which he does have then leave him, just as they left Yim.

- b(1) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd: "What did Yim do best for the good of the world?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "That (time) which was when the dēws said to men: 'Kill the beneficent animals, so that we may give you the elephant, which is advantageous (in that) neither keeper nor herdsman is required for it.'
- (3) "Men replied: 'Let us act without the permission of Yim', and they did; and Yim fought with the dēws for men not to kill the beneficent animals,<sup>5</sup> and for men not to take the elephant from the dēws,\* so \*that the dēws were defeated and were made mortal and punishable."
- c(1) Zardušt asked this also of Ohrmazd: "What did Yim do worst for the world?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "When I revealed the religion to him, he did not accept (it)."<sup>6</sup>
- (3) The soul of Yim cried out to Zardušt: "Beware, do not listen to the words of the dēws, and accept the religion, because this time is the best and the foremost when Ohrmazd speaks to you.
- (4) "For he first revealed it (the religion) to me, and when it was necessary to be most wise, I set (myself) on the path of the dēws.
- (5) "And I said that I (had) created all the creatures and creations of the spiritual and material worlds.
- (6) "For those lies which I uttered, glory and lordship were taken away from me, and my body fell into destruction at the hands of the dēws.
- (7) "You who are Zardušt, if hardship should befall you, if prosperity, do not desist from proclaiming the religion; for when this earth becomes a plain,<sup>7</sup> when the waters stand (still) in the sea,<sup>8</sup> and the Sīmurǵ<sup>9</sup> makes its nest in the forest, and when everyone who was in the world rises again, when the sun moves upon that path, when everyone in the world is sinless, when Ahreman and the dēws are destroyed, (then)

through the religion shall there be all worship and praise of Ohrmazd  
and the amahraspands."

- (8) When Yim had spoken in this manner, then confession and contrition  
came into his account,<sup>10</sup> and he was forgiven by Ohrmazd and the amahraspands  
and the other yazads, and he went from the northern direction (i.e. Hell)  
to the state of Hammistagān and to the lordship of Hammistagān.<sup>11</sup>

The Value of the Righteous Soul

- (1) This also is revealed, that if the wealth which is in the whole world belongs to one man, and Ahreman and the dēws steal that wealth from him, even then Ahreman and the dēws do not think: "We have done to him"<sup>2</sup> a complete injury."
- (2) If he has (only) one son [in] the whole world, and they kill him, even then they do not think: "We have done to him a complete injury."
- (3) If (he is) lord over all the world, and they seize that lordship from him, even then they do not think: "We have done to him a complete injury."
- (4) If they take his life from the body, even then they do not think: "We have done to him a complete injury."
- (5) When they make his soul wicked and annihilate<sup>3</sup> it, at (that) time do Ahreman and the dēws think: "We have done to him a complete injury."<sup>4</sup>



The Faithful and the Wicked

a This also is revealed, that in this world one must not have any love for wicked<sup>2</sup> men, for those who are wicked deceive the faithful; when they (i.e. the faithful) have happiness, then they take it away from them by deception, when hardship and distress and deprivation come to them, then they do not help them; on account of that love which [has been shown] by someone for wicked men, one will arrive in Hell, the place of Ahreman and the dēws.<sup>3</sup>

b This also is revealed, that if the faithful (have) fear of evil men, then they must say to them the (following) words and pretend: "Our love is with you, and your well-being matters more to us than anything (else)"; and in thought they must (meanwhile) curse them, and when the opportunity arises for it, then one must cause him (i.e. the evil man) harm and injury.

Marriage, Obedience and Divorce

- a(1) This also is revealed, that until a child is seven years (of age) since he is under his father's tutelage, he is sinless; every sin which he commits causes punishment and injury to the dēws.
- (2) From eight years old until fifteen years old, if he commits a margarzān (sin), then (only) one yād (sin) will be (added) to his account, if he learns sorcery, then it is (only) one tanāpuhl sin, and other sins which he commits up to one yād then (go) to his account.<sup>1</sup>
- b(1) When a daughter is not yet nine years (of age), it is not lawful to give (her) to a husband; it is not lawful oneself to marry her.<sup>2</sup>
- (2) And when she is nine years (old), at that time it is lawful to give (her to a husband).<sup>3</sup>
- (3) If a man desires a girl for love, if she is twelve years (old) and he has sexual intercourse with her, and then does not give her (her legal) share,<sup>4</sup> (he is) margarzān.
- c(1) <sup>5</sup>To the husband (there is) authority over the pādixšāy wife, thus (that) whatever he orders her concerning his wife's matters, she has no power but to do it. If a wife \*complains of her husband at that time, (it is) disrespectful.
- Concerning the owner (2) of a slave: if she orders him to make a garment, and he makes half a garment, or she teaches him to do something righteous and he does that which is sinful, or she tells him to fetch something which costs one drahm and he fetches something which costs three dāng, or when she tells him to prepare food and he does not do it - of this much of which I have spoken, if he does not do one (of these things), then complains, (it is) disrespectful.
- Concerning the portion of the wife (3) All the property which the husband has given to the wife goes back to the husband, and nothing at all of the property is hers; and [when] her husband is dead then nothing

of the property of the husband shall be her inheritance.

- (4) If a wife says three times<sup>6</sup> to her husband: "I shall not fulfil the duties of a wife for you", then (she is) margarzān.
- (5) If a son says three times to his father: "I shall not fulfil the duties of a son for you", [then] (he is) margarzān.
- (6) If a father says three times to his son: "You are not my son, [then] (he is) margarzān, and fatherhood (is) taken from him.
- (7) If a slave says: "I shall not fulfil the duties of your slave." then he is not margarzān, but he is like an ox when it sleeps and does no work, and must always be beaten until it becomes obedient; when he (i.e. the master) orders him to do something righteous and he does not do it, prescribe a punishment for that; the slave is margarzān.
- d(1) It is lawful for a man to divorce his wife at that time when danger to (his) body or the (danger) to his soul is certain.
- (2) If she has given herself in adultery once, danger to (his) body is certain; if she has concealed (her) menstruation once, then danger to his soul is certain, and it is lawful to divorce (her).<sup>7</sup>
- (3) At that time it is lawful (only) if he provides a guardian (for her); if it is not possible for him to provide a guardian, then he himself is not allowed to have sexual relations (with her), and he must protect her as a guardian according to the law.<sup>8</sup>
- (4) If he divorces her when divorce is not authorised (by law), the sin (is) serious.
- (5) There was a dastwar who said that (such an offence was) margarzān.
- e(1) This also is revealed in the Avesta, that a man should approach his wife in the light of the sun or a (domestic) fire; for if he does so the dēws can do little damage to him; the child which is born (of such a union) will be more righteous and triumphant in righteousness.

Thunder and Lightning; the Falling of Stars<sup>1</sup>

- a(1) Zardušt asked this also: "What is this (phenomenon that) when men look at a mirror and at water they see their own form?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "It is the light of Garōdmān by which the creations have been created."<sup>2</sup>
- (3) (Zardušt asked:) "And what is this lightning that comes from the cloud?"
- (4) Ohrmazd said: "This light is from Garōdmān for assistance \*and it comes \*<sup>3</sup>to smite the demon Span<sup>y</sup>agr."<sup>4</sup>
- (5) (Zardušt asked:) "What is this thunderbolt which falls from the cloud?"
- (6) Ohrmazd said: "This is a stone; when the cloud draws (up) water (from the sea), through the power of the wind and the movement of the three-legged ass<sup>5</sup> which stands in the middle of the sea, it (i.e. the water) goes up [to] the atmosphere and grows hot and is heated severely, when it falls on men and good animals it kills them, and Ahreman becomes more oppressive."
- b(1) And he asked: "To what is the voice of Ahreman similar?"
- (2) And he said: "It is similar to \*thunder<sup>6</sup> and the cry of an ass, and the cry of a lion, and the cry of a female camel, the cry of the lamenting voice of the righteous man when he is struck unjustly and he cries out."
- c(1) (Zardušt asked:) "And what is this star which falls?"<sup>7</sup>
- (2) (Ohrmazd said:) "This is a defilement from Ahreman; if it falls on men, it makes (their) hair white, and if it falls on plants it withers them, and if it falls [on] good animals, they die."
- (3) (Zardušt asked:) "And what is this pillar which is white, yellow, and dark-coloured?"
- (4) (Ohrmazd said:) "All that is white is from the creation of Ohrmazd, and the rest is from the creation of Ahreman; the white is for the assistance of the rains and the rest is for the opposition of the rains."<sup>8</sup>

- (5) (Zardušt asked:) "(When) one makes a sound, and to it an answer comes back (i.e. an echo), then what (is it)?"
- (6) (Ohrmazd said:) "When one makes a righteous sound, then to it the sound of a righteous answer comes (back) and the yazads become strong; when one makes an unrighteous sound, then to it an unrighteous answer comes (back) and the dēws become strong."
- (7) (Zardušt asked:) "What then are those fires which burn which do not produce embers?"<sup>9</sup>
- (8) And Ohrmazd said: "All that produces embers, Ohrmazd (created); that in which embers and radiance are not (produced) Ahreman created."

Zardušt asks Immortality of Ohrmazd<sup>1</sup>

- (1) This also is revealed, Zardušt said to Ohrmazd: "When you go away (to Heaven) and I also go away, when shall I return to the corporeal state?"
- (2) Ohrmazd said: "In the assembly of Isadvāstar."<sup>2</sup>
- (3) This also is revealed, the souls of the righteous will thus arrive together with one another, friend and brother and father and son and \*kinsman<sup>3</sup> and wife and husband.
- (4) If they are wicked, then they will not arrive in the end.<sup>4</sup>
- (5) When Zardušt came before Ohrmazd he wept and said: "O Ohrmazd, make me immortal!"<sup>5</sup>
- (6) Ohrmazd said: "It cannot be done, for (if so) the Tūr Brādrēs<sup>6</sup> the priest, whom Ahreman created for the (purpose of) killing you, he (also) will become immortal, and there will be no resurrection of the dead and future body, in which the poor have hope."
- (7) Zardušt made a serious reply: "You created the wind, you created the water, you created the clay (of the earth), you created the fire, you created everything, behold, seek for me a means whereby I may be saved from death."
- (8) And then Ohrmazd bestowed omniscient wisdom upon Zardušt.
- (9) Zardušt saw everything which was and is and shall be of this place of the physical state, and that also of the spiritual state and that also of every person.
- (10) And he saw the place of him who was immortal, and who had no children, and (such persons) appeared to him sad and sorrowful.
- (11) And he saw the place of him who was mortal, and who had children, and he appeared full of peace and joy.
- (12) And then he said to Ohrmazd: "Transience, then, seems better to me than everlasting life and childlessness."

- (13) Ohrmazd said: "Good, and you have learned well and seen, O Zardušt, that if you have pure-hearted children, then it seems better to me than (if you have) eternal existence and (yet) you have no child; take a wife, so that you will have children, for whoever, by (deliberate) wrong-doing, has no wife will not reach heaven."
- (14) Men should teach and learn that which is (revealed) in the Avesta and the Zand and that (also) which they see with their eyes and hear with their ears; from their teaching (there will be) knowledge and from their learning there will be good nature and gentleness, and from knowledge and gentleness there will be worthiness of (going) to Heaven and Garōdman and of beholding Ohrmazd and of the love of the amahraspands.

Care and Collection of Fires<sup>1</sup>

- a(1) This (is revealed), how the fire should be kept in the house.
- (2) (On) every occasion when firewood is put on to (the fire), thrice it should be well inspected and made clean, and then it should be put on to it (i.e. the fire).<sup>2</sup>
- (3) He who sits near it should not then utter a word before the fire, and if he does speak then he should hold something in front of his mouth and nose, so that \*the breath which comes out of his mouth and nose does not reach the fire.
- (4) And when it is put to use, whenever its work is done, it should be collected.<sup>3</sup>
- (5) And they should take the radiance (of the flame) from it and put it in (another) place; the remainder should be taken to the Ādurōq and (then later to) the fire of Warahrān.<sup>4</sup> Vandia
- (6) When a cauldron is put on it the water and meat should be so arranged that they occupy two thirds (of the cauldron) for if (the quantity) is more than that, the water will fall on to the fire, every time there is a sin of fifty-five drahms;<sup>5</sup> and when after the meal is over, the cauldron is left upon the fire, then there is a sin of one framān for it.
- (7) And if one does not collect the fire but continues it in use, then there should be giving of \*food [i.e. fuel] and shelter,<sup>6</sup> in winter one span (deep), and in summer five spans (deep),<sup>7</sup> it should be continually done on all sides; and concerning continuing it in use it should be done continually thrice in the day and night in summer, in winter twice in the day and night it should be done \*for protection.<sup>8</sup>
- (8) Every time it should be made to blaze up, if it does not blaze up on account of lack of fuel<sup>9</sup> every time (there is a sin of) one framān.
- (9) If it grows cold (there is) a sin of 90 (stērs).<sup>10</sup>



(10) If afterwards it is so made to blaze up and is so covered,<sup>11</sup> as I have written above, and it grows cold, there is no sin.

(11) And if one puts one's hand into an oven<sup>12</sup> and the hair (of the hand) is singed, (there is) a sin of 300 (stērs).

(12) And if one singes one's limb and it is not so that one plucks off and throws (singed hair) (into the fire), there is a sin of three hundred; if (,however,) one plucks (it) and throws (singed hair into the fire), then one is margarzān.

(13) If hot water falls on a limb and there is a wound, then up to one dišt (in length) it should be regarded as the (sin of) one (dišt), and up to one and a half dišts as two dišts; for a dist there is a sin of 100 stērs.

(14) If one pours water on another person, then also it is likewise (a sin of 100 stērs)

b(1) This also is revealed, what merit, then, is there for it if the (different) fires are collected?

(2) If the carrion-burning fire<sup>13</sup> is collected and carried to the Ādarōq, the merit is ten thousand framāns; and the carrion-burning fire is that over which carrion is roasted or cooked.

(3) That over which dye which is full of filth is cooked, one thousand framāns; dye which is full of filth and hot also.

(4) That over which pots are fired, one thousand framāns.

(5) That over which dung is burned, two hundred framāns.

(6) That of the goldsmiths, one hundred framāns.

(7) That of the swordsmiths, seventy<sup>14</sup> framāns.

(8) That of the silversmiths, ninety framāns.

(9) That of the blacksmiths,<sup>15</sup> eighty framāns.

(10) That which (is) from an oven, sixty framāns.

- (11) That which is (from) beneath a cauldron, fifty framāns.
- (12) That which burns before the brave [knights], forty framāns.
- (13) That which burns before the donkey-drovers who are (journeying) on the road, thirty framāns.
- (14) And that which is from any (other) work which has not been specifically mentioned, twenty framāns.
- (15) That which is from one's own hearth, ten framāns.
- (16) For all these (acts) the merit may be at least that much; if it is even more (it is possible that) the merit of every framān will be three drahms for even one drahm; and [there was] one who said \*four drahms for \*one \*drahm.
- (17) If the household fire is put to use for (cooking) food even (once) more (than is allowed), then there is one framān sin for it.
- (18) If it is not collected for several years, every time it is put to use there is one framān sin.<sup>16</sup>
- (19) If damp wood is put on (the fire) or meat is cooked on bricks,<sup>17</sup> every time is one awōirišt sin (which is) one drahm.

Consecration of Hamāg-dēn

(If) a man wishes to consecrate a hamāg-dēn<sup>1</sup> for the sake of the souls of his ancestors, it is thus the more highly meritorious according to the number of drahms which he dedicates<sup>2</sup> for the giving of the hamāg-dēn (that is for the gift which is given to the souls of the ancestors). And he may clearly restate the details of those gifts one by one, saying: "Four drahms for the soul of such and such person, four drahms for the soul of such and such relative, and four drahms for my own (soul)"; and after that he will give those drahms in suitable manner for the hamāg-dēn, and the hamāg-dēn will be consecrated in suitable manner. And every man who has consecrated a hamāg-dēn will have the merit of his own liberality.

- a If a man gives his sister or daughter in marriage to a good man, it is thus evident that it is a gift that (is) great and the amahraspands become very happy as a result of his gift, and (there is) a merit of 300 for his account;<sup>1</sup> then (more) merit will accrue from (this) merit.
- b(1) This (question) : how should a wife behave towards her husband?
- (2) The wife of pādixšāy (status) should consult her husband three times every day saying: "What do you require when I think and speak and act, for I do not know what is required when I think and speak and act, tell (me), so that I will think and speak and act as you require?" Then she must do everything that the righteous husband tells her, and she should refrain from troubling and afflicting her husband.
- (3) If she respects her husband in this manner, and the husband has not said: "Do not give (anything)!" in the period of (one) year it is lawful for her to give two hundred and ten drahms from the property of (her) husband;<sup>2</sup> and if she has performed worship and has given birth to a zōt priest or a hāwanān,<sup>3</sup> it is lawful (for her) to give up to three hundred drahms, and merit will accrue for both the wife and the husband. Apart from that it is lawful (for her) to give with the husband's approval (only); any (wife) who does not have the husband's approval for it, but (nevertheless) gives, is a thief, if she gives (something) with the approval of the husband, there is merit for both. And gifts should be given to him who (is) of the Good Religion, and who is in need of more (than he has), and who is not known for sinfulness; and if all the drahms are needed by innumerable (poor people), they should be given in the presence of the priest.<sup>4</sup> More should be given to poor people for this reason, that if one does not give to him (a poor man), and he is in need of food, or death and

disease overtake him, for that (man) who has (wealth) and does not give then 'there is a margarzān (sin) on his account; that too which (is given) to his wife and children, or to that person who is in need, will be a merit.<sup>5</sup>

Worship of Yazads

- (1) The worship of the Sun (yazad)<sup>1</sup> [without] the merit of reciting the Avesta is one framān merit every time; [the merit of reciting the Avesta] is one framān for every recitation.
- (2) The worship of the Moon (yazad)<sup>1</sup> without the merit of reciting the Avesta<sup>2</sup> is one framān merit every time; the merit of reciting the Avesta is one framān for every recitation.
- (3) The other acts of worship for Ohrmazd and the yazads are the same (in merit).
- (4) When the sun and the new moon are not venerated every time it is one framān sin.
- (5) On reciting the āfrīnagāns: for every āfrīnagān<sup>3</sup> the merit then is one framān without the merit of reciting the Avesta, and [the merit] of reciting the Avesta is one framān for every recitation.

Margarzān Sins

*This (question): How many kinds of margarzān (sin) are there?*

*Margarzān (is of) many kinds,<sup>1</sup> but the most important (are) this much: to commit murder;<sup>2</sup> to learn sorcery;<sup>3</sup> to bring carrion to water and fire; and wickedly to eat carrion;<sup>4</sup> wickedly to cause a single person to move a corpse which has not been seen by the dog; to bury a corpse for ten years;<sup>5</sup> sodomy, highway robbery;<sup>6</sup> to break adoption, to take someone's wife for the period of a year;<sup>7</sup> to extinguish the fire of Warahrān; bad faith;<sup>8</sup> false testimony;<sup>9</sup> false teaching;<sup>10</sup> heresy;<sup>11</sup> and these for me are the most serious sins.*

Trading and Acquisition of Wealth

- (1) This (question): how should trading take place \*so that there will be no sin in it?
- (2) When in one town (a trader) buys one piece of cloth, which is worth four drahms, for four drahms, and one takes it to another town, and (in) the place where he takes it it is worth ten drahms, he sells it for ten drahms, and takes out of it wages and daily sustenance for himself and his beast of burden, and he gives away the remainder (of it) as a righteous gift,<sup>2</sup> it is a (work of) great merit.
- (3) And if (a farmer) does not give what remains (as profit) as a righteous gift, it is (only) lawful at that time when he is not able to get the means for cultivation and cattle-feed.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) This (is revealed), for him who requires means for a proper standard of living it is lawful to acquire up to three hundred (drahms) for good living;<sup>4</sup> if the income which comes to him (is) more than that (amount), let him give what remains,<sup>5</sup> apart from his own expenses, as a righteous gift.<sup>6</sup>
- (5) Even if his wealth is very great, even then it is allowed, and this at a time when people, to his knowledge, are not in need of food; until (a time) when people are in need of food, then he ought to make good use of his capital and income.<sup>7</sup>
- (6) From all (that) which is his, (as regards) the amount which is required for himself and the people under his authority for one year, if from that amount which is required one portion is lacking or superfluous (then the following is recommended):<sup>8</sup> if meat is lacking by one portion- when even by as little as one drahm's worth - then he still ought to supply the want of food of one (poor) man.
- (7) When there is just enough, then he ought to supply the wants of two (poor) men.



- (8) When there is one portion extra, then he ought to supply the needs of five men ,
- (9) and then for every single (extra) portion more, he ought to supply the need of one (more poor) man.
- (10) There was one who said that one ought to make good use of income (only).
- (11) And if it is required in death and sickness no reckoning need be made of "(the amount for) one year."<sup>9</sup>
- (12) Because everyone who has hopes for the future (thinking) "something (good) will come to me", all that which is left over by himself and the people under his authority is to be given away.<sup>10</sup>
- (13) And if a man has no hopes for the future, it is lawful if he does not give anything away from what is required for himself and the people under his authority until that [time] when such hope comes to him.

Wife and Child

- (1) When a man marries, and he has made a contract of marriage with the young woman's guardian, (if he acts) generously, there is the merit of righteousness.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) If her menstrual cycle is completed (without menstruation), then every time the merit (is) three hundred. There was a dastwar who said: "once (only) the merit (is) three hundred."<sup>2</sup>
- (3) If she becomes pregnant, the merit is three hundred.
- (4) If the menstrual cycle is regularly once every month, it is not authorised.
- (5) And if the child who is born grows up, every good deed which that child does is (ascribed) to the father and the mother, just as if they had done (it) with their own hands.
- (6) And descendants in the physical state, and the comfort of descendants in the physical state, and also other advantages which may occur apart from them, (are) all likewise (ascribed as meritorious).
- (7) (For) all the expense that he goes to for the livelihood of wife and child, (if he acts) generously, there is the merit of righteousness.
- (8) This (is revealed), that if a wife leaves (her husband) then it is a sin because sins of image-worship, and telling lies, and other sins which are in her, then (go) to her account. The things which she takes, then through them she (becomes) a thief; the Yasna and Drōn which she causes to be performed from those things, are devil-worship, and are no merit; and for him also who gives anything to her, then it is a sin for him.

## Chapter 44

44.1-3

The Dog Species

- (1) *(The members of) the dog species, except the fox and weasel and water-beaver and others, (their) corpses are just like those of people.<sup>1</sup>*
- (2) *Those named do not contaminate these three: a place, a house, a man.*
- (3) *There is one who says thus : "(The corpse of) the fox does not contaminate clothes, but within three paces it contaminates (one's state of) ritual purity."*

The Destruction of Ahreman

*This (is revealed), that worldlings do not see (all) the sun-station:<sup>1</sup> the Lawful Summit and Ērānwēz (are) in the centre of Xwanirah. Towards the northern side, (there is) smiting for Ahreman from many things, especially from xwēdōdah, the meeting with one another of good men, when they perform mēzd, and the worship of the yazads, and other good deeds; and (there is help) for him from many (things), especially from devil-worship, image-worship,<sup>2</sup> and (from) doing harm to people, and (from) heresy, and tyranny, and other sins.*

The Creation of the World

- (1) This is: how and from what has the sky been made?
- (2) There was a material like the embers of fire, [which was] pure in light, which was created from Endless Light.<sup>1</sup>
- (3) And he made all the creatures and creations from that, and when he had made them he put them into a body and kept them in a body for three thousand years; and he caused (them) ever to increase and he made (them) ever more beautiful; and then one by one he created (them) from the body of his own making.<sup>2</sup>
- (4) And first he created the sky from the head, and its substance (is) white \*crystal, and its width and height (are) equal and the depth of its surround wall<sup>3</sup> is as much as the breadth of empty space<sup>4</sup> and its management is by the righteous man and Dahmān Āfrīn,<sup>5</sup> and there is no support for it in the (visible) world;<sup>6</sup> Ohrmazd resides within (it) with the creatures and the creation.
- (5) <sup>7</sup>And he created the earth from the feet, and its management is by good deeds (the good Lord Mihr and Dahmān Āfrīn, the Master of Truth and the Master of Righteousness, bestow riches of the spirit upon the worthy [man] as a righteous-gift for goodness.)<sup>7</sup> And he interred \*in it minerals,<sup>8</sup> and mountains were to grow from minerals<sup>9</sup> for eighteen years<sup>10</sup> both below and above they kept growing; and then they stopped growing downwards, they kept growing upwards for eight hundred years up to the sky.<sup>11</sup> And below and above its circle encompasses (the earth) around, and so it is like an egg in which there (is) a little bird;<sup>12</sup> and there is no support for it in the (visible) world.
- (6) Just as he had caused the mountain to grow up to the measure at which it is (now), he then established the earth in the direction of the sky, in the star station, and he created the foundation, the base.<sup>13</sup> When Ahreman invaded, then it was drawn down by him; at the Future Body

it will go back to the star station.<sup>14</sup>

(7) The depth of (mount) Harburz is as much as the breadth of the earth, around (is) Harburz (as) the wall<sup>15</sup> and its breadth is so much (also). Harburz and the earth (were formerly) in the star station in the direction of the sky; from the star station to the moon station is thirty-four thousand frasangs or more, from the moon station to the sun station is thirty-four thousand frasangs, from the sun station to the sky thirty-four thousand frasangs, from the star station to here is thirty-four thousand frasangs,<sup>16</sup> and from this place to the sky below is nine thousand frasangs.

(8) <sup>17</sup> The substance of the sky is of white \*crystal and bright, and its light is from the sun.

(9) After the Druj had invaded the creation, apart from Zardušt among mortals no one has seen it (i.e. the true light of the sky).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>18</sup> (There are) seven regions within the sky. The mountains of Harburz are two thousand two hundred and forty-four (in number).

(10) The sea of Fraxwkard (is) one third of this earth.

(11) And he created water from his tears,<sup>19</sup> some of it is mixed into the earth, and some of it is put upon the earth, and some of it is suspended in the atmosphere; and it is all in flux.

(12) All that (water) for which the zōhr is more and the pollution less comes back to the sea of Fraxwkard in three years, that in which both are equal (in proportion comes back) in six years, that in which the pollution is more and zōhr is less (comes back) in nine years.<sup>20</sup>

(13) And he created the plants from (his) hair,<sup>21</sup> and first there was one stem of one span and two finger-breadths in height and all the species of plants were in it except one species,<sup>22</sup> and it was created in Ērānwēz.

(14) Then some (of the seeds) were carried by birds, some in water, and some

by mankind from place to place. And (there is) a forest also in the sea and the white hōm and the other plants in the world were from that (forest).<sup>23</sup> And its comfort is from the bringing of āb-zōhr, so that it is pure; and its discomfort is from those (men) when they cut or break it unlawfully. Those species which he created afterwards were fifty species.

- (15) And he created the ox from (his) right hand, and he established it in Ērānwēz,<sup>24</sup> and its height and width were three cubits, and when Ahreman assaulted it it died at once, and its seed fell to the earth at once. Ohrmazd made all the species of animals from that seed,<sup>25</sup> and first he made one male and one female of every species, and afterwards progeny proceeded from them; and their pleasure and comfort are from water and fodder and good protection in winter and summer, so that they are pure;<sup>26</sup> and their discomfort is from those men<sup>27</sup> when they kill them unlawfully and work them unlawfully and do not give them water and fodder and [they do not] protect them...<sup>28</sup>

- (21) [so that] they make them polluted by enemies, and they do not keep thieves and wolves away from them.

- (22) There are two hundred and eighty-two species of beneficent animals, and they (are) of five kinds

- (23) <sup>29</sup>One kind is that whose hooves are cloven, like the ox.

- (24) One kind (is that) whose hooves are round, like the horse.

- (25) One kind (is) that which (has) feet like those of the camel.

- (26) One kind (is) the bird (family), one kind is the watery and the fishy.

Except for the beneficent animals of the kinds which are prescribed (as unsuitable) in the Avesta,

- (27) (viz.) the dog and the mountain-buzzard and the black crow and the

vulture, the others may be eaten; (not) the dog because something of the semen of Gāyōmard is in (it),<sup>30</sup> and the bodies of the mountain-buzzard and the black crow and the vulture are all polluted matter and they have been created for (the purpose of) devouring corpses.<sup>31</sup>

(28) And he created fire from his heart, and its radiance is created from the Endless Light.

(29) And he created the plants and put fire into (them) and he blessed them, saying: "Since you will not be makers of fire (that is, it will not be possible to separate fire from them) may you be the fuel of the fire, (that when they put (you) on to it, then it will blaze up)."

(30) <sup>32</sup>When he intended to create the material form (of fire) in the world then it complained, saying: "I will not go into the world, for they will do much harm to me."

(31) Then Ohrmazd established Ādur Gušnasp victoriously in Ādurbādagān.<sup>33</sup>

(32) And he said: "Men (will be) allowed to cook one meal on the household fire. When they have used it for one meal they will take it to an Ātaxš ī Warahrān and they will make you free from affliction."<sup>34</sup>

(33) And then it undertook to come into the world and agreed to it.

(34) And Ohrmazd revealed, as a reward, all Ātaxš ī Warahrān in righteousness.

(35) And he established Ādur Farnbāg victoriously in Xwārazm as a reward for that (service) when he did battle with Dahāg, and he established Ādur Burzēnmihr victoriously on the heights of Mt. Wištāsp as a reward for that (service) when Wištāsp was converted by him to the religion.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>36</sup>(36) And he made man from that day from which Gayōmard (was made). It (i.e. Gayōmard's day) had been entrusted in seminal form to Spandarmad (i.e. the earth), and Gayōmard<sup>37</sup> was created from Spandarmad and was born. When Mašya and Mašyānag grew up in the earth, he had not been caused to move for three thousand years. When Ahreman invaded (the



world) he (i.e. Gayōmard) survived for thirty years.<sup>38</sup> And he was killed in the month Frawardīn on the day of Ohrmazd. The seed of Gayōmard fell on the earth and remained in the earth in seminal fluid form for forty years.<sup>39</sup>

(37) Then Mašya and Mašyānag<sup>40</sup> grew up from the earth in the form of rhubarb, this (means) that just as when rhubarb comes up, then its leaves point upward on the stem, their hands likewise are folded together on their backs. Rōšn said: "For nine months they were in the form of rhubarb."

(38) Then they were changed into human form: from them six sons and six daughters were born, and there were (some) who lived and there were (some) who died and thereafter all mankind were (descended) from them.

The Conversion of Wištāsp<sup>1</sup>

- (1) This (chapter): the place<sup>2</sup> where Zardušt received the religion from Ohrmazd. Zardušt went to confer with Ohrmazd at thirty years of age.
- (2) And he received the (revelation of) religion seven times.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) And first he received it in Ērānwēz,<sup>4</sup> in Ādurbādagān he received it, and for ten years he was in conference with Ohrmazd.<sup>5</sup>
- (4) And for him in those ten years there was much affliction of captivity and imprisonment which Gannāg Mēnōg created and brought upon him.<sup>6</sup>
- (5) <sup>7</sup>And he (Gannāg Mēnōg) said this also: "For the sake of harming the religion,<sup>8</sup> when he gets up, steal the other robe<sup>9</sup> and put human bones<sup>10</sup> into the pocket (of the robe) of Zardušt". And he said to the people: "Zardušt is not such as you have taken (him to be),<sup>11</sup> he keeps another robe for worshipping, because Zardušt is a corpse-bearer!"<sup>12</sup> Whereupon, when the signal was (given) for it, when they (i.e. the bones) had been put in, then he (the wicked agent) seized the bottom of the pocket and cast it down to the ground and a human head and hand and foot fell down out of the pocket.
- (6) And they bound him with thirty-three fetters,<sup>13,14</sup> and such hunger and thirst came upon him that his strength and power and vigour and sight and hearing failed him.<sup>14</sup>
- (16) After that he went before Wištāsp and stayed for two years in (the task of) the conversion of Wištāsp. And he said to Wištāsp: "Accept the religion,<sup>15</sup> because Ohrmazd and the amahraspands and the other yazads, their desire is this, that you should abide by the religion."
- (17) And Wištāsp said: "If you have come for horses, or for riches, take whatever you need [of them], and go away from here."
- (18) Even again Zardust said: "Accept the religion", and Wištāsp said: "One sinfulness of mine (śī) so (great) that if I accept the religion, even then it will not benefit my soul, for in (my) first battle I slew six

thousand, in (my) second five thousand, and in (my) third five thousand. When I did battle again, (in my) first I slew one thousand, (in my) second ten thousand, and (in my) third one thousand."<sup>16</sup>

46(19) Zardušt said: "No sin at all is incurred for slaying them, for they were the broods (of demons), (like) wolves. It (was) good for you when you slew them!"

46(20) And again he said: "Accept the religion, for he did not do that, he who (is) excellent who slew many demons,<sup>17</sup> nor (did he do) that, he who (is) full of glory, nor (did he do) that, he who (is) full of perception, nor (did he do) that, he who (is) very victorious, nor (did he do) that, he who (is) very swift, nor (did he do) that, he who (is) very eloquent<sup>18</sup> (he considers the good words and abides by them, that is, he adheres to them, whose protector is Srōš, that he may be considered as a dastwar)<sup>18</sup>;

46(21)"nor (did he do) that, he who (is) a good archer, nor (did he do) that, he who (was) very famous, nor (did he do) that, he who (is) very clever, nor (did he do) that, he who (is) full of miraculous power, nor (did he do) that, he who (is) full of strength. For it was Hōšang who (was) a protector<sup>19</sup> and he smote many demons, it was Yim who (was) full of glory, it was Dahāg<sup>20</sup> who (was) full of perceptions,<sup>20</sup> it was Frēdōn who (was) very victorious, it was Frāsyāb who (was) very swift, it was Karsēwazd who (was) very eloquent,<sup>21</sup> it was Spēdūr who (was) a good archer,<sup>22</sup> it was Urwaxš who (was) very statesmanlike,<sup>23</sup>

(7) "it was Ōšnar who (was) very clever,<sup>24</sup> it was Kayōs who (was) full of miraculous power,<sup>25</sup> it was Sāmān who (was) full of strength,<sup>26</sup> and they were all ungrateful;<sup>27</sup> may you ever be worthy,

(8) "O Wištāsp the world-ruler! For Ohrmazd instructed Yim<sup>28</sup> the bright (in) the religion, (but) Yim despised Ohrmazd (thinking) : 'Astwihād shall

not come upon me!" and for that contempt of his, he was then cut to pieces by the dēws and men.<sup>29</sup>

(9) "And he instructed Frēdōn; (but) he also despised Ohrmazd, and for that contempt of his Zarman then fell upon him, and with a mallet he was able to keep his body three paces from him until they (i.e. the dēws) appeared<sup>30</sup> all around him.

(10) "And he instructed Krisāsp likewise, (but) he also despised Ohrmazd, and for that contempt Akōman then smote him upon the most conspicuous upland".<sup>31</sup>

(11) Even then Wištāsp did not accept the religion.

(12) And then Ohrmazd sent Wahman and Ašawahišt and Ādur Burzēnmihr<sup>32</sup> to the abode of Wištāsp.

(13) And he (i.e. their spokesman) said to Wištāsp:<sup>33</sup> "Accept the religion, for if you accept the religion, we shall all bless you (with) long-dominion,<sup>34</sup> sovereignty, and long life of your soul, we shall bless the gifts of Ardišwang and Rāsāstišnīh,<sup>35</sup> and we shall give you a son called Pišyōtan,<sup>36</sup> deathless and ageless; (but) if you do not accept (it), then we shall order you (to be) exposed to the vultures, so that they will eat your flesh and your bones will fall into the earth."<sup>37</sup>

(14) And even then he did not accept the religion.<sup>38</sup>

(15) <sup>39</sup>And Ohrmazd sent Nēryōsang (saying): "Go to Ardwahišt, and tell him thus: "Put mang<sup>40</sup> into some wine, give it to Wištāsp'."

(16) Ardwahišt did likewise.

(17) When he had drunk, immediately he fell unconscious, and his soul was transported to Garōdmān, and it was shown the value of accepting the religion.<sup>41</sup>

(18) When he emerged from unconsciousness, he then cried out to Hutoš:<sup>42</sup>  
"Where is Zardušt, so that I may accept the religion?"

- (19) And Zardušt heard that cry and went forward, and Wištāsp accepted the religion.
- (20) Then all the sheep and cattle, and all the fires which were burning, and all the house spirits, were rejoicing,
- (21) when they heard the words of Zardušt, when he taught the religion to Wistāsp; and then Zardust was appointed to (the office of) Mowbadān-  
Mowbad<sup>43</sup>.
- (22) For thirty-five years he was Mowbadān-Mowbad.
- (23) Then Tūr ī Brādrēs, who was like a wolf in manner,<sup>44</sup> killed Zardušt.
- (24) That wicked one also died at the same time by the worst death.
- (25) And his end was on the day Xwar of the month Dai.<sup>45</sup>

Huṣēdar, Huṣēdarmāh, Sōšyāns and the Resurrection<sup>2</sup>

- (1) After that (time) when Zardušt went to confer with Ohrmazd,<sup>3</sup> and fifteen hundred years after (the time of) Zardušt,<sup>4</sup> \*when it is the millennium of Religion, Huṣēdar will come into consultation with Ohrmazd for fifty years.
- (2) On the same day Mihr yazad,<sup>5</sup> that is, the sun, will stand at mid-day, for ten days and nights it will stand at the zenith of the heavens.
- (3) For three years, (of) the plants whatever is not needed (i.e. not harvested) then (even) that will not wither.<sup>6</sup>
- (4) He (i.e. Huṣēdar) will purify the religion, he will bring (the ritual precepts of) Hādāmānsar<sup>7</sup> into use, and men will practise according to Hādāmānsar.
- (5) The (members of the) wolf species all will go to one place, and in one place they will coalesce, and there will be one wolf whose breadth (will be) four-hundred-and-fifteen paces and length four-hundred-and-thirty-three paces.<sup>8</sup>
- (6) And they (i.e. the Mazdā-worshippers) will muster an army on the authority of Huṣēdar, and they will go to battle with that wolf. First they will perform the yasna, and through their yasna it will not be possible to withstand (them).<sup>9</sup>
- (7) Then Huṣēdar will say: "With the sharpest and broadest blades seek means (to destroy) that demon of great strength." And then men will slay that demon, with whip and dagger and mace and sword and lance and arrow and other weapons.
- (8) And for one frasang around poison from that demon will envelop the earth and plants and they will burn.
- (9) Out of that a demon(?) will run (in) the form of a black locust, and it will go into the demon of the serpent and in that will be its abiding; for this reason, it will not (any longer) be very oppressive.<sup>10</sup>

- (10) After four hundred years<sup>11</sup> there will be the Malkōsān<sup>12</sup> rain.
- (11) When it is the time for that rain, (in) the first year the upholders of Religion will say to people : "Store provisions, for there will be rain"; people will store provisions.<sup>13</sup>
- (12) (In) that year there will not be rain; and (in) the second year they will speak likewise and (people) will store provisions (but in) that year there will not be rain; [and (in) the third year they will speak likewise and (people) will store provisions (but in) that year there will not be rain]; and (in) the fourth year they will speak likewise and the unbelieving people will say: "That which the Mazdā-worshippers say will not be, for even before they said this, (but) it was not so."
- (13) Those provisions which they will have laid in before will not be required for ten winters, and they will not store provisions any more, and (in) that year there will be rain.
- (14) (In) the first year it will stop three times in summer, three times in winter; (in) the second year it will stop twice in winter, twice in summer; (in) the third year it will stop once in winter, once in summer
- (15) (In) the fourth year, (in) the month Hordād and (on) the day Dai-pad-Mihr, snow will fall, until the month Dai on the day Dai-pad-Mihr;<sup>14</sup> it will not stop even for a little time....
- (16) ....and then the Mazdā-worshippers will curse (him); by the curse of the Mazdā-worshippers he will die,<sup>15</sup> and the lives of the men and beneficent animals of the place will be weak.
- (17) And then in those times men and beneficent animals will be brought from the var which Yim made, and they will dwell in different places; and they will be very great in body, very comely, and doers of good. But he (is) a powerful demon, whom they will not be able to kill in battle.<sup>16</sup>

- (18) And when that winter has passed, beneficent animals will be so weak so that when people see one of the beneficent animals, then it will seem wonderful.
- (19) And beasts of the mountain and of the plain will come to men, and they will think thus: "Men will treat us just like their own children."<sup>17</sup>
- (20) And then Ašawahišt will cry out above, and will speak thus: "Do not any more kill those beneficent animals as you have killed them (up to) now! For the beneficent animals will so (slowly) come to maturity<sup>18</sup> that henceforth they will dwindle away. Do not kill (them)!"<sup>19</sup>
- (21) And the Mazdā-worshippers will act accordingly. And the beasts of the mountain and the plain, when maturity will come to their bodies so (slowly) that henceforward they will dwindle away, they will come to men and they will say: "Eat me, before the devouring dragon eats me!"<sup>20</sup> and the Mazdā-worshippers will act accordingly.
- (22) At the end of the millenium, Hušēdarmāh will come to confer with Ohrmazd for thirty years.
- (23) The sun will stand at the zenith from that day for twenty days and nights.
- (24) And for six years of the plants, those which are not needed will not wither.
- (25) And he will bring (the legal precepts of) Dādīg into use and people will act according to the law (dād).<sup>21</sup>
- (26) And the (members of the) serpent species all will go forth to one place, and in one place they will coalesce, and there will be one serpent, eight-hundred-and-thirty-three paces in breadth, one thousand-six-hundred and sixty-six paces in length.<sup>22</sup>
- (27) And the Mazdā-worshippers will muster an army, on the authority of Hušēdarmāh they will go into battle with that serpent.



- (28) When they arrive, Hušēdarmāh will say: "Perform the yasna!" and they will perform the yasna, and they will chase that demon away, and for one frasang poison from that demon will envelop the earth and they will burn.
- (29) From that a demon will run (in) the form of a black locust and in the demon of the two legged species (will be) its abiding;<sup>23</sup> for this reason it will not (any longer) be very oppressive.
- (30) In that millenium, Dahāg will escape from (his) fetters. He will seize dominion over dēws and men;<sup>24</sup> thus he will clamour: "Whoever does not pollute water and fire and plants, then bring him so that I may devour him."
- (31) And fire and water and plant will go to Ohrmazd complaining of the harm which men are doing to them, and will say: "Raise up Frēdōn who is dead, so that he will smite Dahāg, for if (it is) otherwise, I shall not exist on the earth!"
- (32) Then Ohrmazd will go with the amahraspands towards the soul of Frēdōn.
- (33) And he will say: "Stand up, smite Dahāg!"
- (34) The soul of Frēdōn will say: "I cannot smite (him), go to the soul of Sāmān Krišāsp!"
- (35) Then Ohrmazd will go with the amahraspands towards the soul of Sāmān, and he will raise up Sāmān Krišāsp, and he (i.e. Sāmān Krišāsp) will slay Dahāg.
- (36) Dahāg will cry out so much that one quarter of the beneficent animals in Ērānšahr will run away.<sup>25</sup>
- (37) After that, at the end of the millenium of Hušēdarmāh, Sōšyans will come (in)to consultation with Ohrmazd for thirty years.
- (38) And (on) that day the sun will stand at the zenith for thirty days.
- (39) And when Sōšyans comes back from consultation, then Kayxosrōy will

come to him, when he is sitting (up) on Wāy of the Long Dominion.<sup>26</sup>

(40) Sōšyans will ask: "What man are you, whose soul even (sits) (up)on Wāy of the Long Dominion, and by you he was changed into the form of a camel?"<sup>27</sup>

(41) Kayxosrōy will answer: "I am Kayxosrōy."

(42) And Sōšyans will say: "Are you Kayxosrōy of far-reaching intelligence, who foresaw with wisdom when you destroyed the idol-temple on (the shores of) Lake Čečist?"<sup>28</sup>

(43) Kayxosrōy will say: "I am that Kayxosrōy."

(44) And Sōšyans will say: "So you did a goodly deed! For if you had not done (it), it would have been a thief of all that transformation whereby (there will be) the bringing about of the Good Renovation (Frašegird)."<sup>29</sup>

(45) Again he will ask: "Did you smite the scoundrel Tūr Frangrasiyāb?"<sup>30</sup>

(46) He will say: "I smote (him)."

(47) Sōšyans will say: "So you did a goodly deed! For if you had not smitten the scoundrel Tūr Frangrasiyāb, he would have been a thief of all that [transformation] whereby (there will be) the bringing about of the Good Renovation."

(48) Sōšyans will say: "Go, my Lord, and praise the Religion"; Kayxosrōy will praise the religion.<sup>31</sup>

(49) Then in those fifty-seven years Kayxosrōy will be Lord of the Seven Climes, Sōšyans will be Mowbadān-Mowbad.

(50) And then Krišāsp will go (forth) with that mace of good width,<sup>32</sup> and Tūs will stand before him and will put an arrow in (his) bow; he will say to Krišāsp : "Praise the Religion, that is perform the yasna with the Gāthās, throw away the mace, for if you do not praise the Religion and throw away the mace, then I will fire this arrow at you!"<sup>32</sup>

- (51) Because of (his) fear of Tūs's arrow, Krišāsp will praise the Religion and throw away (his) mace.
- (52) All people will be upholders of Religion; they will be loving and benevolent to one another.
- (53) All people who are living, after that will not die.
- (54) (As for) those who are dead, Sōšyans, and the makers of the Renovation who are helping him, \*will raise them in (their) dead bodies.<sup>33</sup>
- (55) Ohrmazd will summon bones from the earth, and blood from the waters, and hair from the plants, and spirit from the wind;<sup>34</sup> he will mix one with the other and he will create the very form<sup>35</sup> which each has (in this present life).
- (56) Sōšyans will perform one yasna, he will raise one fifth of the dead; with the second yasna a fifth, with the third yasna a fifth, with the fourth yasna a fifth, with the fifth yasna he will raise all the dead.
- (57) And every person will recognise (others), saying: "This (is) my father" and "this (is) my brother!" and "this is my wife!" and "this is such and such a one of my family!"<sup>36</sup>
- (58) There will again be enjoyment of all food and all the things from which (there is) pleasure and comfort and enjoyment for mankind, just as Ohrmazd created (the world) in the beginning.<sup>37</sup>
- (59) There will be one thousand times as many foods and tastes as there are now.
- (60) He who(so) believes will eat, and he who does not (so) believe will not eat.<sup>38</sup>
- (61) Ohrmazd will make this earth twice as great (in) length and breadth as it is now, and the human form will be made with the beauty which they saw as most fair and good in the world.

- (62) A man will be given the very same pādixšāy wife whom he had in the world.
- (63) He who had no wife, then to him a wife will be given.
- (64) The woman who had no husband, then to her they will give a husband.
- (65) That man and woman who did extraordinary (good) works in the physical body, they will be given one to another.
- (66) And when the dead are raised up, those who perpetrated \*injury and \*harm to those of the \*Good Religion and acted \*with violence, they will all die; for three days they will lie dead.<sup>39</sup>
- (67) And then they will be resurrected, and those other margārzān (sinners), every one dead will be raised up, except those who \*thought and also \*wrought evil against the yazads.<sup>40</sup>
- (68) There was a dastwar who said: "The dead will be raised up again, they will be penitent, and for every margārzān (sin) which they committed, then shall their heads be cut off once, and they will be thrown back to Hell, and the punishment of nine-thousand years will be inflicted."
- (69) And at dawn after the third night Spandarmad<sup>41</sup> will stand up and say: "Punishment for all of them; and also for the other sinful ones, who were not sinful through mārgarzān (sins)", then they are to be punished for the sins they committed.
- (70) And Šahrewar<sup>42</sup> will melt the metal of all the mountains in the world, it (i.e. the molten metal) will reach (up to) mouth level at the place of the test, and all mankind will cross through that (molten) metal, and the sinful will finally become cleansed of their sins by this.
- (71) And for them the pain will be just as if molten metal were released on them in this world.
- (72) For the righteous it will be easy, as if they will be taken through

warm milk.

- (73) Before Sōšyans will raise up the dead,<sup>43</sup> on his authority an army will be mustered; they will go into battle with the demon Heresy.<sup>44</sup>
- (74) He will ask the demon Heresy: "Demon, the things which (belong) to you (are) indeed a sin in the confession of the religion of the Mazdā-worshippers; they were done by you in that body, which said this: 'I am the agent'; are you at all stupid, or not?"
- (75) And it will say: "I am the offspring of the Evil Spirit, who is not sorry [for it], nor am I!"<sup>45</sup>
- (76) Sōšyans will perform one yasna; that demon will run away to the place where it is now; from that place it will run back, and it will run (over) this earth on the four uppermost sides, and the uppermost one third (of the total area).
- (77) The earth will cry out: "I cannot endure this demon, which is indeed hidden, I cannot endure its staying upon me, for it seizes me with such scarification and tears me like the four-legged wolf when it tears the belly of beneficent animals and seizes from them the young."<sup>46</sup>
- (78) So go forth, (you) who are Mazdā-worshippers, and find the means of (dealing with) this!"
- (79) Accordingly the Mazdā-worshippers will muster an army and they will perform an act of worship.
- (80) That demon will run from that place where it is.
- (81) and it will run to the middle third part of this earth, and to the furthestmost (i.e. lowest) third part.
- (82) The earth will cry out just as I wrote above.
- (83) And that demon will run from that place, it will go to that (other) place where it is now, and it will seize the demon Gōčihhr, and will tell him: "The creation of the Holy Spirit intends to inflict punishment

on the creation of the Evil Spirit." And both will run off at once from that place.

(84) And they will run to the furthestmost third-part, the lowest third-part of this earth, and the earth will cry out in the same manner (as I wrote above).

(85) And the Mazdā-worshippers will likewise perform worship and (it will) not (be) possible to withstand them with worship.<sup>47</sup>

(86) And then Šahrewar will pour out molten metal into that hole where they went in, and it will go in after them.<sup>48</sup>

(87) Those demons will thus fall from this earth to Hell, just as a stone,  
(88) when it falls, or is thrown, into water, quickly sinks to the bottom of the water.

(89) Then when punishment is inflicted on the sinful, Sošyāns will perform one act of worship and one-fifth of the other demons will be destroyed, and he will perform a second act of worship one fifth (will be destroyed), a third act of worship one fifth (will be destroyed), a fourth act of worship one fifth (will be destroyed) and he will perform a fifth act of worship and all the demons will be taken away.<sup>49</sup>

(90) Wrath and Concupiscence will say to the Evil Spirit: "I shall devour you, ignorant Evil Spirit, for your creation has been seized, from you, and the thief is not apprehended, and it is not possible for me to survive."

(91) First Concupiscence the dēw-created will devour Wrath of the bloody club,<sup>50</sup> and second he will devour Zamestān the dēw-created, and thirdly Sēj of the furtive movement, and fourthly Zarman short of breath, until (only) a few yet remain.<sup>51</sup>

(92) The Evil Spirit will say to Concupiscence the dēw-created, and Concupiscence the dēw-created (will say) to the Evil Spirit: "I shall eat you, ignorant one, for the yazads seized the evil creation

from you."

- (93) The Evil Spirit will stand up and go to the Holy Spirit; thus he will say: "This creation was created by me, and Concupiscence the dēw-created, who is my creation, now says that you intend to devour me; I shall take you to judgement."
- (94) Ohrmazd will stand up with Srōš the righteous, and Srōš the righteous will smite Concupiscence. Ohrmazd
- (95) will expel the Evil Spirit<sup>52</sup> out of the sky, with the filthy darkness and the evil which he brought first, when he invaded, and (will expel) all through the hole through which he invaded. The hole will make him so unconscious and senseless, (that) after that (his) unconsciousness will remain.
- (96) There was one who said: "The eternally-existing ones will make him powerless as if by killing. No more will there be by the Evil Spirit, no (more) that creation of his."
- (97) At that time, when the wicked will have been punished and will have passed through the molten metal, there will be the Assembly of Isadwāstar and to every person will be given reward and punishment (according) to the number of good deeds which he has done.
- (98) They will perform one act of worship and the earth will rise three spears (in) height, with the second act of worship it will rise three hundred spears (in) height, with the third act of worship [it will rise three thousand spears (in) height], with the fourth act of worship it will rise thirty thousand spears (in) height, with the fifth act of worship it will reach the star station, and Garōdmān will descend from that place (where it is now) to the star station.<sup>53</sup>
- (99) Then Ohrmazd and the amahraspands and all the yazads and mankind will be in one place, and the star too and the moon and the sun and the

Victorious Fire<sup>54</sup> will all be in the form of a man, who is strong, and they will all be in the form of a man and they will come to the earth.<sup>55</sup>

(100) Then it will be the creation of Ohrmazd entirely.

(101) And after that it will not be necessary for him to perform any action, mankind in the likeness of a body of forty years<sup>56</sup> of age, will all be deathless, and undying and ageless, and without hunger and thirst.

(102) And their work will be this, to behold Ohrmazd and to pay homage, and to do for the other lords<sup>57</sup> all (things) which seem to themselves very pleasing. Everyone will love the other like himself;<sup>58</sup> and the happiness of the Future Body, apart from what (I have) written above, is such that it may not be known through limited human knowledge and reason or described.

(103) All the beneficent animals will exist again, and (also) the taste of meat. Female will be merged again into female and male into male, until they have merged again in union into the Uniquely-created Bull.

(104) Then the body of the Bull will be fashioned in the spirit state, it will merge into the body of men. It will leave the taste in the body of men.<sup>59</sup>

(105) If, after that, meat eating is not necessary, it is for the reason that at all times the pleasure of the taste of all meats will remain in the mouth; and then the body of the bull will return to mankind, and it will be corporeal, in the material state.<sup>60</sup>

(106) And man and woman will have desire for one another, and they will enjoy it and consummate it but there will not be conception then.

(107) And the principal kinds of plants will be restored, and there will be no diminution of them, every place then (will be) like the spring, resembling a garden in which (there are) all (manner of) plants and flowers; and it is not possible with the wisdom of this world to



*comprehend and know its wondrousness and excellence and delight  
and purity.*

Kangdiz, Kayxosraw and Pišyōtan

- (1) Concerning Syāwaš the son of Kayus, it is revealed that his miraculous power was so (great) that through the Glory of the Kayanians he managed to build Kangdiz<sup>1</sup> with his own hands and (with) the strength of Ohrmazd and of the amahraspands, over the heads (of the demons).<sup>2</sup>
- (2) The world was managed according to the command of Syāwaš, until that (time) when Kayxosraw came.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) After (his disappearance) Kayxosraw said to the Spirit of Kang: "You are my sister, and I am your brother, for Syāwaš made you into an estate, and he made me into a \*warrior;<sup>4</sup> return to me!" And Kang acted accordingly.
- (4) It came to earth in Tūrān, towards the district of the east, the place where Syāwaškard<sup>5</sup> was situated; and he dug one thousand holes, and he inserted one thousand stakes, and after that it did not move.<sup>6</sup>  
It includes all of Tūrān with its fodder and cattle.
- (5) And Kayxosraw settled Ērānian people there.
- (6) And its first wall is of stone, and the second of steel, and the third of crystal, and the fourth of silver, and the fifth of gold, and the sixth of chalcedony, and the seventh of ruby.
- (7) And its palaces (are) of silver, and (its) pinnacles of gold, and (there are) fourteen mountains in it,<sup>7</sup> and seven \*navigable rivers in it, and seven meadows in which there should be protection by his lordship.
- (8) And its earth is so good that if a donkey stales (there), in one night the grass will grow as high as a man.<sup>8</sup>
- (9) And it has fifteen gates, each one fifty men high.<sup>9</sup>
- (10) Kang itself is such a height that if a man at arms shoots an arrow, sometimes it will reach the top, sometimes not.<sup>10</sup>
- (11) From (one) gate to (another) gate (is) seven hundred frasangs and

ruby, gold, silver and other jewels and fine riches are within, and it is great and prosperous.<sup>11</sup>

(12) Pišyōtan son of Wištāsp (is there) with a thousand disciples, who wear clothes of black sable fur;<sup>12</sup> every day Pišyōtan performs with these disciples worship of the yazads.

(13) Pišyōtan the immortal and deathless and unageing and without hunger and thirst, there he is lord and master of Kang.<sup>13</sup>

(14) People and other (creatures) who are there all have every good thing they need; there is little disturbance.

(15) And their life (is) very long; there are some who live for one hundred and fifty years [and they are righteous] until the Future Body.

(16) They continually perform worship righteously.

(17) The people are all upholders of the religion and righteous, and the people will not come from that place to Ērānsahr until Pišyōtan comes.

(18) When Pišyōtan comes, then there will be one hundred and fifty men with him, and they will keep enemies away from Ērānsahr, and (he), the Lord of the religion, will again sit upon the throne; and he will make the religion supreme. And then he will go back to Kang, and everyone who is needed to restore the supremacy of the religion will come and will restore it, and then will go back to Kang, until the time of Frašegird is here, the victory of Ohrmazd and the amahraspands and the smiting and conquering and destroying of Ahreman and the miscreations of the dēws.

Hell and the Ridge of Ar(g)zūr<sup>1</sup>

Thus they say that Hell (is at) the ridge of Ar(g)zūr. And Hell is not the ridge of Ar(g)zūr (itself), but (this is) the place where the gate of Hell (is), a rim<sup>2</sup> thus the rim of Ar(g)zūr is the name which they call the rock, which (is) the ridge of Ar(g)zūr. In the end the Creator will fill<sup>3</sup> it (i.e. Hell) all up with molten metal.

Maśya and Maśyānē

Maśya and Maśyānē, on account of love, ate their first children; whether (according to) the law of the world they are sinners or not is not clearly known. Love<sup>2</sup> is one and its physical form is one among all beings, but there is he who has more and there is he who has less, just like a man whose goodness (is) more and one whose goodness is less.

Twelve things more difficult than Frašegird<sup>1</sup>

For Ohrmazd twelve things were more difficult to do than Frašegird and the Future Body; first he established the sky, second he established the earth, third he created the sun in motion, fourth he created the moon in similar motion, fifth he created the stars in similar motion, sixth when he grew the ear of corn in the earth, seventh he created colours, fragrances and tastes in plants of different varieties, eighth he created fire in the plants and it did not burn (them), ninth he established the child in the mother's womb, tenth he created birds in the wind, eleventh he created water in motion, twelfth (he created) the cloud whose immaterial form carries the water for the physical world.

The Vicarious Recitation of Confession<sup>1</sup>

The recitation of confession: if a woman is unable (to make Confession), if her husband is of pādixšāy status, it is permissible for the man (to confess on her behalf)<sup>2</sup>; if the father of a child of eight years up to fifteen years does it, it is permissible; it is permissible for another person by proxy if one man says to another man: "Go<sup>3</sup> to confess on my behalf!"<sup>4</sup> The good deeds which a son of pādixšāy status does all accrue to the father of pādixšāy status; and (of the good deeds) of a (son of) čagar status one-quarter is (for the čagar father). There was a dastwar who said: "These also are all for the čagar father".

The Producers of Frašegird<sup>1</sup>

The producers of Frašegird are many; they (are) deathless and immortal :  
 one (is) Pišyōtan; one(is) the Tree Opposing Harm;<sup>2</sup> one (is) Gōpatšah;<sup>3</sup>  
 one is Yōšt of the Friyān family; and those who have a soul, Tūs and  
 \*Wēw,<sup>4</sup> and Krišāsp, who has a body and has no soul.



Contact with Putrefying Matter

- (1) If the shadow of a Mazdā-worshipper falls on a corpse, it neither defiles him himself, nor reduces the putrefaction.<sup>1</sup> The number of years of an offence by an adversary is not (to be) considered, for whenever one forgives it, then it goes from (his) account. If he dies and it has not been forgiven him, if one's heirs forgive, then also it is proper.<sup>2</sup>
- (2) If they are carrying a dead body over a bridge of wood or of stone, if it is shaken, if everyone who is on the bridge stands still, [they are] not defiled, but if anyone keeps going he will indeed be defiled.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) (If) any dead matter peels from the hands, feet or from the limbs, if no moisture appears therewith, it is hixr, otherwise it is nasā.<sup>4</sup> Those who have at first a bit<sup>5</sup> of dirty matter on the pen with which they are writing on the fold, every time they take another piece (of paper) each new word they write is a sin of one hundred and sixty (st̄ers).

Drōn and Myazd<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the value of the drōn and myazd it is written:<sup>2</sup>

- (1) <sup>3</sup>The drōn has been likened to the world: its roundness symbolises the round world, and its edge Mount Harburz; the increase<sup>4</sup> at the middle of the drōn (symbolises) men and stars and plants; the reason for placing the gōšadāg,<sup>5</sup> (which represents) the Lawful Summit, in the middle of the drōn is this, that the Lawful Summit is in the middle of the world.
- (2) And the reason for placing the frasast,<sup>6</sup> which is (consecrated) for the Lord Ohrmazd, separate from the drōn is this, that one should worship Ohrmazd separately from the amahraspands and the yazads.
- (3) And the others are worshipped with Ohrmazd, except for Srōš,<sup>7</sup> for Srōš is the lord and ruler of (this) world; for this reason one should worship him separately.
- (4) The reason for not making an edge on the frasast<sup>8</sup> is this, that everything and every person has a limit, and because Ohrmazd exists eternally, (he is) limitless.
- (5) The wine in the drōn (service) is (like) the water in the sea, and it (i.e. the vessel) must be made full, for by its not being full it would symbolise that the water of the sea is not full; the 'crown' (is) the forest in the sea.<sup>9</sup>
- (6) The herbs (are) the incantations of the amahraspands.<sup>10</sup>
- (7) The three pieces of wood and incense (are) good thoughts, good words, good deeds.
- (8) When the drōn is consecrated, for every person who takes the wāz,<sup>11</sup> two bits of herb are to be put on the drōn; everyone who takes the wāz is to be given the tasting of two herbs; for it is so revealed that when he has tasted it, and the herbs which were on the drōn are given to him, on that day all sins, particularly the margarzān

sin, are impossible. That is a very serious blow to Ahreman and the dēws.

- (9) In the ritual offering, he who eats one piece of citron, then will not have rising wind in his throat.<sup>12</sup>
- (10) The myazd<sup>13</sup> has been likened to the amahraspands, for just as Ohrmazd sits with the amahraspands and no voice whatsoever comes from the amahraspands, so also in the ritual offering one must sit silent.
- (11) For the greater myazd is (required) washing the hands,<sup>14</sup> smiting putrefaction, covering the seats and cushions (with) cloth, and (thus) the good effect of holy words is brought about. For eating of bread<sup>15</sup> the place must<sup>16</sup> be arranged, (it is) the destruction of the dēws. To eat fully of other things is for the protection of the body, which is the crown in the possession of men.<sup>17</sup>
- (12) At the feast, if one sits in the foremost place (it is) two yāt (sins) for (the person in) the foremost place, and for all other persons it is one yāt (sin), if he chatters;<sup>18</sup> and the yazad goes away from there, there is a dēw present for every person, and it discharges filth in the wine, and for every person who chatters one thousand dēws become pregnant.
- (13) And (the demon) Wrath growls: For the world (there are) three important things which are at work in the world."<sup>19</sup>
- (14) And Ahreman (growls): "What are those three things?"
- (15) Wrath growls: "myazd and gāhāmbār and xwēdōdāh!"<sup>20</sup>
- (16) Ahreman growls: "If you desire, you may know the remedy of two of these things, for in the myazd (er ) go in yourself, and sit in their hearts so that they chatter: the yazad will depart their company; go to the gāhāmbār, so that they steal things from one another: if they steal something from one another, the gāhāmbār is broken;<sup>21</sup> leave

xwēdōdāh, since even I do not know the remedy to (give) you (for that) without their (compliance), for when they copulate four times man and wife will never depart the kinship of Ohrmazd, again progeny must be given to them. (Only) as a result of less progeny (in) the world will they then have no desire to believe in him (i.e. Ohrmazd), otherwise it will not be possible for man and wife to do anything."<sup>22</sup>

iθā āat yazamaidē and ašəm vohū<sup>1</sup>

The zand of iθā āat yazamaidē: "Here thus (iθā ēdōn) we worship Ohrmazd who created beneficent animals, and also righteousness, and he created also water, and also good plants, and he created also light, and also earth, and all prosperity". "Righteousness is the best prosperity", i.e. this store is good, good deeds (performed) with honesty;<sup>3</sup> "it is good", these good deeds, "good is he from whom goodness comes to someone," i.e. goodness comes) to someone from his goodness. The explanation of iθā and ašəm vohū.

On Meat Offerings

- (1) This (chapter) to which yazads each part of the body of sheep, cows and other quadrupeds belongs and how it should be consecrated separately.
- (2) Wild (animals) are all like domestic animals<sup>1</sup> the (wild) cow (like) the (domestic) cow; the ass (like) the wild ass; the sheep like the (wild) sheep; the ibex like the goat;<sup>2</sup> the (wild) boar like the pig; it is not clear which (creature) all the species of aquatic and burrowing creatures are like.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) When (an animal) is killed, then its qōšōdāg is to be apportioned thus:<sup>4</sup> jaw, tongue and left eye belong to Hōm Yazad;<sup>5</sup> the neck belongs to Ašawahišt Yazad; the head belongs to Wāy Yazad; the right shoulder belongs to Ardwišūr Yazad; the left shoulder belongs to Druwāsp Yazad; the right thigh belongs to the fravaši of Jāmāsp;<sup>6</sup> the left thigh belongs to the fravaši of Wištāsp; the back belongs to Ratwōberezad; the sides belong to the spirits of females, i.e. Ardā Fraward<sup>7</sup> of human females; the belly belongs to Spandarmad; the testicles belong to Wanand Star; the kidneys belong to Haftōrang; the breast belongs to the fravaši of the priests; the lungs belong to the fravaši of the warriors; the liver belongs to Šahrewar;<sup>8</sup> the spleen belongs to Mānsarspand; the fat of the entrails belongs to the Ardā Fraward of males; the rump belongs to the fravaši of Zardušt Spitaman; the tail belongs to the righteous Wād Yazad; everything that remains belongs to the other amahraspands;<sup>9</sup> there was one who spoke about qōšōdāg.<sup>10</sup>

zand of yaθā ahū vairyō

The zand of yaθā ahū vairyō:<sup>1</sup> "as is the will<sup>2</sup> of the Lord" [as is the will<sup>2</sup> of Ohrmazd] "so with (is) that of rad"<sup>3</sup> [and so (is) that of the priest] "through every kind of righteousness" [good deeds are to be done, so acting as priest is to be done; just as Ohrmazd (wills), one must increase (them)]<sup>4</sup> That which is the gift of Wahman too is within the action of Ohrmazd" [i.e. that reward and recompense which they give to Wahman<sup>5</sup> they thus give to him (i.e. Ohrmazd) also; there is one who says thus: "Wahman himself gives"]<sup>6</sup>. "Lordship becomes given to Ohrmazd by him" [and he makes Ohrmazd Lord and ruler over himself], "who gives good things<sup>6</sup> to the poor" [and support, in that they provide assistance and intercession for them. There is one who says thus: "Lordship is from Ohrmazd", i.e. the rulership is given him by Ohrmazd.<sup>7</sup> There is one who says thus: "The Lordship of Ohrmazd becomes put into motion."]

On Eating the Meat of Gōspānd

- (1) He who has eaten the meat of a sheep and has not (yet) digested it, and (if) he should think a sin or say or do (one) and the sheep has committed a margārzān sin,<sup>1</sup> then it goes to his account.
- (2) If he has eaten (its) meat and he does not think or say or do a sin, then it does not go to his account.
- (4) If he has eaten the meat of a cow, and the cow has committed a margārzān sin, (it is) the same.
- (5) There is one who says that even if one has eaten (only) a small fish,<sup>2</sup> and a camel commits a sin, then it goes to one's account.
- (6) From the Husparam (nask) the explanation of awake<sup>3</sup> is this, abaxš, "repentance" by hands and feet; avaine<sup>4</sup> is wayēndaq "bird"; vizv is rāz<sup>5</sup> "secret"; kehō<sup>6</sup> is kasp "tortoise"; whšk' is snēhaq "weapon",<sup>7</sup> and \*warzaq<sup>8</sup> is azq "plough".



Counsels of Ādurbād, Son of Mānsarspandfrom the Sayings of his Teacher Mihr Ohrmazd<sup>1</sup>

Satisfaction<sup>2</sup> to the Creator Ohrmazd and to the amahraspands and to all the yazads of the spiritual state and to the gods of the material state. Counsels of the immortal soul Ādurbād, son of Mānsarspand.

- (1) There was a disciple<sup>3</sup> of Ādurbād of immortal soul, son of Mānsarspand; he was with Ādurbād for a long time.
- (2) And this indeed he said to Ādurbād: "Instruct<sup>4</sup> me, \*so that when I go forth from the presence of the teacher, then on account of that instruction my soul can (become) better."<sup>5</sup>
- (3) Ādurbād said: "Be certain (in faith) in the gods!<sup>6</sup> Keep your thought, speech and action honest and true, neither think nor speak nor do any sin whatsoever,<sup>7</sup> and may you be blessed!"<sup>8</sup>
- (4) And the disciple said: "O teacher, I am not content with this, give me special instruction, so that I shall practise it and I shall be blessed".
- (5) Ādurbād said: "Consider the twenty-two precepts of Mihr Ohrmazd, my teacher; understand all (of them), put them into practice and my you be blessed!"<sup>9</sup>
- (6) The disciple said: "If you consider me as worthy,<sup>10</sup> please tell (me the precepts), so that I may understand and practise (accordingly)."
- (7) Ādurbād said in reply: "The precepts (are) these:<sup>11</sup> three types of generosity, fourth truthfulness, fifth virtuousness, sixth diligence, seventh intercession, eighth keeping one's word, ninth desire for peace,<sup>12</sup> tenth law-abidingness, eleventh union,<sup>13</sup> twelfth laying down of weapons, thirteenth moderation, fourteenth lowliness, fifteenth humility, sixteenth modesty,<sup>14</sup> seventeenth pleasantness, eighteenth completeness (of mind),<sup>15</sup> nineteenth patience,<sup>16</sup> twentieth love for people, twenty-first contentedness, twenty-second oneness<sup>17</sup> (of mind).

- (8) "The best generosity, first, he who is not asked but gives; second, he who is asked (and) gives immediately; third, he who is asked and fixes a times and does (his giving) on time. He is best, who, when he gives, who entertains no hope as regards that (receiver of his generosity, thinking): "he will give (it) back to me"; he does not give for the sake of acquiring trade, nor for the sake of covetousness.
- (9) "Next, fourth, truthfulness is he who keeps (his) thought, speech and action truthful with the yazads of the spiritual state and all the other creatures of the material state.<sup>19</sup>
- (10) "Fifth, virtuousness is he who does battle with the demon of the invisible (i.e. mēnōg) world he does not admit any demon into his body, in particular he keeps these four demons away from his body: Greed, Wrath, Lust and Disgrace.<sup>20</sup>
- (11) "Sixth, diligence is he who, in all places and times, whatever he is thinking and speaking and doing, if he dies at that very time, even then there is no fear that: 'I should have thought and said and done something differently.'<sup>21</sup>
- (12) "Seventh, intercession is he who speaks on behalf of widowed women, and hungry children, and fires, cattle, beneficent animals, and other helpless (creatures), particularly his own soul.<sup>22</sup>
- (13) "Eighth, trustworthiness is he who keeps to the covenant wholly and submissively with all the creatures of Ohrmazd, and does not break the covenant with anyone at all, (neither) the covenant which has been accepted, (nor) that also which has been given; particularly he keeps the covenant well and truly with his own soul.<sup>23</sup>
- (14) "Ninth, \*desire for\* peace (is) to perceive the law of the yazads<sup>24</sup> and ordering of the world, and keeper and preserver and organiser of all the creatures and creation; for it is revealed in the scriptures that

the resurrection of the dead and the making of the Future Body and the ordering of immortality can be performed on the way of peace.<sup>25</sup>

(15) "Tenth, law-abidingness is he who abides by the law of the yazads.<sup>26</sup>

(16) "Eleventh, union is he who in every righteous thing is one with the yazads and the faithful.<sup>27</sup>

(17) "Twelfth, \*laying down of\* weapons is he who lays down (his) weapon with all creatures of Ohrmazd and does not make an attack on any person at all; in all the sinful things of the evil of Ahreman and the demons it is different: for discrimination of thought and discrimination of action are (necessary) with regard to laying down of weapons.

(18) "Thirteenth; moderation is he who plans everything according to the (right) measure, so that more and less should not be therein, for the (right) measure (is) the completeness of every thing, except those things in which there is no need for moderation: knowledge and love and good deeds.<sup>28</sup>

(19) "Fourteenth, lowliness is he who thinks thus as regards all the creatures of Ohrmazd: 'He must be better indeed than me'.

(20) "Fifteenth, humility is he who considers his inferior as his peer, and his peer as his superior, and his superior as a lord.<sup>29</sup>

(21) "Sixteenth, discretion<sup>30</sup> is he who knows the powers of virtue and knowledge which he does not possess (thinking): 'I do not have (them)<sup>31</sup>, he strives in desiring to make them his own, and he knows the (right) time for his duty,<sup>32</sup> he does not perform his duty until its own time; the modest man (becomes) renowned, and he himself long-suffering,<sup>33</sup> and he is righteous.

(22) "Seventeenth, pleasantness is he who does not offend anyone in his presence: if someone goes to strike him, then he meets him gently

and pleasantly; he knows how to accommodate himself to all the creatures of Ohrmazd, so that every person regards him thus: '(he is) very pleasant with me.'

(23) "Eighteenth, completeness is he who neither think nor says nor does what is unworthy; first he contemplates well that which he thinks is worthy, then he speaks and acts (accordingly).<sup>34</sup>

(24) "Nineteenth, patience is he who, (as regards) the burden of the soul which is necessary to the body, when hardship comes upon him and he can thrust it on to someone (else), he does not do so but accepts it upon himself patiently.<sup>35</sup>

(25) "Twentieth, love for people is he for whom the benefit and happiness of all the faithful is just as necessary as his own; that which does not seem good for himself he does not do to anyone (else).<sup>36</sup> Benevolence<sup>37</sup> is he who considers the weaknesses of other people only after he strives to correct his own weaknesses; as regards the faithful he tells them of the manifest strengths and the weaknesses which they have, then not aggressively but lovingly for the sake of correcting them.

(26) "Twenty-first, contentedness is he who is contented with the power and possessions which he has and which have accrued to him, and (he is) patient; for those things from which there can be spiritual increase, (he should be) so diligent and devoted, that as long as he is alive he is never contented with them.<sup>38</sup>

(27) "Twenty-second, oneness is (as regards) those two pathways which are revealed in religion that the way was created in two branches, and one is righteous and one is sinful; you should avoid the sinful one and stand upon the righteous one,<sup>39</sup> never go out of that way and do not turn away, and you will neither think nor speak nor do anything sinful whatsoever.'

(28) The disciple said: "Master teacher,<sup>40</sup> may you be blessed!" for from the instruction which was given by the teacher to the world (he was) blessed. In particular the words of this instruction to us are indeed a means of providing great help and growth, and even if by (his) wisdom and by (his) diligence he does not resemble us, then if we and all men put (something) of this instruction into practice they will be blessed through the will, strength, power, beneficence and mercifulness of the yazads".

Completed in health and joy and happiness and fearlessness.

Incantations for Fever

Satisfaction to the Creator Ohrmazd, to all the yazads, to all the yazads of the spiritual and physical states.

- (1) The incantation for fever: "surahi vīśra amnaō karōšī vašā ahras ahras".<sup>1</sup>
- (2) And for wounds(?) of mother and daughter, the coming in the name of that person (is to be) for three times (i.e. days).<sup>2</sup>
- (3) If there is fever on the fourth (day),<sup>3</sup> make the knot in straw which has been left on the wall.<sup>4</sup>
- (4) And three knots are to be tied in the middle of it, according to one rule three knots, (three knots according to one rule), and two according to one (other) rule; and if there is fasting, three knots are tied on the middle, and one according to one rule - if a man, upon his arm,<sup>5</sup> if a woman, upon her arm.
- (5) Breathe<sup>6</sup> the incantation and spell for the sake of protection; the wāz of Ardwahišt is taken.<sup>7</sup> This incantation is to be repeated seven times, or eleven times, or twenty-one times;<sup>8</sup> the incantation is kōkarō āca karō.
- (6) Water from the \*spring which was dry (lit. "closed") came from the mountain at the order of the valiant Frēdōn.<sup>9</sup> (He) covered<sup>10</sup> the bodily wound (?) of a horse,(?) and he dressed the bodily wound(?) of a horse(?) and he held nine battle-axes in his hand. anyai.<sup>11</sup>

The Significance of Gem-Stones<sup>1</sup>

- (1) The significance of gem-stones which [when] they are put to good use<sup>2</sup> are healing, which make the sky and mankind happier and more peaceful.
- (2) When one uses the green<sup>3</sup> stone, then<sup>4</sup> male children are born<sup>4</sup> and one reaps the good reward of that.<sup>4</sup>
- (3) The black stone, whose gloss is white, is explained as the antidote to all poisonous stones.
- (4) He who has the yellow stone, he becomes a believer in the spiritual state.
- (5) The red stone is not suitable for anything.
- (6) [He who has] the dark blue stone, his prosperity increases and he becomes generous.
- (7) [He who has] the sky-coloured stone, he immediately has intelligence and is not confounded.<sup>5</sup>
- (8) He who has the green stone, the noxious creatures do not bite (him).
- (9) He who has the yellow stone, whose gloss is white, swiftly obtains all the favours he desires from the yazads and men.
- (10) He who has the black stone, he is saved against all opponents and (in all) battles.<sup>6</sup>
- (11) He who has the red stone, every work he undertakes will be completed, but it will not go along quickly.
- (12) He who has the dark blue stone, wherever he goes friends will trust in him, and they will give him more than all he requires.
- (13) The sky-coloured [stone] quickens the minds of men, and it is good.
- (14) For him who has the green stone, every kind of protection<sup>7</sup> comes quickly and swiftly.
- (15) He who has the red stone, whose gloss is white, every work which he undertakes will go along quickly and swiftly.
- (16) He who has the black stone, his mind is sharp and deep, and whatever he thinks<sup>8</sup> of he obtains easily.

- (17) He who has the yellow stone, everywhere (he goes) he is respected and held dear.
- (18) [He who has] the dark blue stone, wherever he comes, everywhere he stays he is successful.
- (19) He who has the sky-coloured stone, if he displays it before the dēws and drujs, they cannot do him any injury or hurt, and he will have no fear of them.
- (20) He who has the green stone, then he receives no wound or blow at all from lance and sword in battle.
- (21) If a woman has the dark blue stone, whose gloss is white, who is betrothed to a man,<sup>9</sup> if she wears it above her eyes, then that man will love her and cannot turn away; men must keep it on (her) body.
- (22) He who has the black stone, he is of good repute wherever he comes and he is held dear above all others.
- (23) He who has the yellow stone, wherever he goes to, (people) attend to him, serve him, and he presides over them beneficently.
- (24) He who has the red stone, he is respected everywhere, above all in the assembly among (his) adversaries.
- (25) He who has the green stone, wherever he comes to, he will not be of ill fortune.
- (26) He who has the sky-coloured stone, whose gloss is white, he is always at ease and pain is never a guest in his body.
- (27) For him who has the black stone, whose gloss is white, all remedies, prescribed for him medicinally are successful.
- (28) The yellow (stone) is harmful to many things, for if one throws it into a well or a channel or a spring, the water dries up; when it is aimed at clouds, it disperses them, and there will not be rain, but if it takes away the influence of the red (stone) when one has it, one is a friend of heaven.



(29) a. He who has the red (stone) until the second<sup>10</sup> creation comes then nothing will conquer him.

b. A man who (has) the dark blue (stone), if he is betrothed<sup>11</sup> to a woman, (and) he fixes it over the woman's eyes, that woman will love that man and she cannot desert him, and she must keep that stone on (her) body.

(30) He who (has) the green (stone) must carry it even in the middle of a desert, and there will be rain, fortune will flourish, and everything that is ordered will be done.

He who has that (i.e. green stone)<sup>12</sup> knows how to examine the minds of men, for if they come before him to contest (with him), if they think evil it will incline to the left, and if good to the right; if they are thinking to murder someone and have it in mind, it will not incline (at all).

(31) These are gem-stones of the yazads which have the strength of the seven colours;<sup>13</sup> these are gems — whether of water or of earth or of plant or of air—of living essence.

Stations of Heaven <sup>1</sup>

- (1) This also is revealed in the Avesta, that from the earth to the star station is Hammistagān; from the star station to the sun station is the Best Existence; from the sun station to the heavens is Endless Light, and Garōdmān is in Endless Light. <sup>2</sup>
- (2) And the fravašis of the blessed are those whose merits and sins are equal and who have performed worship; and those whose merits are more than their sins and who have not performed worship, and on account of their not having performed worship, then their place is Hammistagān on the star station.
- (3) Concerning the movement of the stars, ninety windows <sup>3</sup>are placed in the east, and ninety in the west. To the same number of windows the stars come and go, and the form and essence of water and earth are created on the star station. And each one of the stars is the size of a house, <sup>4</sup>and twenty-two come and go, and twenty-two horses draw them; and the forms and essences of the stars are of their own form and their own essence, one of them (is of) water and (one of) earth and (one of) plants. <sup>5</sup>
- (4) The form and essence of gōspand are created on the moon station, and <sup>6</sup>the Best Existence on the moon station (extends) up to the sun station.
- (5) Concerning the movement of the moon, one hundred and thirty five windows are placed in the east and one hundred and thirty five in the west; to these (many) windows the moon comes and goes.
- (6) The fravašis of the blessed whose merits are more than their sins and who have performed worship, [that is, who (have) more merit and are called srošočaranām], then they are on the moon station.
- (7) And on that station those who (are) more meritorious (are) above, and those who are below do honour to those whose place is above.
- (8) And the circle of the moon is altogether two frasangs in length and

two frasangs in width,<sup>5</sup> and the light of the moon is from the body of the moon,<sup>7</sup> one of the forms and essences [is that of] gōspand on the sun station.<sup>8</sup>

- (9) Concerning the movement of the sun, one hundred and eighty windows are placed in the east, and one hundred and eighty in the west; the sun comes and goes to these many windows.
- (10) The fravašis of the blessed whose merits are a tanāpuhl more than their sins and who have performed worship, then their place is on the sun station; and on the sun station is the resplendent Garōdman.
- (11) And on this station also everyone who is very meritorious, then his place is above, and he who is below does honour to him whose place is above.
- (12)<sup>9</sup> And for the souls of children whose age is seven years, and those who are less than seven years, until their parents are dead (their) judgement is (that) of their father's and mother's; except when they give for their souls one full drahm they are apart from the blessed; for those of more than seven years and those up to fifteen years, the reckoning is of their own (account) as it is revealed in the religion.
- (13) The disc of the sun is as great as Ērānwēz; Ērānwēz is as great as one seventh part of Xwanirah; the light of the sun is from the spirit of the sun, one of the forms and essence is (that of) mankind.
- (14) It is revealed that every night Ahreman and the dēws and druys rush from Hell to destroy the creations of Ohrmazd; when the sun comes up, Ohrmazd and Wahman and Ardwhišt and Šahrewar and Spandarmad and Hordād and Amurdād and Mihr and Srōš and Rašn yazad and many yazads, all of them do battle with Ahreman and the dēws and druys. Warahrān Yazad and Dahmān Āfrīn and Neryōsang Yazad, and the Kayanian Glory, and all the fravašis of the blessed do battle with Ahreman and the dēws

and drujs and they hurl them back into the darkness and obscurity.

(15) And in the daytime Mihr goes before the sun; when the sun goes down into the window, Mihr turns back for the night; he protects the creations of Ohrmazd from the dēws and drujs.<sup>10</sup>

Completed in health and joy and happiness and fearlessness.

## NOTES

## Notes to Chapter 1

1. This chapter was translated and annotated by H.S. Nyberg in Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender, Uppsala, 1934, 44-7 and 74-5.
2. In her article 'On the Calendar of Zoroastrian Feasts', BSOAS, XXXIII, 3, 1970, 513-39, M. Boyce has offered an explanation of how the ten frawardīg days came into the Zoroastrian calendar through a reform made at the beginning of the Sasanian period, almost certainly in the reign of Ardašīr Pāpakān, when the length of the year was, it seems, increased from 360 to 365 days. Previously a one-day festival of the fravašis, Hamaspāthmaēdaya, appears to have been celebrated as the sixth gāhāmbār, commemorating the creation of man; thus the souls of the living and the dead were blessed together at one festival (see M. Boyce, art. cit., 519). The festival was celebrated on the last day of the year, so that the souls of the dead left the earth as the new year dawned. After the calendar reform, when the extra days were added after this last day, it became ritually necessary to prolong the festival of the fravašis by these five days until the new year dawned. (It was probably originally intended that the five days should simply be inserted between the years without affecting the calendar of religious feasts, but this could not in fact be.) Thus in the first year a discrepancy of five days was created between the traditional and the reformed calendars, for the more conservative had simply begun the new year on the first of the five intercalary days. At the end of that year, when the second observance of the intercalary days came round, this discrepancy was increased to ten days during all of which, it was felt, the spirits of the dead remained present on earth. The feast of the fravašis was thus expanded from a one-day to a ten-day festival. Only in the next year were the two calendars united, and the same day was reckoned in both as 1 Frawardīn. However, conservative Zoroastrians continued to celebrate Nō Rōz on 6 Frawardīn, as they had done according to the reformed calendar in the year of its introduction, and for the rest of the year all their major festival days were correspondingly five days late by the official calendar. At the end of the second year, rather than risk any neglect of a proper day, they celebrated a ten-day festival for the fravašis, as they had done in the previous year, and so the festival came to extend from 26 Spandarmad to the end of the five Gāthā days. The name frawardīgān

is evidently an abbreviation of the term rōzān frawardīgān "the fravaši days", coined to describe the days of the new extended festival.

On the frawardīgān festival see Pahl. Vd . 8.22; Nir., ed. D.P. Sanjana, fol. 52 r., 15 ff., transl. S.J. Bulsara, Aērpatastān and Nīrangestān, 111 ff; Dk. VIII.611-13 (ed. Sanjana, XV, DkM. 683.6-15); Sd. Bd. chs. 52, 53, 95 and various passages in Pers. Riv.; for further references see also M. Boyce, art. cit., 521, n. 36; and for additional argument and evidence see her articles 'Chapters 259 and 419 of Dēnkart III' in J. de Menasce, Troisième livre du Dēnkart, and 'Rapithwin, Nō Rūz, and the feast of Sade', Pratidanam: Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies presented to F.B.J. Kuiper ..., 201-15, and Stronghold, ch. 9.

3. A second calendar reform, made evidently in order to bring the chief festivals of the religious year back into alignment with the cycle of the seasons, moved the beginning of this religious year from 1 Frawardīn to 1 Ādur. This was an important reform for a community whose material and spiritual welfare was so closely connected to the turning of the seasons, and which saw great religious significance in the birth, fruition, death and renovation of nature in the annual cycle. According to Al-Bīrūnī, this change was made in the reign of Yazdegerd I (399-421), or Pērōz (459-84), (The Chronology of Ancient Nations, ed. and transl. by E. Sachau, 45; Qānūn ī Mas'ūdī, I, Hyderabad, 1954, 132); but in the light of calculations made by S.H. Taqizadeh, which establish that the opening day of Māh Ādur would have coincided with the Spring equinox in A.D. 507-11, a slightly later date seems probable (see Taqizadeh apud V. Minorsky, 'Vis u Rāmīn (II)', BSOAS, XII, 1, 1947, 35 and for further discussion M. Boyce, BSOAS, XXXIII.3, 1970, 528). A further adjustment of the calendar occurred c. A.D. 1006 when the religious Nō Rōz was moved again to 1 Frawardīn, which at that time coincided once more with the Spring equinox (see Taqizadeh, BSOS IX, 3, 1938, 604-6; IX, 4, 1939, 917-8). Accordingly this chapter of PRDd. can be dated to between A.D. 507-11 and c. A.D. 1006, i.e. to sometime during the period when Ādur was reckoned as the first month of the year.

4. māhīgān occurs three times in §3 of our text. The first occurrence is an obvious mistake for the singular māh, the general

word for "month"; the second refers to the day appointed for commemoration of a person one month after death; the third use is the irregular one as plural for māh. See further Nyb., op. cit., 75.

5. i.e. within Ādur Māh.

6. This statement is corroborated in Pahl. Vd. farg. 8.22, viz. that the anniversary of a person's death should be celebrated on the exact day of death, i.e. if he dies on one of the Gāthā days the anniversary should be kept on that day. For the first year after a death, the departed soul was commemorated every month, and here it is stated that this memorial should be held on the monthly day sacred to the fravašis when the person died on one of the Gāthā days. The fact that this needed to be stated in a Pahlavi text is a further piece of evidence for the relatively late, i.e. Sasanian, date of the introduction of the intercalary days.

7. The second calendar reform made the month Ādur especially sacred to the fravašis in this period, for the festival of Frawardīgān remained before Māh Ādur, as Al-Bīrūnī attests, up to the end of the tenth century A.D., by which time Ādur had again become a winter month (see M. Boyce, BSOAS, XXXIII.3, 1970, 529, n. 63).

8. There is an identical statement in Pahl. Vd., loc. cit.

9. Dai is the month sacred to Dādār Ohrmazd "Ohrmazd the Creator" and Warhrān the day sacred to the yazad of victory, but the probable explanation for the choice of the alternative month and day is that Māh Dai simply follows Māh Ādur immediately in the calendar just as Rōz Warhrān is the day after Rōz Frawardīn. (The spelling Dai is here preferred to the usual spelling Day to avoid confusion with Eng. "day".)



Notes to Chapter 2

1. When death has occurred in a house the potency of pollution afflicting the immediate physical environment is so heavy that strict precautions are taken according to the mode of construction and design of the building and the location of the corpse (see e.g. Unv., Riv., I.125 ff., transl. D., Pers. Riv. 135 ff.). Doorways are specially dangerous areas, as pollution in their vicinity prevents access and exit for a specified period (Unv., op. cit., 127.4-8; D., op. cit., 137-8). A house with one door is discussed in PRDd. ch. 2 as an instance of a worse case of pollution, since, unavoidably, the corpse would have polluted the doorway when carried out through it. According to Pahl. Vd. farg. 5.44, Šnš. II.38 and Unv., Riv. I.138 (D., op. cit., 154) similar precautions must be taken in the event of a dog's death in a house, since the corpse of this mortal creature is almost as polluting as a human corpse (see M. Boyce, Stronghold, 162-3).

2. The same statement occurs in AVN 1.7, Pahl. Vd. farg. 5.44 and Šnš. M. sees it as an interpolation and gloss, but more likely it is simply a standard definition. Cooked food is more susceptible than raw to the attack of the druj ī Nasuš, the female demon of the corpse and decay, who settles on the human body just after death occurs. On Nasuš see Dd., purs. 16.7 ff (ed. BTA, 36 ff., transl. West, SBE XVIII.39 ff.).

3. In Pahl. Vd. farg. 5.44 uncooked food is defined thus: harw cē kār-ē abar nē abāyēd kardan asāxt dānišn "anything for which any labour required is known as unprepared".

4. These are periods of time stipulated in Pahl. Vd., loc. cit., and Šnš II.41. The pollution of dead matter was thought to be heavier in the heat of the seven summer months than in winter, from observation of natural decay taking place more quickly in warm weather. See also passages in Unv., Riv., I.138, l. 1-p. 139, l. 4, D., Pers. Riv., 154 f., and also Modi, CC, 74-5.

5. In the Rivāyat of Shapur Bharuchi, Unv., Riv., I.137, ll. 9-11, D., Pers. Riv., 154, it is stated that "barley, wheat and things of a like kind will be pure in winter after nine nights, and will be pure in summer after thirty nights". See also Šnš. II.41. In Pahl.

Vd., the qualification is added that unprepared food will only become fit for human consumption again if it was three steps or farther from the corpse in the house. All passages agree that cooked food is not to be used.

6. So in Pahl. Vd., loc. cit. and Šnš., II.50. Cf. also Unv., Riv., I, 139, l. 11, D., Pers. Riv., 155.

7. The grades of sin are set out in Supp. Šnš., XI.1-2, ed. F. Kotwal, 22; see his Appendix I, ibid., 114-5, for the money values of sins in Pahl. and NP texts. A tanāpuhl sin has the heaviest penalty of 300 stērs, the yād 180, the framān, a minor offence, is 4-7 stērs.

8. See Šnš. II.51.

9. See Pahl. Vd., loc. cit., Šnš., II.51.

10. In Šnš. II.53 a distinction is made between the acts of entering a house "in performance of a duty" xwēškārīhā and of entering "without a duty" axwēškārīhā. This latter term seems to correspond to kām-wizār in our present text. In a case of necessity the religious law saw entry into such a house as neutral, neither a merit nor a sin. (Tavadia translates pad kām-wizār here "in fulfilment of a wish", Šnš., 2.53, n. 6, p. 50.)

11. With this statement cf. Unv., Riv., I, 137, l. 3-4:

- Q. "When a man dies, is it proper to bring food from another house, and eat it (in the house where death has occurred) and can anything from the house (where death occurs) be carried to another house?
- A. It is proper to bring food from another house and eat it, and it is not proper to carry anything from that house to another house till the fourth day.", transl. D., Pers. Riv., 153

Since our text states that cooked food which is brought into a house where death has occurred is all unclean, it follows that the passage from Pers. Riv. cited above refers to uncooked food. See also Unv., Riv. I, 140, l. 1-2:

"In a house where a person departs from the world, it is necessary that for the (first) three days they should not bring fresh meat and cook it therein; for the danger is that another person may follow him (i.e. may die). They should be contented with whey, cheese, fish, eggs and confection.", transl. D., Pers. Riv., 165.

Cf. Dhabhar's note 6, loc. cit.; Sd.N.ch. 78; Pahl. Vd., 8, 22. Only

in the Pahl. writings is the period of abstention from meat specified, as three days after death; in the Avestan texts it is not stated. However, since rituals concerning the dead tend to occur in multiples of three, the period is likely to be traditional (see further M. Boyce, HZ, I, 121).

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Here Zardust is understood as the subject in dialogue with God. The device of dialogue between the prophet and Ohrmazd is traditional and occurs throughout PRDd. as a means of expounding doctrine and of urging the faithful to religious practices and virtues. Although the repetition and formalism in this structure is tedious when compared with more realistic narratives, the rhetorical symmetry of such passages as this conveys most effectively the ethical dualism of Zoroastrianism. The stark juxtaposing of the results of evil and good actions is characteristic of this genre; it emphasises the principle of divine retribution not so much as punishment and reward from Ohrmazd, but as universal law, i.e. G. Av. aša, that is seen to govern existence. The statements of §§5 and 8 of this ch. are made not as threat and promise, but rather as conveying mere fact of law. Their being accredited to Ohrmazd himself lends them the required authority.

2. The tongue is the organ with which man pronounces the "holy word" (Av. mathra. spānta-, Pahl. māns<sup>a</sup>r spand) defined in Pahl. as: abēzag stāyisn ī yazdān "the pure praise of God" (GBd. XXVI, 100, BTA 229); the word is man's most effective weapon against the Evil Spirit, and the most efficacious means of healing (see Vd., farg., 7, 44). A general principle can be observed in Zoroastrianism that that which is most holy while alive is also most vulnerable to the onslaught of the Evil Spirit at death. See also Dd., purs. 39. 10-14 (transl. West, 135 f.).

3. The heart was regarded as the seat of thought (and thus wisdom) according to Y.31.12 (see M. Boyce, HZ, I, 8 and n. 27, also cf. MX 48) as well as the home of the soul ruwān (GBd. XXVII. 5, BTA 247).

4. So here the sins of the father affect his children, albeit as the father's punishment, stamped as they are with evil characteristics from birth. This notion is somewhat at variance with the ideal of high Zoroastrian theology, that each individual has freedom of open choice between good and evil.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. The argument is that if a man has truth on his side (i.e. mard ī rāst-xwāh "the man of good faith"), he need not be resentful and vindictive in prosecuting his opponent for misrepresentation, since the process of justice will ensure that his losses will be made good. But should he resort to falsification to win his case, he is as culpable as the guilty party (mard ī wad-xwāh) in the eyes of God.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. On the Iranian immortals see PRDd., ch. 54, and Dd., purs., 90 (SBE XVIII, 255 ff.).
2. Zarmān is the hypostasis of old age, and, as the servant of Ahreman, brings decrepitude and eventually death to all men. The conditioned existence of this compounded world (Pahl. gumēzišn) must end in decay and death; and man's hope for happiness and future life equally must lie in his own good actions. The afterlife is an incorporeal state (Pahl. mēnōg) where a person's righteousness and good mind are in union with Ardvahišt and Wahman, the Righteousness and Good Mind of Ohrmazd (Y. 46.10, 12; Y. 49.3, 5); however, lasting happiness comes only with a return to the original gētīg condition, when soul and body are reunited in a perfect physical world (see further M. Boyce, HZ. I, 236 ff.). Pahl. zarmān corresponds to Av. zaurvan-, an abstract noun meaning "old-age, decrepitude" (Y. 9.5; Yt. 9.10; 15.16; Vd. 13.28) but in Vd. 19.43 it is personified as a demon Zaurva. In GBd. 27.28 (BTA 23) Zarmān is: hān dēw kē dujdaft kunēd, ast kē pīrīh xwānēnd "that dēw which makes one short of breath, it is also called old age". See also Dd. purs., 37.44, 52).
3. The odd syntax of this last sentence suggests that it may be a direct translation from Avestan. The indicative vb. kunēnd is noteworthy as having an optative/imperative sense (unless the text is corrupt).
4. It is possible that this statement - that thereby the soul can continue to exist - is based on what seems to be Zoroaster's original teaching, that at Frašegird the wicked will be annihilated in the fiery stream (see M. Boyce, HZ. I, 242-3). It would not be surprising if traces of that teaching were still to be found in the Pahlavi literature.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. This answer corresponds to the number of covenants described in Vd., 4.2 ff. A similar list but with a different order is given in the Persian Rivāyats (Unv., Riv., 1.43, transl. D. Pers. Riv., 37). In the Vd. details are given of the far-reaching effects on relatives of the sin of breaking a covenant. As Darmesteter (SBE IV, 3, n. 3) and Dhabhar (Pers. Riv., 37, n. 8) have noted, the commentary to the Vd. reduced the circle of liability to narrower limits, and explained the numbers of years given as the duration of the sinner's own punishment in hell. There is disagreement among the Pahlavi commentators on the subject of the sin "coming upon the children" of the sinner (see Dhabhar, loc. cit.). Some maintain (as here) that punishment comes even to those born after their father's crime, others that righteous children need have no fear of it.

However, in a passage in the Persian Rivāyats it is stated:

"but if he (the sinner) is highly favoured by fortune in this affair and although he may not be affected by (the consequences of) meher-druj, it will undoubtedly affect his children and his family will be ruined and his progeny will be extinct. In the next world his punishment will be worse and heavier" (Unv., Riv., I, 53, l. 3 ff; transl. D., Pers. Riv., 49).

The great ahura Mithra is lord of the covenant (mithra-) and thereby enemy of the man who breaks the covenant. See Yt. 10.2

mithrām mā janyā spitama mā yim drvatat parasahe mā yim xvadaenat asāonat; vayā zi asti mithro drvataēca asāonaēca  
 "Never break a contract, O Spitamid, whether you conclude it with an owner of Falsehood, or a Truth-owning follower of the good religion; for the contract applies to both, the owner of falsehood and him who owns truth." (transl. I. Gershevitch, AHM, 75).

Mithra watches over and assesses all the actions of men (see Yt. 10.82; I. Gershevitch, op. cit., passim, and M. Boyce, HZ, I, 24-31); he presides over the tribunal of yazads at the Činwad Puhl; he judges the human soul, whether or not it is fit to enter heaven. In the Persian Rivāyats it is said:

"whoso commits meher-druj has the way of heaven shut against him, and let it be known that he is without (the jurisdiction of) the commandment of, and obedience to, God the most High and is in the jurisdiction of Ahreman and the demons." (Unv., Riv., I, 47, transl. D. op. cit., 41).

In the Persian Rivāyats (Unv., Riv., II, 66, l. 17-19, D.,

Pers. Riv., 431) Mihrōdruj is also named in a list of dēws who reside in men, so like other abstract notions is popularly understood by the traditional pattern of personification (Unv., Riv., II, 66, l. 17-19, D., Pers. Riv., 431).



Notes to Chapter 7

1. The reckoning of the account is made at the Činwad Bridge. The "sin" could be cancelled there, because the responsibility had been the priest's, whom he consulted.

2. Apostasy from Zoroastrianism is named as a capital offence; the rejection of other religions as bad was a part of Zoroastrianism from the earliest times. The confession of faith, Fravarānē, which was said by the earliest converts in a form perhaps only slightly different from the modern formula, severs connection with all other religions.

"I foreswear the company of the wicked daēvas, the not-good, lawless, evil-working, the most Drug-like of beings - the company of daēvas, of demons and the followers of demons ... etc. "

Such an attitude continued as a central feature of Zoroastrian profession of faith, and in response to the challenges of Christianity, Manichaeism and then of Islam, the later, i.e. M.P., texts frequently state that apostasy and conversion to another faith is margarzān, and offenders may be killed by faithful Zoroastrians (see, e.g. Unv., Riv., I, 299, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 286, 291). However, whereas persecution and capital punishment was enforced under the Sasanians, through inquisitions, as recorded in Christian martyrologies, by the time of our text, when mass, forcible conversion to Islam was commonplace, the rule of margarzān could not and would not have been applied, except perhaps against individual instances of voluntary conversion. In the later, Persian Rivāyats, suicide was recommended (itself normally a margarzān sin) for those threatened with forcible conversion:

"If a person (of a foreign faith) exercises tyranny over a man of the religion and tells him to turn Musulman with his family, then out of helplessness he should commit suicide but he should not turn Musulman." (Unv., Riv., I, 282, 1. 6 ff, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 275).

3. Two interpretations of this are possible: (1) Zoroastrians have a religion which protects them from sin; the act of conversion destroys this protection and thus they become sinful. (2) A man belongs to the religion which he has inherited from his forefathers, and conversion to any other religion is a sinful act. The first interpretation is preferable, since the chapter is devoted to the sin

of abandoning the religion. Also, in the Persian Rivāyats it is clear that conversion to Zoroastrianism was approved of:

"If they observe the rules of the religion steadfastly and keep connection with the religion, and if no harm comes on the Behdins (thereby) it is proper and allowable."  
(Unv., Riv., I, 281, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 275).

4. cf. Vd., farg. 3.41.

5. cf. similar statement in Vd., farg. 3.42.

6. On the Nābar ceremony, the initiatory service for the priesthood, see Modi, CC, 199 ff. See below PRDd. 9.10; 17.1; 50.7 ff.; and Unv., Riv., II, 33 f., D., Pers. Riv., 419 f.; Tavadia, Šnš. II. 35, n. 6 (p. 83) is in no doubt that the "initiative yašt" of the priest is meant in PRDd. ch. 9, §10 below, q.v., and also see accompanying note 8 p.527 below.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. It is not intended here to give a full historical account of the origins and development of xwēdōdah, or, indeed, to discuss the extent of the practice and its effects on Zoroastrian society. The problem of xwēdōdah has worried many scholars, from Iranian studies, and some, more recently, from Anthropology who have been somewhat surprised by what they have found reported in the literature of Zoroastrian Iran.<sup>a</sup> The present writer wishes to address himself principally to an elucidation of this chapter, leaving a fuller, anthropological and historical treatment of xwēdōdah to another more particular study. This text is particularly interesting in establishing the meaning of xwēdōdah in the Zoroastrianism of the Pahlavi books. Unlike some other texts which pronounce on the subject (e.g. Dk., Dd.) PRDd. 8 is relatively simple and clear in expression; it is the longest extant text on xwēdōdah in Av. Pahl. or NP. literature. The chapter is not a mere description of cases of xwēdōdah or of the law affecting parties within it; it is apologetic, propagandist and popular, and affords certain further clues as to the reasons for the existence of such a practice.

The term x<sup>v</sup>aētvadatha, to which Pahl. xwēdōdah corresponds, is an Av. adjective which Bartholomae explained as deriving from Av. x<sup>v</sup>aētu- "kinsman, one's own" and vadatha - "marriage". Bartholomae defines it thus:

1) 'der eine Sippenhe geschlossen in die nächste Verwandtschaft geheiratet hat', and 2) 'wofür die Sippenhe bezeichnend ist' (Air. Wb., 1860).

The problem of translating this word is identical to that of establishing the nature of what practice it was that the word denoted, and both are complicated by the cultural specificity of the term and by the undoubted ambiguity (sometimes apparently deliberate and rhetorical) which enshrouds this the most controversial of Zoroastrian usages. The cultural specificity of xwēdōdah is clear from the obvious inappropriateness, in the Zoroastrian context, of the translation "incest" or incestuous marriage". As R. Needham has said of the term incest:

---

a. Brian Spooner appends a list of recent anthropological studies of xwēdōdah and other facets of Iranian kinship to his brief article on the subject, 'Iranian Kinship and Marriage' Iran, IV 1966, 51-9. Particularly noteworthy is J.S. Slotkin, 'On a Possible Lack of Incest Regulations in Old Iran', American Anthropologist XLIX, 1947, 612-7.

"The idea ultimately underlying the English word seems...to be that incest is an offence against purity and moral decency."  
(Remarks and Inventions: Skeptical Essays about Kinship, 63).

"Consanguineous Marriage" is more neutral and less offensive to modern sensibilities, but does not have the strong positive connotations which the Zoroastrian term had. Next, only in the medieval texts, in Pahlavi, is there any certain indication of what xwēdōdah was. Av. and NP texts are sadly incomplete in defining it; those scholars, Parsi and others, who have denied any sexual meaning in the term emphasised this state of affairs (and then attempted to explain away the Pahl. evidence) translating the word as "a gift of one's self", "self sacrifice" (D.P. Sanjana<sup>b</sup>) or as "holy communion" (B.T. Anklesaria<sup>c</sup>) etc. However, PRDd. 8, together with certain other Pahl. texts, establishes that, in the medieval period at least, and probably long before, xwēdōdah does refer to the act of sexual union with next of kin, i.e. not merely to a symbolic, non-physical, rite. It is recommended (whether or not it was actually practised thus is another question) as a means of preserving religious and social purity through a divinely ordained mode of reproduction i.e. endogamy taken to its logical conclusion in marriage with mother, sister, daughter, or father, brother, son. Nevertheless, to include considerations for the cultural specificity and, particularly, for the unique social and theological circumstances of the Zoroastrians, the translation "family marriage" is suggested as a general term, though for the period of the Pahlavi books "next-of-kin"marriage" is justifiable.

This chapter is omitted by Mirza, who refers to West's translation in SBE XVIII, 415ff. in his Appendix III 'The Meaning of Khvetūkdas or Khvetūdād', pp. 389-430. West admitted the weight of the evidence in Pahl. Y., AVN, DK., Dd., etc., in proof of the recommended practice of actual next-of-kin marriage. In referring to xwēdōdah in the Pahlavi books generally, West says:

"Marriages between the nearest relations are defended chiefly by reference to mythical and metaphorical statements regarding the creation, and to the practise of the progenitors of mankind; they are also advocated with all the warmth and vehemence that usually indicate much difficulty in convincing the laity, and this zealous vehemence increases as we descend to the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivāyat..." (West, op.cit.)

---

b. 'The Alleged Practice of Consanguineous Marriages in Ancient Iran', in The Collected Works of D.P. Sanjana, 472-499.

c. The Pahlavi Rivāyat of Aturfarnbag and Farnbag-Srōs, II, 56.

Although West clearly finds that PRDd. went too far in recommending xwēdōdah, and he sees fit to omit the more definitely sexual passages (he omits C3, 4, 5, part of 6, dl-9, fl-2), his conclusions were not accepted by the contemporary Parsi scholars: the fullest refutation was by D.P. Sanjana.<sup>b</sup> His conclusion could only be reached by virtually overlooking or explaining away the Pahlavi evidence (see esp. art. cit., 490-1). Nowadays even Parsis have less difficulty in accepting the full significance of the term. As P.J.de Menasce said:

"On sait avec quelle passion elle a été débattue au siècle dernier. Aujourd'hui, il n'y a plus lieu de prendre le même ton, et le fait que ce texte (REA) est publié par les savants Parsis eux-mêmes nous permet de le traiter avec la sérénité et l'objectivité désirables."<sup>d</sup>

As West pointed out in his discussion (see above) the term xvaētvadatha does not occur in Gathic Avestan, and in the five passages of the Younger Avesta where it is found<sup>e</sup>. Although it obviously refers to some virtuous act, it is not defined. In the Pahl. translation of these passages no light is cast on the meaning of the word. Sanjana in his paper attempted to show that xwēdōdah was never advocated in either Zoroastrian scriptures or in priestly texts as consanguineous marriage. He also denies any veracity in the accounts of classical Greek writers about the Iranian practice of next-of-kin marriage (principally of Xanthus, Herodotus, Ctesias and Agathias), discounting them as inaccurate or malignant accusations. It is widely known that marriages between close relatives were not at all uncommon in the ancient world. Greek and Latin literature abounds with evidence for them. Full brother-sister marriages are known in W. Asia, especially in the house of Maussollus in Caria; marriages with half-sisters on the father's side are attested at Dura Europus; in Egypt after the example of Arsinoe II Philadelphos, the Queen's head appeared on coins together with that of her husband and she was called 'sister queen' even when she was not in fact the king's sister; of the first five Ptolemys, however, so famed for their 'close' marriages, only two

d. 'La Rivāyat de Emēt ī Ašavahistān', RHR CLXII (1962), 82.

e. Y. 12.9; Visp. 3.3; Gāh 4.8; Yt. 24.17; Vd. 8.13.

actually married their sisters (W.W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisation, 2nd ed. reprinted London, pp. 53, 124).<sup>f</sup>

According to W. Hinz the practice of levirate marriages between siblings was also common in the ruling houses of Elam (The Lost World of Elam, London 1972, 91). All the ancient evidence from Iran was refuted as totally unconvincing by Sanjana. Even West admitted that the Parsis were

"perfectly justified in believing that their religion did not originally sanction marriages between those who are next-of-kin, provided they choose to ignore the statements of foreigners as based upon imperfect information."

On the other hand, another western scholar, J. Darmesteter argued:

"l'abondance des témoignages généraux et leur caractère affirmatif mettait hors de doute que ces pratiques royales n'étaient point une chose isolée, la fantaisie de perversions individuelles et tout-puissantes. L'histoire ancienne de la famille est partout trop obscure pour qu'il soit permis de nier a priori l'antiquité de la pratique en Iran." (ZA I, 131)

f. Circa 8 B.C. the Artaxiad Tigran IV succeeded to the Armenian throne. He reigned with his sister Eratō. Their coins bear two portraites, one with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΗΣ, the other (of Erato) with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΗ. (cf. Государственный Эрмитаж, Собрание античных монет, рукописный каталог, №. 19416 X.A. Muselyan, 'Hin Hayastani dramayin srjanarut'yan patmut'yunic'', Patmabanasirakar handes, 3, 1970, 76.)

The noble families continued the practice longer than others; in AD 365, the council of Aštišat condemned naxarars (feudal dynasts) who, for the sake of keeping their tohm (clan)-inheritance, married close relatives. No punishment is prescribed, however; the power of the naxarars was still something to be reckoned with. (A.G. Adoyan, 'Haykakan amusna-antane kan haraberut'yunnere mijnadaryan örenk'nerum', P-bH, 3, 1965, 51). The canons of the Armenian church state: "Whosoever may take to wife mother or daughter, let them be burned in a fire" (Or kin arñe zmayr kam zdust, i hur ayryec'ek' znosa, in Kanonagirk' Hayoc', I, Erevan, 1964, 471:7). If a sister or brother are found married they should be 'made the fuel of fire' (Arm. hroy čarak darjnel, Ibid., 471-3). Mxit'ar Goš (d. AD1213) condemned marriage between close relatives, in his Datastanagirk' ('Law Book'). In AD 377, St Basil of Caesarea wrote of the μαγιστράων ἕθνος in Cappadocia that ἡμῶς ἐπιμύνοντα παρ' ἡμῶς (Letters, IV, Loeb, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, letter 258, p. 45). The melikdoms of late medieval Armenia were survivals of the ancient naxarar system, incorporating also members of the azatani, or freedmen. The oldest naxarardoms survived through the 1917 revolution, and several in remote, mountainous Karabagh retained their feudal holdings (R.H. Hewsen, 'The Meliks of Eastern Armenia', REArm (N.S.), X, 1972, 285). In Karabagh, marriages between half-brother and sister were common, as were marriages of first cousins (St Kanayean, 'Amusnakan artakarg erenoyt'ner' Ararat amsagir, Eǰmiacin, June-July 1917, 518-9). I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr James R. Russell of Columbia University, New York City, for the above information and references.

What proved to be the more difficult part of Dastur Sanjana's refutation was to explain away the Pahlavi material on xwēdōdah, and it was only by (it must seem to others) mistranslating the passages and misquoting West that he could satisfy himself that he had proved his case.

Apart from PRDd., there are some thirty contexts in which the term xwēdōdah occurs in Pahlavi literature. Several take its meaning as well known and do not give any explanation. Notably unambiguous, however, are the treatments in the following passages which West translated in his study (see above): the 18th farg. of the Varštmanšar nask in Dk., (DkM. 864.10-17); the 14th and 21st farg.s of the Bāgān nask (DkM. 921.19 ff. 935.9 ff.); AVN II. 1-3, 7-10. West also translates the lengthy text on xwēdōdah in Dk. III (DkM. 72 ff.). The text of the most explicit parts of this passage is given here, with the more recent translation of P. de Menasce (in French in Le troisième livre du Dēnkart):

(DkM. 73.3) xwēdōdah kē ka xwēš-dahišnīh, n-š gāh paywandišn ī nērōg  
ō xwēšān ham-dahišnān pad-išn srāyišn ud bōzišn, kē andar mādayān  
xwēšān mardōmān pad winnārišn paywandišn ī ō frašegird narihā mādagihā  
paywandišēd hān paywand amaragānīhā drusttar raftān rāy, mardōm andar  
\*amarag \*hamsardagān \*ōy abāg nabānazdistān andar nabānazdistān \*ōy  
abāg nazdpaywandān nazdpaywandtar sē ēwēnag hampaywandīh ast pid ud  
duxt ud pus ud burdār ud brād ud xwah, abērtar ī \*handāxtēm... (DkM.  
74.1 ff.) ud nun agar ēwbār pid az duxt nar āfrīd nāmīhist xwēdōdah  
ī pid ud duxt gōwēm ēn-iz az dēn nigēz kū gayōmard, ka be widard,  
šusar, ī tōhmag xwānīhēd, /ō/ spandarmad ī zamīg ōbast ī-š mād ud  
az-iš hambahišt mašya ud mašyānī pus ud duxt ī gayōmard ud spandarmad  
nāmīhist xwēdōdahīh ī pus ud mād. ud mašya ud mašyānī ēwag abāg did  
warzīd narihā ud mādagihā pus xwahišnīh ud nāmīhist xwēdōdah ī brād  
ud duxt ud az-išn was juxtag zād, juxtag zan ud šōy būd hēnd. ud  
hamāg mardōmān ī būd hēnd bawēnd-iz az bun tōhm ī xwēdōdah. ud ēd  
čim ast ī čihriḡ pad āfurišn ī az dād kū handāzišn ast az abzōn ī  
hamkešwar mardōm paydāg... (DkM. 75.15) ud ēd sūd ī az \*abēzag  
payišnīh ī gōhr ud gowem ku xwah ud brād ō hān ī az-išn zāyēd šas  
nāy ēwēnag dōstīh bawēd ēwag ēn kū frazand ī brād ud brād ud ēwag  
ēn kū frazand ī-š brād az-išn xwah ud ēwag ēn kū frazand ī xwah ud  
ēwag ēn kū frazand ī-š brād az-išn pad ham čim čahār nāy mihr ud  
kāmag ud tuxšišn ī bawēd pad parward ī frazand čahār nāy ummēd ī  
awiš ud ham passazag frazand ō zāyēdāran ud ēd rāh ī abzōnīg mihrih ī  
frazandān pad weh parwarišnīh ī wēš emēd ud ēdōn hān ī az pid ud  
duxt pus ham zāyēnd ud rōšn jast ud abrōxt hamē wēnīhēd andar awām  
ī kū abēr šād ud rāmišnīg kē-š frazand-ē, ī frazand ast, ka-z ōh az  
kas ī jud tōhmag ud jud šahr hān-iz pas čand weh ī sazed būd hān  
šādīh ud šīrēnīh ud rāmišn ī az pus-ē ī mard ī az xwēšīh duxt zāyēd  
kē brād-iz bawēd ī ham mādar. ud hān ī az pus ud mādar zāyēd brād-iz  
bawēd ham pidar ēd rāh ī wēš rāmišn ī waxšišn ī urwahn nē ud agar padīš  
ast zyān ī fray az sūd ī nē-z ēwag ī fray az \*hučihrih.

P. de Menasce translates (into French):

"There is xwēdōdah when one 'gives of self', which represents the transmission of one's personal power to one's own, creatures like oneself, in protecting them and saving them, and when this takes place between those people who are particularly closely related it is organised to include them in frašegird men and women uniting

together. And in order that this union leads to the most wholesome results, people have a more closely connected union, being of the same race, with those of the same clan, and being from the same clan as those who are the closest kin to them. The three types of kinship that of father and daughter, of son and mother, of brother and sister, will be those that I consider above all... Now if it happens that a father produces a son from his daughter, that is called (l'accomplissement du) xwēdōdah of father and daughter. We know (lit. I declare gōwēm) from the exposition of the Dēn that when Gayōmard died, his sperm, i.e. his seed, fell on Spandarmad, the earth, who was his mother and therefrom Mašya and Mašyānī developed together, son and daughter of Gayōmard and Spandarmad: that is called the xwēdōdah of son and mother. Mašya and Mašyānī united as man and woman out of the desire to have a son: that is called the xwēdōdah of brother and sister. They begat many couples, and these couples are husbands and wives. All people who have been and will be originate from the first (emission of) seed of xwēdōdah: Herein is a law of nature in the production which has been made by God, the plan aimed at the increase of humanity from all the kešwars... And this is the advantage that the preservation of the race in its purity brings. I say that the sister and the brother will have as regards him who is born of them a love as it were of 8 (sic) measures 1) by the fact that it is the child of brother and 'brother' 2) by the fact that this child will be able to have from them a sister as 'brother' (?) 3) by the fact that it is the child of the sister 4) the child whose brothers came from them. For the same reason, there will be four measures of love, of good will, and of effort, in the care of the child, four measures of hope in him, and as regards the parents, therein is the way of 'holy' (abzōn) love of children, when they bring them up well with much hope. And it is the same for a son produced by father and daughter. The light springs out and blazes up and it is seen in the course of time that they are very happy and joyful to have a child from a child (i.e. a grandchild), even if it is by someone who is of another race and from another land,<sup>g</sup> how much more pleasing is it that this sweetness and joy should come from the son who is the man who is born of one's own daughter, who is also the brother of his mother too".

Unfortunately, because West's Appendix on the meaning of xwēdōdah was included in the volume containing his translation of Dd., in order to avoid repetition of material, he did not reproduce the several important passages from Dd. on xwēdōdah but noted that in certain chapters of Dd. "allusions are made to the Khvētudad of brother and sister formed by the progenitors of mankind". (SBE XVIII, 414). Sanjana then easily dismissed the testimony of these passages in his paper by referring to them as "mere allusion..." etc. (op.cit. 484) One passage in particular, from this most orthodox of Zoroastrian books, Dd. purs. 64, demonstrates the

---

g. pace de Menasce "d'autant plus convient-il que cette douceur et cette joie vienne du fils d'un homme qui l'a (sic) engendré de sa propre fille, l'enfant étant le frère même de sa mère."



meaning of xwēdōdah:

šast ud čahārom pursišn passox hān ī pursēd kū  
bun ī tohmag ī xwēdōdah gowend, kū az če be bud;  
ud az če gyag be bud passox ed, kū fradom  
warzišn ī xwēdōdahih az hān bud ī mašya ud  
mašyane kard, ke ewkard brād ud xwah bud hend,  
u-šan pus warzišn ī hamgumezišnih kard čiyon  
fradom xwēdōdah warzišn ī fradom hamgumezišnih  
ī mard abag zan awešan kard ud paywand ī mardōman  
hamoyen purr-rawagih ī tohmagan az hān be bud,  
ud haman mardoman ī gehan az hān tohmag.

"Where and from what did the origin of race, which they say was next of kin marriage, arise; and from what place did it arise? The reply is this, that the first consummation of next of kin marriage was owing to that which Mashyâih and Mashyâyâih did who were brother and sister together, and their consummation of intercourse produced a son as a consummation of the first next of kin marriage, so that they effected the first intercourse of man with woman, and the entire progress of the races of every kind of lineage of men arose from that, and all the men of the world are of that race," transl. West, SBE XVIII, 199 f.; cf. also Dd. purs. 36.82; 63.6.

When passages such as this and those from Dk. III provide what appears to be clear evidence for an actual practice of next-of-kin marriage in Sasanian Iran and after, some scholars have regarded them as scholastic, bookish, and therefore as inadmissible as evidence of a social-religious reality. P. de Menasce has put it:

"Le Denkart III nous en avait découvert l'aspect intellectuel, doctrinal, et l'on pouvait craindre qu'il visât une situation quelque peu théorique, si bien que l'on hésitait à se prononcer sur la réalité de certains faits que leur justification même nous faisait tenir pour livresques et au moins périmés (art. cit., 75-6),

and the same scholar wrote of the Rivāyat of Ēmēt ī Ašavahistān (REA), and we would add of PRDd., that it

"dissipe ces doutes et nous montre que la thèse répondait à une réalité" (art. cit., 76).

In another important passage on this subject, in answer to a question about the heinousness of the sin of kūmarz "sodomy", Manušcihr replies by contrasting it with the great merit of xwēdōdah. Xwēdōdah is a creative act leading to the production, eventually, of Frašegird; kūmarz is an unnatural act which brings only death and the end of good. (Dd., purs. 76) As de Menasce noticed in art. cit., 82, a passage in MHD 42, 114 (Fasc. 1, 105, 5-10) treats of the case of a marriage between brother and sister

which is presented as a quite normal thing (transcr. and transl. Bartholomae, SR 5, 17-18). Another small text on xwēdōdah which was not included by either West or Sanjana is ch. 20 of The Pahlavi Rivāyat of Ādurfarnbag and Farnbag-srōš, transcr. and transl. by B.T. Anklesaria, 1.106; 11.56. Closer inspection of one other text, however, is desirable for elucidation of certain points in PRDd., i.e. REA chs. 22, 24, 28, 29, 30. These passages were translated and discussed, with special attention to xwēdōdah, by P. de Menasce in art. cit. (More recently, the whole of REA has been transcribed and translated into English by N. Safa-Isfahani, Rivāyat-i Hēmit-i Ašawahistān: A Study in Zoroastrian Law, Harvard Iranian Series, Vol.II.) For reference to the passages see notes to this ch. below.

PRDd., REA, and other texts whose final recensions are considered to be post-Islamic in date, testify to the currency and apparent orthodoxy of the idea of next-of-kin marriage/sexuality. West is wrong, surely, to have spoken of PRDd. in such strong terms ("zealous vehemence...", "dark ages" etc.), of a book which is otherwise so faithful to what is recognised as orthodox tradition, and to attribute it as he did "to some writer of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (SBE XVIII, 428, but cf. ibid., 415; see above the Introduction to the present work). B. Spooner, art. cit., 56, concludes that xwēdōdah "was adopted by the king (Achaemenian?) from Mesopotamian religion", and that "the practice took on a sacramental value and...spread as one of the marks of purity of the nation-religion, Persianism-Zoroastrianism".

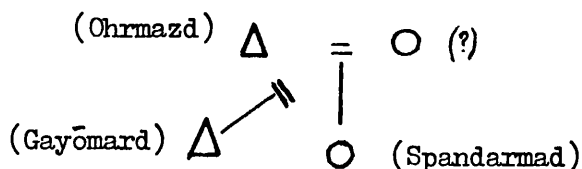
With the removal of the Sasanian king, however, and the decline of Zoroastrianism, he says, there was no longer any reason to continue the practice of xwēdōdah. If this is the case, then the Pahlavi books of the ninth and tenth centuries attempt to combat any such discontinuation of tradition. The strains, ambiguities and constraints which are evident in PRDd. 8 reflect the oppressive times under Muslim domination. However, it is premature, surely, to argue as Spooner does, that the practice of xwēdōdah "was never an integral part of the social structure but simply a vehicle to a type of grace..." (art. cit., 56)

It is argued below that rather than being abandoned at this time, or even upheld against the adverse flow of history, in PRDd. xwēdōdah constitutes a revival of a practice long consonant with Zoroastrian theology and society; here, however, the practice is preached for an unprecedentedly urgent purpose - the preservation of the Good Religion.

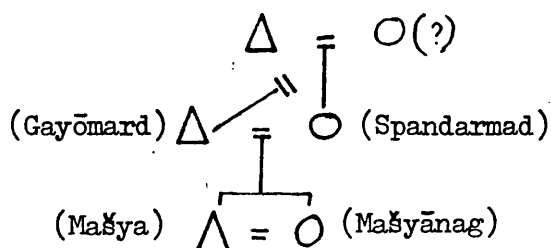
2. It may be assumed that at the time of the last recension of this chapter agdēnīh was the greatest, and the root, of all problems for Zoroastrians. Moreover, as P. de Menasce has put it: "tout indique que l'akdēnīh est bien l'Islam qui n'est jamais désigné par son nom" (art. cit., 76) It is significant, then, that the rejection of agdēnīh and act of conversion to the Good Religion, is acclaimed as a virtue in parallel to the practice of xwēdōdah. Indeed, as West suggested a century ago, the priesthood may well have extolled and recommended next-of-kin marriage "to prevent marriage with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith" (SBE V, 389). This is the actual import of the opening words: the priest is speaking about the virtue of these two acts in order to emphasise the great peril of the contrary acts, i.e. becoming Muslim and marrying non-Zoroastrians. The practice is not simply an example of Zoroastrian dissimulation from Muslim prohibitions; in this text xwēdōdah appears to have a new, normative function, yet which is quite in keeping with its traditionally ascribed power of zanišn ī dēwān, i.e. in the contemporary conditions, zanišn ī agdēnīh. This, nevertheless, does not account for the theological and anthropological meaning of xwēdōdah which, as next-of-kin marriage, is, so far as is known, unique in the world's religions as an intrinsically meritorious act for all to perform.

3) This theme runs throughout this chapter (e.10, f.3, g.2) and many of the other sources on xwēdōdah. See below, n.

4) Section a is in parallel to section d below. The xwēdōdah relations described in §§.1,3,4 and 5 are prefigured mythologically in §§a.2-8. In e.g. Dk. III (DkM. 73) Ohrmazd is said to be the father of Spandarmad; from their union was born Gayōmard. Thus far, explicitly in Dk. III etc., and by implication in PRDd. 8.a.2ff., the xwedodah relation is:



In Dk. loc. cit., Gayomard's seed is said to have impregnated Spandarmad (DkM. 74.2ff) from whom was born the first human couple, Mašya and Mašyānag. The series of relations is now:



Mašya and Mašyānag, brother and sister, perform xwēdōdah and produce thereby the second generation of mankind, which ever increases thereafter. Thus all the principles of the relationships mentioned in section d are anticipated here. R.C. Zaehner (ZZZ, 152, 163) quotes PRDd.8.a.2-4 in his discussion of the Zurvanite myth of the creation of the luminaries, but he does not see any Zurvanite influence here; it is more likely, he considers, that it is the product of orthodox Zoroastrianism. J. Darmesteter explained the origin of the orthodox myth thus:

"les docteurs mazdéen eurent le tort de raisonner, et les accidents de la vieille mythologie les amenèrent à mettre entre le Créateur et le premier inceste fraternal une nouvelle série incestueuse. Le mariage d'Ahura et de Spenta-Armaiti n'était à l'origine que la reproduction du vieil hymen cosmogonique entre la Ciel et la Terre, entre Dyaus et Prithivi, Ouranos et Gē, Jupiter Pluvius et Tellus" (ZA I, 133).

The Pahlavi translation and glosses to Y.44 give a clear picture of the union of Ohrmazd and Spandarmad. The myth of Ohrmazd consorting with Spandarmad his daughter would have been doubly a target for Muslim attacks were it not disguised in Pahlavi language. Zaehner quotes Nöldeke's translation of Bedjan, Acta Martyrum, ii, 576ff., a Christian polemic against such ideas, in which the following is stated:

"Und wenn er sie mit seiner Mutter, Tochter oder Schwester gezeugt hat, wie eure thörichte und alberne Lehre sagt, warum soll er uns dann nicht in allem gleichen? Ein Gott dagegen hat weder Mutter, noch Tochter, noch Schwester, weil er eine ist und er allein Gott ist, der über all seiner Schätze frei verfügt" (from Festgruß an Rudolph von Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, 34-8, quoted in ZZZ, 436; see also Text F6 in ZZZ, 437f.).

5) Here the prophet is portrayed as admitting that xwēdōdah is škefttar. Ohrmazd answers that mankind was wrong to have strayed from the practice established by himself the first man, and the first-couple. Had they not, it is said, mankind would not now be divided and in strife - the alien race (-šān az ʾūd šahr etc.) would not have come about. Here the problem of agdēnīh is linked to man's own disregard of lineage.

The practice of xwēdōdah is urged in the most emphatic ways:

- it is of divine origin as the original reproductive act (a.2-8);
- it is cleansing, smites dēws (a.1,c.3, g.2);
- it is salvation from Hell (b.1, 2, 3);
- it is declared by Ohrmazd as best virtue (c.1-2, f.2, m.4, n.2);
- all men will do it eventually (c.6);
- it is very meritorious (h.1-3, i.1-4, j.1-2);
- Zardušt declared men should practise it (m.1-4);
- Ohrmazd prescribes it for Zardušt (a.5-9, o.1-2).

The chapter begins and ends with the perplexity of xwēdōdah. Ohrmazd and Zardušt both know that while it is the best of things, az harw čiš pašom (o.2), it is also škefttar (a.5), wad, saxt (o.1) škeft (o.1,2) and tang (o.2). In the concluding section where Ohrmazd answers the perplexed Zardušt, it seems that the virtuous power of xwēdōdah is not unrelated to its difficulty. It appears to be a complete reversal of what is acceptable, yet in fact it is not. Sodomy is shown to be the antithesis of marriage. Xwēdōdah is shown to be the ultimate marriage. Lévi-Strauss defined the prohibition of incest as "less a rule prohibiting marriage with the mother, sister or daughter, than a rule obliging the mother, sister or daughter to be given to others." (The Elementary Structures of Kinship, 481).

In the boldly eschatological, apocalyptic vision of the Zoroastrian world, particularly in times of oppression, the writer-priest wished to speed up the process of paywandišn ī ō frašegird. The mention of Sōšyans in c.6 makes this wish explicit. In cutting themselves off from the Muslims around them, in refusing to trade with them, marry or be buried with them, the Zoroastrians anticipate anxiously the state of Frašegird, when change no longer occurs, when exchange is no longer necessary, because all is fulfilled and complete unto itself. As Lévi-Strauss concludes his major work on kinship:

"...mankind has always dreamed of seizing and fixing that fleeting moment when it was possible to believe that the law of exchange could be evaded, that one could gain without losing, enjoy without sharing. At either end of the earth and at both extremes of time, the Sumerian myth of the Golden Age and the Andaman myth of the future life correspond, the former placing the end of primitive happiness at a time when the confusion of languages made words into common property, the latter describing the bliss of the hereafter as a heaven where women will no longer be exchanged, i.e. removing to an equally unattainable past or future the joys, eternally denied to social man of a world in which one might keep to oneself (op. cit., 496-7).

This joy of "keeping to oneself" is of course the root and branch of xwēdōdah. For social man, as Lévi-Strauss put it, we have the reasonable reaction of Zardušt - that xwēdōdah is škefttar etc. Zardušt, however, is also prophet of the Divine, whose revelation far transcends the logic of this world (see o.2, e.g.). Zardušt proclaims:

"Practise xwēdōdah! And I speak of the good (man); as for the negligent (axwēškarān NB) and bad men, then by them this was said harshly: 'A thing which is so hard and grievous in our law (dād) xwēdōdah, is not to be practised'."

The practice of xwēdōdah then, is an ideal with immediate practical benefits: in so far as it can be practised it seals off the community

to that extent from outside, i.e. Muslim, influence. If Zoroastrian priests were unique in having advocated such close consanguinity, perhaps it is because the rationale of the purity code in the gumēzišn state, and that of the expectation of the world-made-perfect at Frašegird both strive to separate the good from evil, man from demon, weh dēnīh from agdēnīh, in fact self from all that is other than self.

6) On this couple's act of xwēdōdah see GBd. XIV, 6-10 (ed. TDA); Dd., purs. 64; 76.4-7; 36.82; Dk.III, cited in n.1 above. On variants their names see A. Christensen Le Premier Homme I, 9-10, and on the texts relating to the pair see ibid., 13ff. and M. Boyce HZ I, 96-7.

7) This may refer generally to ordinary disaffection among members of a family, or more particularly to the chaos of conversion to Islam and apostasy from Zoroastrianism which would certainly have split families. The fourth chapter of ZVYt. describes the tenth century of the millenium of Zardušt, when Ēranšahr is invaded by alien hordes of evil religion (waffar den IV.10). The social order will be overthrown as a result:

andar hān awām...hamāg mardōm frēftār be bawēnd, kū ēwag ō did rāy wad xwahēnd ud mihr wuzurg jud-gōnag be bawēd, ud āzarm ud dōšāram ud ruwān-dōstīh az gēhān be šawēd mihr ī pid /az/ pus ud brād az brād be šawēd dāmād az xwasūr jud be bawēd ud mādar az duxt judag jud kāmāg be bawēnd.

"In those times all men will be deceivers, that is they will wish evil for one another and love will be a very different sort (of thing), and respect and love and spiritual friendship will disappear from the world, the love of a father will go from the son, and brothers from brother and mother will be opposed and hostile to the daughter." (IV.13-15).

In those times as the following chapter states, in the words of Ohrmazd: ahlawān pahlom hān bawēd kē pad weh dēn ī mazdēsnan ēstēd ud dēn ī xwēdōdah pad dūdag rawēd "The most excellent of righteous men will be he who stands by the Good Religion and in whose family the religion of xwēdōdah continues. (V.5)

8. A Persian Rivāyat states that only xwēdōdah can remove the margarzān sin. However, it cannot atone for the sin of kūnmarz, as in said in the 29th chapter of REA.

9. This section appears to be a gloss on b1 - the sense is the same.

10. The writer appeals to revealed scripture throughout: a.2ff, c.1, c.4, d.1, d.2, e.1, f.1, f.3, i,j,k,l,m,n,o.

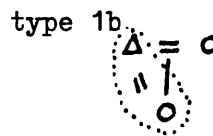
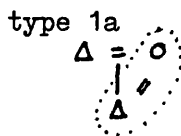
11. I.e. any time an act of kūnmarz is committed it is (because of its results) as if one committed it with all the dēws.

The writer displays his skill in contrasting the great virtue with the great vice here (and see below, n.14). Rather than explain the actual good effect of xwēdōdah, he describes vividly the horrors of sodomy, which multiplies the worst physical (pad gētīg § c.3) and non-physical (ō petyāragōmandih) evils, while meanwhile making it clear that the virtuous in aradise are not affected thereby.

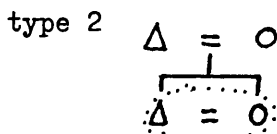
12. Cf. Dd. purs. 72.2.

13. Three basic types of xwēdōdah relations are described in §§ d.1-5, with their variants. As was said in n. 2 above, these relations are each prefigured in the mythological unions of Ohrmazd, Gayōmard and Mašya with their kin. For the sake of clarity the different relations are drawn out below, showing the relative merit of each according to this text (the next-of-kin union specified is encircled in each case):

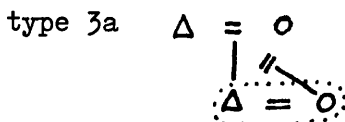
§d1 Parent + child xwēdōdah: (1a is superior to 1b)



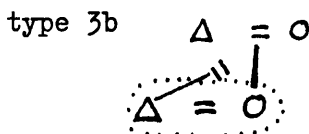
§d3 Brother + sister xwēdōdah: (1b is superior to 2)



§d4 Father/brother + daughter/sister xwēdōdah.



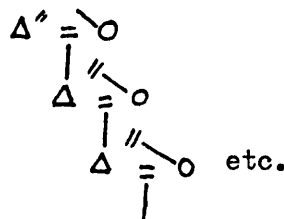
Mother/sister + son/brother xwēdōdah



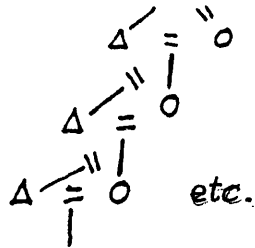
type 3a is in fact only a continuation of type 1a.

type 3b is in fact only a continuation of type 1b.

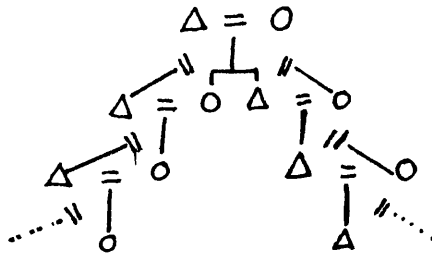
viz. 1a will continue as 3a, which becomes the series 3a...



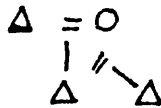
1b will continue as 3b, which becomes the series 3b...



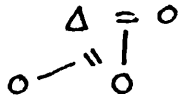
Put together, 3a.. and 3b... become what is presumably the ideal structure by which Mašya and Mašyānag and their next-of-kin began to populate the world, but which, (according to PRDd 8.a8) broke down:



A problem in this kind of endogamy is that if the xwēdōdah of son and mother produces only a male offspring the line will break down, viz, resulting in exogamy:

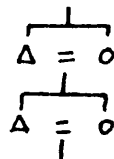


and vice versa for the xwēdōdah of daughter and father:



A mere brother+sister xwēdōdah in the second generation of the diagram would complicate, perhaps disrupt, the structure.

The continuation of type 2 above would produce the following series:



This is a 'lateral' xwēdōdah in that it connects only siblings, not, generations.

14. In Šd.1-6 it seems that sexual relations are referred to. Šd.2 is surprising : again the writer uses the contrary example of kūnmarz to demonstrate a principle. According to MX, ed. Anklesaria, 43-7, Sanjana 21-3; quoted by Zaehner, ZZZ, 368-9: "Ahreman gave birth to the demons and lies and the other abortions by committing sodomy on his own person," (transl. Nyberg, CCM, 1929, 198-201). Here the allusion serves



only to argue that what made something bad worse must make something good better. The principle "the closer the xwēdōdah, the better", is given also in the Persian Rivāyat:

va ormazd gofte ast ke har čand paivand nazdiktar kerfetar va jehad va kušēš nimāyēd pesar-i barādar. va duxtar barādar ke-yek digar dehand va pesar-i xahar va doxtar-i barādar be yekdigar bedehand  
Unv., Riv., I 308. 15-16, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 293.

15. Presumably this means that the sin of breaking contract passes to the illegitimate child even if she later becomes his wife, just as if she were legitimate (who would also be affected by their father's sin of adultery). See above ch. 6.4.

16. §d.6 is the link to a deviation from the main subject in d.7, 8 and 9. According to some texts full responsibility remains with the parents until the offspring is fifteen, when the child is invested with the sacred kusti. See Modi, CC, 178ff.

17. According to GBd XXXVI.5 (ed. TDA<sup>1312</sup>) Yim (Av. Yima) ruled for 616 years and six months before his glory x'arəna departed him; after this he was in flight for a hundred years. A tale similar to that of PRDd. 8 occurs in Unv. Riv., II, 208-10, D., Pers. Riv., 580-1, cf. also Unv., ibid., I 255-6, D., ibid., 257.

18. Here and in § e.3, 4, 5 Yima's var (Av. var-) is confused with var "lake" (Av. vairi-).

19. West translates "ape".

20. Gandarw is a demonic monster, mentioned below in ch. 18, f.9-13.

21. This creature is unidentified.

22. The translations of gasf, and gung are West's. West translates dywk' "weevil". GBd. XIVb (ed. TDA<sup>1088ft</sup>) has a fragment of this story which accounts for the creation of the ape kabīg, the bear xirs, and the tailed one dumbomand.

23. It is here assumed that -š be nazdik šawēd is a euphemism for sexual intercourse, i.e. literally "he goes near to it (xwēdōdah)". There can be little doubt that at this time xwēdōdah described the sexual act; Confirmation of this fact is given in a surprising context, Ch. 56 below, which is otherwise solely on the merits of drōn, myazd and gāhāmbār. In the concluding sections, to emphasise the importance of immaculate conduct of these services, Ahreman is made to say to his fellow demons that although the demonic 'remedy' against myazd and gāhāmbār is easy,

for human hearts can be corrupted: xwēdōdah is inviolable. Ahreman advises his demons:

xwēdōdah hil, kū tō bē-šān man-iz čār nē dānēm, čē ka čahār bār gayend hagriz mard ud zan az xwēh ī ohrmazd be nē šawēnd, be-šān did frazandih abāyēd dād...

"leave xwēdōdah, since even I do not know the remedy to (give) you (for that) without their (compliance), for when they copulate four times man and wife will never depart the kinship of Ohrmazd, again progeny must be given to them" (PRDd. 56.16).

CF. also REA 30, which poses and answers a question about male impotence:

mard-ē kē-š mēnišn pad xwēdōdah bawēd hān kē-š abāg āyēd kardan pad wistarag dārēd pad kāmāg wizārdan atuwanīg dād mēh ayāb wēmarih rāy ēg-iš kirbag ī xwēdōdah bawēd ayāb nē kirbag ī xwēdōdah ēdōn bawēd ka-z pad kunišn kard ka-š mēnišnīhā u-š kardan nē tuwān ka-š atuwanīgīh rāy ō kardan nē rasēd hān-iz kirbagī pad kunišn bowandagihā nē kunihēd nē pad kard hangarišn bē-š ēg-iz mēnišnīhā rāy wuzurg ruwān frayād ō bawēd.

P. de Menasce translates (art. cit. 87):

"Question: Un homme a l'intention d'accomplir le xvētodas; il prend dans son lit celle avec qui il peut le faire, mais s'il est incapable de s'en acquitter selon sa volonté, à cause de son grand âge ou d'une maladie, y a-t-il alors mérite de xvētodas ou non?

Reponse: Le mérite du xvētodas est tel, soit qu'on l'effectue, soit qu'on en ait l'intention sans pouvoir le faire, soit que par impuissance on n'en puisse venir à bout; mais cet acte méritoire qui n'a pu être fait doit pas être considéré comme accompli: cependant, en raison de l'intention, cela apporte un grand secours à l'âme".

On the other hand, ch. 28 of REA states that the production of children from such unions does not increase or decrease the intrinsic merit of the act.

24. Cf. Unv. op. cit. I. 309. 1-2; D., op. cit., 293.

25. Nowhere are the claims for xwēdōdah more exaggerated than here. In principle it is the same as §b2, āsānīh "satisfaction" (the term usually used for the gratification of the yazads through zōhr, see Dhabhar, Pahlavi Yasna, Glossary, p.20) is here used of the dēws who cannot obtain complete gratification, even from such lavish offerings, because of xwēdōdah.

26. Divorce was not recognised by Zoroastrians except on rare grounds (see Sd.Bd. ch.34.8ff.; D., Pers. Riv., 527, Unv.Riv., I, 189; D., op.cit., 204). This refers, probably, to the length of a xwēdōdah marriage according to the length of a person's life.

27. ašōdād/ahlawdād is a technical term for a gift to a priest, especially the obligatory gift for rite performed. See M. Boyce, HZ I, 169-70, with n. 152. Naturally priests insisted that nothing was more meritorious. This passage is one among many in PRDd. which demonstrate how priests sought to establish their claims on the laity. Cf. also M. Boyce, 'Pious Foundations', 283-5, for gifts of land to priests.

28. Cf. the counsel of Zardušt in DkM. 209.17-18

wes /wi/dēmīh ī dēwān u-s wēš mehmān/ih/ ī dahmān āfrīn pad tan rāy xwēdōdah warzišn.

"pour que dans la personne, il y ait grande absence des dev et grande presence de Dahmān Āfrīn pratiquer le xwētodat (transl. de Menasce Dk. III, 203).

29. I.e., on the banks of the River Daiti where he first received a revelation. Although this at first appears to be a pious fabrication, it has the authority of Dk. VII.4.4f. DkM. 626.12-20, transl. West, SBE XVIII, 412ff, SBE XLVII, 51f.

ēg zardušt pad buland rasišnīh abar be xwānd ō gēhān ī astōmand ī ahlāyīh stayīstan ahlāyīh ud nikōhīd/an/ dēwān franāmišn mazdēsnih Zardušt hān ī amahraspandān ēzišn niyāyišn ō ašmā pahlom gōwēm ud ayazišnīh ō dēwān xwēdōdah hān-iz pahlom agāhihišnīh kū az agāhih ī dād ēstēd astawānīh kirbagīhan meh andartēm az ōy yaz pid duxt pus burdār ud brādar ud xwah paydāg.

(In the same episode, an opponent of the prophet declares ..xiš-ē padīš ēdōn abēgumān hom kū nē abāyēd kardan Čiyōn xwēdōdah... (DkM. 627.9f.))

30. i.e. the refusal to practise xwēdōdah.

31. A major weakness in this otherwise affirmative ending is that, of course, there is no mention in any extant scripture that Zardušt married his mother, sister, or daughter.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. On the Drōn service, yašt ī Drōn, see PRDd., ch. 58 (in M.), and for the fullest discussion of this and related ceremonies see M. Boyce and F. Kotwal, 'Zoroastrian bāj and drōn', I and II, BSOAS, XXXIV, 1, 58-73, and 2, 298-313, 1971, and especially 1, 62-66. For an explanation of the significance of the drōn, i.e. the unleavened bread, see the Pahlavi treatise 'Abar Čim ī drōn', translated by Kaikhusro Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, DH MV, 201-5, and also ch 56 §§1-8 below. See also Modi, CC, chs. 12 and 15, and Unv., Riv., II, 26 ff., D., Pers. Riv., 413 ff.
2. Thus the yašt ī drōn is a minor ceremony when compared in merit with the Yasna, Visperad and Vendīdād, see below §9 ff. and cf. Unv., Riv., II, 12, D., Pers. Riv., 400 f., and ŠnŠ., XVI.6: (SBE V, 380 f.).
3. With §§2-3 cf. ch. 65 §§14 and 15 below; two other Pahlavi passages are also similar to our text: (1) DkM. 801-2:

abar ōz [ud] tagīgih ī mēnōg ī drōn ēn-iz, kū harw šab dēwān az dušox pad wināhīdan ud murjēnīdan ī dāmān andar ō gēhān dwārēnd; ud ka drōn yazēd, hān mēnōg pad zadan ud abāz dāstan ī dēwān āyōzēd, ud andar harw šab nawad ud nō bār pad kōxšišn ī abāg dēwān frōd wardēd, u-šān zanēd ud stōwēnēd ud az murjēnišn ī gēhān abāz dārēd

"Concerning the power and strength of the spirit of the Drōn [is] this also, that every night the dēws rush into the world from hell for the ruin and destruction of creatures; and when the Drōn is celebrated, that spirit strives to smite and repulse the dēws, and every night it comes down ninety-nine times for the battle with the dēws, and it smites them and overcomes them and keeps them from destroying the world."

- (2) Abar Čim ī Drōn, DH MV, p. 202 f.:

ēn-iz paydāg kū harw rōz pas az hufrāšmōg yazd dēwān ud družān az dušox čiyōn buš ī aspān mōy homānāg abar āyēnd kū anāgih pad dāmān ī ohrmazd kardan rāy be ō gētīg āyēnd. čiyōn ō kōf ī harborz rasēnd mēnōg ī drōn ō padirag ī hān hamāg dēwān ud družān abaz šawēd u-šān zanēd ud afsēnēd ud ēdōn zanišn kunēd kū tagarg homānāg oftēnd u-šān az ō gētīg āmadān ud anāgih pad dāmān ī ohrmazd kardan abāz dārēd. ud agar nē mēn[ōg] ī drōn rāy hē, hamāg dēwān ud družān dām ī ohrmazd rāy awēn ud apaydāg ud \*nizār kard hē ...

"This also is revealed that every day after the dēws and druzs come up from hell like hairs of the horses' manes, that is they come into the world to do harm to the creatures of Ohrmazd. When they come to Mt. Harborz, the Spirit of the Drōn comes back to me meet all those dēws and druzs, and he strikes them and destroys them, he deals (them) such a blow that they fall like hail and he keeps them back from coming to the world and doing harm to the creatures of Ohrmazd. And if it were not for the Spirit of the

Drōn, all the dēws and druzs would have annihilated and obliterated and enfeebled the creation of Ohrmazd."

By comparison of the sentence čiyōn ō kōf ī harborz ... etc. (in passage (2)) with PRDd., ch. 65, §15, it would appear that Mithra himself is the Mēnōg ī Drōn:

ud mihr pad rōz pēs xwaršēd rawēd; ka xwaršēd andar ō rōzan sawēd (i.e. into the window/door in Harborz) mihr abāz gardēd pad šab sālāvīh ī dāmān ī ohrmazd az dēwān družān ud mihrdružān kunēd

"and in the day(time) Mithra goes before the sun; when the sun goes into the window (i.e. into the door in Harborz) Mithra turns around in the night affords protection to the creatures of Ohrmazd from the dēws, druzs and mihrdruzs".

4. The word gōšodāg (Parsi gošudo) derives from Av. gauš huδā "the beneficent cow", and is applied to whatever represents the animal kingdom in religious ceremonies, while the vegetable creation is embodied in the drōn. As is stated in PRDd. 58. 67 (transl. M., p. 334 f.), gōšodāg may be milk, butter or eggs, etc.; the term is also applied to flesh offerings consecrated at a Drōn service (see M. Boyce, 'Haoma, Priest of the Sacrifice', HMV, 67); see also Modi, CC, 299.

5. The snūman (Av. xšnaomaine "for the propitiation, satisfaction") is the statement of dedication to a particular yazad. In one form of the yašt ī drōn, the yašt ī barsam, or in India pañj tāy "five twigs", the snūman is always to the Lord Ohrmazd before all others (see M. Boyce and F. Kotwal, art. cit., I, 64).

6. yašt ī keh "the lesser worship" is the older name for the drōn or bāj service since this service forms part of the preparation for the yašt ī meh the "greater worship", i.e. the yasna; see M. Boyce and F. Kotwal, art. cit. I, 67.

7. zōhr is the Pahl. form of Av. zaothra-, which derives from the root zav/hav "pour"; although zaothra- must originally have meant libation, it came to be a synonym for Av. myazda- "(solid or liquid) offerings" which was used especially of the blood sacrifice.

Commenting on the meaning of yazišn ī pad zōhr in PRDd. ch. 17 §a2, Tavastia states:

"It seems that 'yazišn with zohr' means the proper ceremony as performed by priests, cf. (Unv.) Riv. II. 12. 6ff. which gives the relative merit of this and other ceremonies when performed with zōr and barsam and when without them. The latter refers merely to the recital of the texts, since the verb used is xvāndan 'to recite' and not yastan 'to offer up (or celebrate)'

or kardan 'to perform' as in the former."  
(ŠnŠ., Appendix 5. 2, n. 7, p. 153).

For references to zōhr in Pahl. texts see M. Boyce, JRAS, 1966, 102-3.  
On the practice of making ritual offerings and its importance in Zoroastrianism see M. Boyce HZ I, 148 ff., and JRAS 1966, 100-18.

8. A similar statement, found in the Persian rivāyat of Kamdin Shapur is more specific in defining the yašt of our text as the ceremony of gētī xrīd or nōzōd. Also it adds the words, lacking in PRDd.,

"or has not caused them to be performed by other priests"  
(Unv., Riv., II, 35, l. 8, transl. D., op. cit., 421)

whereby the Persian text seems to include young men of priestly and non-priestly families; however, in our text, apparently, it is the nābar (i.e. yašt ī nābar) of the ordaining priest which is meant, and the warning is not for non-priests. Nābar is otherwise known in the Persian rivāyats as nōzōd, but, as Tavadia has explained, this latter term

"does not or at least need not mean the naojot ceremony by which a Parsi child is taken into the Zoroastrian fold, but the nāvar ceremony which forms the initiation of a Parsi priest ... "  
(Tavadia, ŠnŠ., 3. 35, n. 6, p. 83f.).

9. The dwazdah-hōmāst is a form of prayers recited for 264 days in honour of 22 yazads; each of these yazads is worshipped with a celebration of the Yasna and Vendīdād services daily for twelve days, and nights. Modi explains hōmāst as "'hamā yasht" ... the praise or celebration (yasht) of all (hamā) yazatas' (CC, 431); but, cf. West, SBE V, 212-3, n. 5, where West has cited Dastur J.M. Jamasp-Asa's detailed description of the different hōmāst ceremonials, none of which, indeed, is dedicated to all the (33) yazads. According to this there are four kinds of hōmāst, the first of which is not mentioned in PRDd. 9:

- (1) hōmāst: one Yasna recited daily for twelve days for each of the following successively (i.e. for 144 days)  
Ohrmazd, Tistar, Xwaršēd, Māh Abān, Adur, Hordād, Amurdād, Spandarmad, Wād, Srōš, Arda-fravaš
- (2) ēwag-hōmāst: as in (1), one Yasna daily, plus one Vendīdād every twelve days, for each of the same yazads
- (3) dah-hōmāst: one Yasna and one Vendīdād daily as in (1)
- (4) dwāzdah-hōmāst: one Yasna and one Vendīdād recited daily for twelve days for each of the twelve yazads in (1) and for ten more: Wahman, Ardawahist, Šahrewar, Mihr, Wahrām, Rām, Dēn, Rašn, Gōš, Astād.

In the Persian rivāyats it is clearly and repeatedly stated that dwāzdah-hōmāst is recited for the atonement of "sins" - that is, offences against the purity laws - committed wittingly or unwittingly by women during their menstruation; thus the yazads to whom the services are dedicated are those who are afflicted directly by the defilement of menstruation. In the Persian rivāyats three lists of twelve yazads, all slightly different in details, are given along with the significance of the choice of yazads; see Unv., Riv., I, 211f., 219-221 (see also Sd.N., ch. 41, §§7-20, transl. West, SBE XXIV, p. 303f.). It is noteworthy that in the Rivāyat of Bahman Punjya it is stated of the dwāzdah-hōmāst

"These 12 Vendidads represent the least number. According to all Rivāyats, 33 Vendidads should be consecrated for the propitiation of all the 33 Amshaspands and Yazads. If this is not possible, then 18 should be performed, if not, 12 must be consecrated. This accounts for the greater or the lesser ceremonies of the Davazdah Hamast."  
(Unv., Riv., 21f, ll. 15-16; transl. D., op. cit., 219).

10. In contrast, in a Persian rivāyat it is said that the performance of two hamāg-dēn with dwāzdah-hōmāst and with zōhr is one of the means of atoning for (i.e. removing) margarzān sins (Unv., Riv., I 307, D., Pers. Riv., 292).

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Cf. DdA p. 9.6: ud hunar ī rāstīh weh ud abzārīh xrad meh "the virtue of truthfulness is best and the instrument of reason is greatest." However, the Andarz ī Ošnak ī Danak (ed. Dhabhar, p. 14) differs in its statement: fradom hunar pad mardōmān, xrad weh "the prime virtue among men, reason is the best." MX 3.6 (ed. West) typically, reconciles the discrepancy in the words: pad ruwān rādīh, ud pad gēhān rāstīh ... ud pad tan ī mard xrad weh "in the spirit charity, and in the world truthfulness ... and in the body of men reason, is best." In Šd. Bd. ch. 70 (ed. Dhabhar, p. 139) the virtue of truthfulness is explained as supreme in Zoroastrianism:

- (1) ānče porsīde būdand ke sūd-i x<sup>u</sup>iš az ziyān-i mardom taleb karden če gunāh ast, bedānand ke sar-i dīn be ašəm vohū ast, va tafsīr-i ān rāstī kardan ast. (2) va agar be rāstī kardan va goftan ast va hīč kār dar jehān behtar az rāstī kardan nīst "About what they had asked as to whether there is any sin in seeking one's gain from men's loss, let it be known that the origin of religion is in Ashem Vohu and the meaning of it is to practise truthfulness. (2) If truthfulness is to be practised and uttered, then there is no work better than practising truthfulness in this world " (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 552).

See also Šd. N., ch. 62 (ed. Dhabhar, p. 43, and Unv., Riv., I, 40, transl. West, SBE XXIV, 323); Šd. Bd., ch. 74.20-2 (ed. D., p. 145, and transl. Pers. Riv., 555-6).

2. huaxwīh is the good life in heaven for those who merit it by their good lives on earth. Cf. DkM. 592.13 (SBE XLVII, 5): gayōmard ō hān ī amahraspandān huaxwīh mad kū garōdmārīg "Gayōmard attained to the good existence of the Amahraspands which is heavenly." Ša2 of our text has the usual word for "paradise, heaven" wahišt, but in Ššh and o garōdmān, usually reserved for "highest heaven" of Ohrmazd, is used synonymously with wahišt; in Šq the terms are combined: garōdmān, wahišt ī Ohrmazd.

3. Cf. Šd. Bd., ch. 70.3, va agar be rāstī kardan, kasī bar zendān konand, behtar az ān bāšad ke kasī be dorūgh goftan az zendān birūn konand "And if in practising truthfulness, a person is thrown into prison, it is better than that a person is released from prison for telling a lie." (transl. Dhabhar, Pers. Riv., 552).

Here the moral teaching is uncompromising and thus in accord with Avestan teaching, but cf. Dhabhar's note on a passage in the Persian



Rivāyats on breaking oaths, and on telling lies where there would be harm by telling the truth, Pers. Riv., 307, n. 2 and 3.

4. With §3 cf. DkM 660, 10 ff.

5. The righteous charitable give to "the good and worthy" (wehān ud arzānīgān), and correspondingly "the charitable who are sinful" give to people of opposite character, wattar ud axwēškārīg. It is stated in a Persian Rivāyat that it is a margarzān sin to give charity to such a one (Unv., Riv., I. 346, 6-9, Dhabhar, Pers. Riv., 306-7). See also Vd. III. 34, XVIII. 34, and M. Boyce 'Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zoroastrismus', Saeculum XXI, 4, 1970, 337.

6. With this §, cf. PÜ, 49.5, ed. D., p. 215.

7. In all likelihood druwand in this paragraph means "unbeliever", i.e. a Muslim, and the point of the passage is to prevent means going to the enemies of the faith.

8. On the different forms of the names of these two, the first human couple, see Christensen, Le Premier Homme, I, 9-10. In our text there are variant spellings: p. 136, l. 14-15 mlh' W mlhy'n'y (MR<sub>1</sub>, J mlhynyh); p. 137, l. 2-3 m'hl's W m'hlyd'n'h (MR<sub>1</sub>, J m'hlsyh W m'hl y'n'yh). For the legend of how they grew from the rhubarb plant, worshipped Ohrmazd, were seduced by evil forces, and eventually became the progenitors of the human race, see GBd. XIV, 5 ff. (BTA 127 ff.). For references to passages in which they are mentioned see Christensen, op. cit., I, 13 ff.

9. Av. hadiš "house" occurs in Vr. 1.9 (repeated 2.11) and 9.5. In the Pahl. translation the glossators add the words mēnōg ī xānag "spirit of the house" (1. 9). See further Darmesteter, 'Le Dieu Hadhish', Études Iraniennes, II, 201-3. Hadiš appears as a minor divinity and messenger from Ohrmazd to the first man and woman in Dk. (DkM. 593.8 ff., transl. West, SBE XLVII, 7) to teach them how to bless their bread before eating. For a discussion of the problems in the passage see Henning, BSOAS XII, 1947, 59-62. Hadiš is called pad ahrāyīh abar arzānīg in the Dk. passage for which Henning (art. cit., 61) suggests "with due reserve" a reconstitution of the original Av. text <sup>\*</sup>ašava. pairiš. hahananā, "who has been granted (the reward) by the Holy One." Hadiš is on a similar mission in our text and it is reasonable to assume a common Avestan source and to emend the words PWN 'sy' 'dwyнк' to PWN 'hl'dyh [QDM] 'lc'nyk'. In

Dk. Hadiš recites two Ahunvars in order, as here, to defeat the dēws.

10. Literally "Blessing of the pious", usually taken as the personification of the prayers of the devout. Dahmān Āfrīn is one of the three great non-calendrical yazads.

11. With Šg cf. Dk. VII.1.12-13 cf. a similar passage in the Persian rivāyats in a ms. written by Hormazyar Framarz, f. 31; text and transl., D., Pers. Riv., 308; and also Sd. Bd., ch. 74, §§15-17 (ed. D., 144, transl. Pers. Riv., 555).

12. M. reads \*ēδ harv cē xšnavēδ ē-s ō aḡāyēδ "whatever pleases (me) ought to be (mine)".

13. As in Šd, above, the emphasis is not to encourage excessive wizīdārīh but that it should be exercised as a virtue to ensure that charity remains righteous and does not compromise with evil (see ŠŠb and c).

14. It is possible that this is carefully phrased in order to exclude the royal tombs, which contained embalmed bodies.

15. The meaning is not quite clear - perhaps it is that old-age has conquered man by taking him to the place of death. M. reads bē ō gyāy maδ bavēδ "unless it has come (sic., transl. āmad for mad) in time"; this would imply that only premature old-age is bad, and the sense seems as strained as the grammar.

16. With this Š cf. D., Pers. Riv., 307; Šd.N., ch. 79.1-2.

17. One end of the Činwad Bridge rests on Harborz.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. According to Dk. IX, 9.1 (DkM. 792.9, SBE XXVII, 181-2), and Ind. Bd. XXVIII, 8, 10 (SBE V, 106), the dēws Indar ('ndl) and Sāvar (s'wl) encourage men not to wear the sacred kustīg and shirt, and are propitiated when men obey them. In Vd. XVIII, 54-9 (SBE IV, 199 f.) it is said that whoever is over fifteen years old and walks without the sacred garments becomes the consort of the demon Drug. The Pahl. Comm. to this passage explains that for the first three steps it is a srōšocāranam sin, but after the fourth it is a tanāpuhl, for which there is no possibility of forgiveness. See also SnS IV. 6-10 (SBE V, 287-8 and West's notes 287, n. 4, 288, n. 3); AVN XXV, 6; (SBE XVIII. 134); and especially cf. Šd. Bd. ch. 89 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 565) which appears to be a résumé of Š1 and 2 in our text; Šd. Bd. chs. 13.4 and 60.5.

2. The shirt should be all of one piece as is explained in Dd. purs. 39.2 (DdA. 125.6; SBE XVIII, 133):

pasox ēd kū niyābag ast pad drust spēd ī pak ī ēw-tāg, ī  
ēwkard, čiyōn wahman-iz ēdōn ēwag dām ī fradom; pas az  
hān wastarag xwanihid hān ī andartom ud nihān pad dēn  
 "The reply is this, that it (the shirt) is needful to be perfectly pure white and of one piece which being of one piece is because Wahman indeed was the one first creation, the garment is called after him, the innermost and concealed in the religion".

The choice of Wahman in this text is obvious, as the last words disclose: this amahraspand - personification of the divine good mind and power of conscience, first created of Ohrmazd - is traditionally most intimate with Ohrmazd and angel of the prophet's first vision is here associated with the intimate garment which is both symbol of the religious conscience, and emblem of Zoroastrian identity. There is a "seamless shirt" in the New Testament: in the Gospel of St. John it is said:

Οἱ οὖν στρατιῶται, ὅτε ἐσταύρωσαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἔλαβον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τέσσαρα μέρη, ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ μέρος, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἀρραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλον.

Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also His coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.

A typical Christian explanation of the xitōn arraphos in this verse (J.19.23) is e.g. in W.Walsham How, Commentary on the New Testament:

"This was the inner garment, worn under the loose outer robe. It reached from the neck, where it was fastened, to the feet, and was held together by a girdle round the waist. The fact that this coat was 'without seam, woven from the top throughout', has often been used to suggest the unity of Christ's Church. He that makes schisms in the church rends the sacred robe of Christ."

This seamless garment is also an undershirt. On the Zoroastrian shirt see Šnš. 4.6; D., Pers. Riv., 30 f.; Modi CC, 181 f.

3. West (SBE V, 288, n. 5) suggests that this refers to running in inner shoes (i.e. slippers), without wearing outer boots.

Alternatively the word may be a-mōg "shoeless". See MX, II. 37 (ed. West), and West's note in SBE XXIV, 11, n. 4; Tavadia, ŠnŠ. IV. 2; Ind. Bd. XXVII. 13 (SBE V, 107); ZKA 115 and n. 11 for references.

The Rivāyat of Kamdīn Sāpur states specifically:

agar yek pay kafš va yekī barahna hamčonīn ravand bedīnsānī  
gunāh būd (Unv., Riv., I. 95.8; H.F., f. 253) "If they walk with one boot on one leg and with the other foot bare, it is a sin of like nature (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 100, and see D.'s notes, loc. cit. n. 2, 3.)

It is likely that the punishment for this sin is based upon that of wišād-dwārišnīh (described in Pahl. Vd. farg. 18.55), and not vice-versa as is implied by our text. Dk. IX.9.1 (SBE XXXVII, 182) says that the demons Taurvi and Zairik are propitiated by the act of "walking with one boot" (for references see SBE XXXVII, 182, n. 4) i.e. because they are the special opponents of Hordād, guardian of water, and Amurdād, guardian of plants. More logically Šd. N. ch. 4 states that this sin causes injury to Spandarmad, protectress of the earth.

4. With Šd. Bd., ch. 89. According to Vd. farg. 18.40-44 this is a sin which makes the demon Drug pregnant, because it pollutes the earth more than is necessary. The rule and the punishment is explained in the Pahl. Commentary. See also Dk. IX 18.1. (DkM. 807.8g, SBE XXXVII, 207); MXA II. 39; AVN XXV. 5-6; Šd. Bd. ch. 88; Šd. N. ch. 56; Šnš states that ablutions should also be done from the squatting position, and that the same principle applies as for passing water (Šnš X. 5; SBE V, 317-8).

5. In Vd. farg. 18.46 it is clear that this is the sin of involuntarily emitting semen in sleep; it is atoned for by recitation of Avestan prayers which prevent the demon Drug from becoming pregnant by the seed. On the purification from such pollution see Unv., Riv., I, 192-3; D., Pers. Riv., 206-7. On the connection between human semen and the spirit of the sky (NP. mīnōi āsmān) see Šd. Bd., ch. 75 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 557).

6. Hell is in the north, and according to Šnš X. 7 a demon will become pregnant each time food or liquid is thrown towards the north

at night; it is also enjoined that one Ahunvar is to be recited in order to smite the demons when anything is thrown away.

7. According to Šd. Bd., ch. 34, 8-15, there are only four grounds for divorce, otherwise a wrongful separation incurs a margarzān sin on all those concerned, because it is the violation of a contract, mihrodruj (see below, ch. 12).

8. Here the term mēnōgīhā prefaces the penalty that is enforced upon the account of the soul, while gētīgīhā defines the actual cost the offender must meet in this world.

9. The terms mērag and ziyānag have a technical sense here, it seems; cf. Nir. p. 22. 16 ff. (continued on 6. 11 ff.)

"which deals with the subject of taking the wife of another for religious work. The taker is called mērak, and she ziyānak (p. 23. 5, 8). Among other things we read about her seduction by him." (Tavadia, ŠnŠ., p. 111, n. 13)

See also PRDd., ch. 15. b.5 on adultery.

The term ahlawdād here is also an odd usage; usually it is interpreted as what is given to an ahlaw, "a righteous (man)", i.e. a priest, hence the general translation of "charity, a charitable gift". Here the term is more metaphorical as applied to zan/ziyānag (M. translates ahlawdād "a solem gift") but it still seems to have a specific, religious meaning.

10. Clearly this refers to the details of covenant-breaking given in ch. 12 below; the marriage agreement, mentioned in ch. 11, Š11, is just such a verbal covenant made in friendship pad saxwan dōšāramihā pašt kun-, the unlawful breaking of which renders the culpable parties margarzān.

Notes to Chapter 12

1. These are the six kinds of covenant-breaking referred to below in Ch. 6.1 (see notes). Cf. Pahl. Vd. farg. 4.2-10, and Unv., Riv., I, 43, D., Pers. Riv., 37. Darmesteter (SBE IV, 34 n. 2) has observed that the classification of covenants in Vd. farg. 4.2 ff. is, in the first two categories, by their mode of being entered into, and in the last four by their amount, but that the verbal and hand covenant seem also to have indicated an amount, i.e. the value of money or goods involved in the covenant; however the commentary only gives the value, in staters, of the last four. For each kind of covenant-breaking Vd. gives both the atonement of the next-of-kin of the sinner, and also the punishment, physical and financial, which the sinner himself must suffer. The Pahl. commentary explains that the atonement of the next-of-kin is kū ... sāl bīm dārišn "that they will have fear for ... years" (the numbers correspond to those of the Av. text). A Persian rivāyat goes further in reducing the liability, stating only the number of years the actual sinner's soul must spend in hell (see Darmesteter SBE IV, 36, n. 3; D., Pers. Riv., 37 f., n. 8).

"First if one turns away from an agreement or bargain entered into with another, one's soul will remain in hell for three hundred years" (transl. D., Pers. Riv., loc. cit.).

In the Persian text the numbers of years correspond to those in our text (except one, see n. 5 below), but the order is different.

2. Pahl. Vd. has pah-masāy "sheep-sized", and the commentary values it at three staters; the equivalent in Pers. Riv., (loc. cit.) is bai'-i gosfand bešikand "if one breaks the contract about a sheep" (transl. D.). gōspand (83), stōr (84) etc. stand for amounts involved in agreements as the standard prices of animals etc.

3. Pahl. Vd. has stōr-masāy "cattle-sized", and the commentary: twelve staters; Pers. Riv.: bai'-i gāv va čahār-pāyān bešikand "if one breaks the contract about cattle and (other) four-footed ones" (transl. D.).

4. Pahl. Vd.: wīr-masāy "man-sized"; commentary: five hundred staters; Pers. Riv.: peimān ī doxtar bešikand tā no sad sāl dar duzex bemānad "if one breaks the contract (about the marriage of) a daughter, one will remain in hell for nine hundred years" (transl. D.).

5. Pahl. Vd.: deh-masāy "village-sized", commentary: u-š az pañj  
šad drahm ham bun-iz "at any rate (more) than five hundred drahms";  
Pers. Riv.: bai' i zamīn bešikand tā no sad sāl "if one breaks a  
contract about a piece of land, (one's soul, will abide in hell)  
for nine hundred years" (transl. D.).

Notes to Chapter 13

1. As in ZKA 199-200 so here "the word" is virtually synonymous with the yathā ahū vairyō, the most sacred prayer of the Zoroastrians which, it is said, was pronounced by Ahura Mazdā before the creation of the physical universe (Y. XIX. 3, 8-9). Its sacredness thus makes it the principal weapon against the forces of evil, and so it was used by Ohrmazd against Gannāg Mēnōg "the Evil Spirit" (GBd. I. 29, BTA 10-11) and by Zarathuštra against Aṇra Mainyu (Vd. XIX. 1). In Yt. XVII. 20 the prayer is explicitly described as a weapon, when Aṇra Mainyu says that Zarathuštra "smites me with the Ahuna Vairya, as strong a weapon as a stone, big as a house" (trans. Darmesteter, SBE XXIII, 275).

With our text cf. Pahl. Vd. XIX 8-9:

passox ō ōy dawīd du]-dānāg gannāg mēnōg (kū): "pad-om kadār gōwišn wānē (kū-m stōw be kunē) (u-m) pad kadār gōwišn apparēnē (kū-m az dām ]ud be kunē) pad kadār zay ī hu-kard (ēn) ī man dām kē gannāg mēnōg?" 9. passoxih ō ōy guft kē spitaman zardust kū: pad hāwan ud tašt ud hōm; gōwišn(-iz) (ī ohr)mazd frāz guft (kē abestāg) man zay ast pahlom; pad(-it) hān gōwišn wānēm (kū-t stōw kunēm) pad(-it) hān gōwišn apparēnēm (kū-t az dām ]ud kunēm) pad hān zay xūb-kard ... "

"Gannāg Mēnōg, evil-knowing, replied to him: "With what word will you conquer me (that is defeat me), (and) with what word will you expel me (that is separate me from the creation), with what well-wrought weapon this creation of me Gannāg Mēnōg?"

9. He who is Spitaman Zardust answered him: "With the mortar and the bowl and the hōm; and the word also which Ohrmazd pronounced (which is the Avesta) is my best weapon; with that word I shall conquer you (that is defeat you) with that word I shall expel you (that is separate you from the creation) with that well-wrought weapon ... ".

2. M. omits to translate zīndagīh in this §.

3. The Aṣəm vohū, one of the four principal mathras of Zoroastrianism (with the Ahuna vairya, Airyāmā isyō and Yeōhē hātām), praises and invokes Aša Vahišta, the tutelary amaša spānta of truth and fire. In Yt. 17. 20 (cf. n. 1, above) Aṇra Mainyu also says that Zarathuštra burns him with Aša Vahišta "as if it were molten brass" (Darmesteter, (loc. cit.)). It is noteworthy that the Airyāmā isyō is not mentioned in our text although it is described in Yt. 3 (which is dedicated to Aša Vahišta) as that which "smites down the strength of all the creatures of Angra Mainyu, one of the Yatus and Pairikas" (Darmesteter, op. cit., 43). Indeed of all prayers, according to this yašt, it would seem to be the most triumphant and efficacious against the



forces of evil; it is, however, specifically connected with events at the end of the world, rather than with the struggle of daily living. The two prayers mentioned in our text are fitting, in that they inspire the two-fold effort that man is required to make: in the present cosmic struggle for victory through the power of the Ahuna Vairya which had been entrusted to Zarathuŝtra (Y. 19. 1f.), and in the inward striving toward virtue and blessedness for the individual soul through the help of the Aŝam vohū.

4. M. translates nāmčistīg particularly. On the advantages from these prayers see Y. 19 and 20; WZ I. 12-19 (SBE V, 157f.); Dk. IX. 2. 17-18 (DkM. 788.9ff., SBE XXXVII, 174).

5. i.e. Ahreman. According to the account in Bd. the Evil Spirit entered the world through the sky, polluted each of the creations, brought death to the plant, animal and man (GBd. IV. 10ff., BTA 48ff. 48ff.), and he "unleashed greed, need, danger, pain, sickness, lust and sloth upon the body of the ox and Gayōmard" (u-š az, niyāz sēj, dard, yask, waran ud būšāsp pad tan ī gāw ud gayōmard frāz hišt (GBd. IV. 8ff., BTA 50). The material world is thenceforth open to corruption by evil, but Ahreman is trapped in it by the "Spirit of the Sky", mēnōg ī āsmān, and he will be destroyed at the time of Frašegird (GBd. VIA, 2ff., BTA 70-1; MX 28. 2 (ed. West), transl. Zaehner, Dawn, 265; SGV IV. 63-79, transl. Zaehner, ibid., 265-6). Ohrmazd's purpose in this, and subsequently the purpose of the religious man, is to oppose and destroy evil. Thus it is in accordance with the optimistic view of Zoroastrianism that the author of our text explains how the evil effects of Ahreman's assault are turned against him; although men, good or otherwise, must face death, they may take consolation in knowing that latent in the essence of all evil is its own ultimate destruction, e.g. as a Pahlavi text puts it:

āz dēw hān kē čiš ōbārēd; ka, niyāzīh rāy, čiš nē mad ēstēd,  
az tan xwarēd "The dēw greed is that which swallows things;  
when, owing to privation, nothing is obtained, it devours  
itself." (GBd. XXVII 33, BTA 238).

Indeed a Zurvanite text states that Ahreman himself is threatened by Zurvān thus:

"When the period of nine thousand years comes to an end, if thou hast not perfectly fulfilled that which thou didst threaten in the beginning, that thou wouldst bring all material existence to hate Ohrmazd and to love thee ... then by means of these weapons Āz will devour that which is thine, thy creation; and she herself will starve; for she will no longer

obtain food from the creatures of Ohrmazd ... "  
(WZ XXXIV . 35, transl. Zaehner, Dawn, 223).

889 and 10 of our text do not agree in details with the account of the attacks of the Evil Spirit in GBd.: u-š āb ʃud-mizagīh abar burd "He brought change-of-taste upon the Water" (IV. 13) and ibid., IV. 27: pas ō ātaxš mad u-š dūd ud tēragīh andar gumēxt "Then he went to the fire; he mingled smoke and darkness within it" (IV. 27). There are signs here in PRDd. of the oppressive times of its final redaction; traditionally Zoroastrians condemn death, drought and the extinguishing of fire without reservation; when the writer attempts to derive consolation from the idea that such demonic acts may prevent other evils his argument, casuistical in style, is indicative of a Zoroastrian spirit demoralised by adverse conditions under the rule of Islam.

6. M. reads sūrāx, but translates as "unsuitable place", explaining "a hole, hence a place not suitable for human habitation" (p. 381, n. 4).

7. M. translates ēwēnag "things", i.e. as if it were čiš.

Notes to Chapter 14

1. The theme of the lament of the animal creation before God occurs several times in Zoroastrian literature, the earliest instance being the complaint of Gāuš Urvan to Ahura Mazdā of maltreatment at the hands of the wicked (Y. 29. 1 ff.). In GBd. IV a2 (BTA 53, TDA 46.8-1 46.8-11) Gōšurwan complains to Ohrmazd after Gannāg Mēnōg has defiled the world:

a-t sālārīh ī dām pad kē be hišt, ka zamīg wizandag nibayēd ud urwar xušk ud āb bēšīd? kū hēd hān mard kē-t guft kū 'dahēm' tā pahrēz be gōwēd. "To whom have you left the chieftaincy of the creatures, when the earth lies injured, the plant (is) dry, water has been afflicted? Where is the man of whom you said: 'I will produce', so that he may proclaim salvation?" (Cf. WZ III. 1-3.)

In our text the animals complain collectively to Ohrmazd; gōspand, Av. gav. -spanta- "beneficient bull", came to be used as a term for all beneficent animals, because they were, as a genus, sprung from the seed of Gāw ī ēw-dād "the uniquely-created bull" (GBd. VI e2-3, BTA 81). According to GBd. II 14 (BTA 41):

"Gōšurwan accepts the seeds of the beneficent animals from the Moon station", ka mīrēnd, tan ō [zamīg, gyan ō] gōšurwan ... paywandēd, kū-šan be murnjēnīdan nē tuwān bād "when they die, the body is united with [the earth, the vital soul with] gōšurwan, so that they (i.e. dēws) cannot destroy it."

Since men were obliged to kill animals for food, the religion prescribed that the victim be ritually consecrated and offered as sacrifice, so that its spiritual part might return to its place in the spiritual world. Thus on Gōšurwan, M. Boyce has suggested that

"it seems probable that the origin of this divine concept was indeed in the sacrifice itself, the repeated release of the spirits of individual animals creating the personification which is the sum of them all." (HZ I, 150)

The fact that in our text the "beneficient animals" complain to Ohrmazd in the spiritual world, whereas in other texts a single spiritual being, Gōšurwan, does so, lends support to this theory.

Cf. Sd. Bd. Ch. 54.21-3, 38-41, ed. Dhabhar, 128-9, trans. Pers. Riv. 544-5:

"(21) Then the amshasfand Goshurun who is appointed guardian over the four-footed ones stood up on its legs and said: "O Creator Ohrmazd! I will not go to that world (man be gītī našavam) for at the end of the millennium of Zarātusht Asfantaman, they will kill me often and eat me frequently. (22) They will kill frequently

the ploughing ox and the war horse, the lamb and the herd of goats. (23) And when they eat meat, they will more frequently commit sins through its power ... (38) The Creator Ohrmazd consoled Goshurun amshasfand who is appointed guardian over the animals and four-footed ones and said: "You must go to the world (torā be gītī bāyad sudan). (39) Whenever they will kill small and large cattle (gusfandān va čahār pāy), I will hold them responsible for it. (40) He who eats meat and commits sins is responsible for those sins." Then Goshurun amshasfand was satisfied with this and consented to go to the world (tan dar gītī dād)."

As well as warning of the severe consequences that result from unlawful slaughter of gōspand (see ŠnŠ X 8-9; Sd.N. ch. 34; Unv., Riv., I 263-4; Pers. Riv., 263-4), according to Sd.Bd. ch. 83 the religion prohibits the killing of "the lamb, the kid, the horse, the ploughing ox and the cock" and in general of "young gōspand and females (of the animals)". See also Sd. Bd. ch. 26 and on the kinds of animals which are regarded as nasā when dead, see Unv., Riv., I, 254-5, D., Pers. Riv., 256-7. On the sin of "destroying existence" (būd\_yōzadīh) see Boyce, "Haoma, priest of the sacrifice", HMV 71.

2. M. translates:

"(your) body will be created (in such a condition) that the sin committed by your will not be taken in your account;" as if their body has not been created."

3. On this idea see further ch. 61. 1-4 below.

4. This statement demonstrates the concept of the unity of all spānta animal creation. With this cf. ch. 58. 72 in M., and ch. 56. 5 below.

5. Obscure, possibly there is a scribal error in MSS. M. reads bēš ku hayār and translates "either a foe or a friend", but bēš does not ordinarily mean "hostile", nor kū "either". The translation given above assumes that bēš is the NP form of MP wēš. MSS 'yb'1 is one w short for ēwbār, and one d short for hayār; in the context the former seems to give a better sense: "more than on one occasion", i.e. (only) the occasion of "life or death".

6. This statement evidently belongs to Muslim times: anērān refers to Arabs, agdenān to Muslims; cf. Dd., purs. 62. 5.

Notes to Chapter 15

1. The order and number of the services which "go to the Bridge" vary in the Pahl. and NP sources, but it is agreed that their performance is obligatory for every Zoroastrian. ŠnŠ. XIII. 31 has "five services", ēn panj yazišn, but mentions the Xwaršēd and Māh Niyāyeš together, as does Nir. f. 70 k, u. 2-7. An explanation of "going to the Bridge" is given by Sd. N. ch. 6. 2 (ed. D., 6):

če ān har šeš gonāh rā gonāh-i pol x<sup>v</sup>ānand, ya 'nī har kerā īn gonāh haste būd bar sar-i ċinwad pōl bāz dārand tā pādefrāh be vēi rasad va hīč kerfe be jā-ye ān nešinad ke ūra az 'oqubat va pādefrāh berahānad. "For all those six sins they call the sins of the bridge, that is every one in whom these sins have occurred they hold back at the head of the ċinwad Bridge until punishment comes to him and no good deed can count (lit. "sits") in place of that (sin) to free him from retribution and punishment."

See also Unv., Riv., i, 292, 296, D., Pers. Riv. 284-6, and for further references M. Boyce, 'Rapithwin, No Ruz and the feast of Sade', Pratidānam, Studies presented to F.B.J. Kuiper, ed. J.C. Heesterman et al., The Hague, 1969, p. 202, n. 8.

As West has noted (SBE V, 351, n. 3), these ceremonies differ from those listed in ŠnŠ. XVI. 6, in that the Zoroastrian must perform them at the right time. Unlike other sins against the soul (see below n. 13), failure to perform them cannot later be made good by meritorious acts done at the wrong time; and their omission, according to a Persian rivāyat, makes the sinner margarzān (Unv., Riv., I, 296, D., Pers. Riv., 285).

2. This is the Khoršēd Niyāyeš, which should be recited thrice a day, in the Hāwan, Rapithwin and Uzērin (i.e. daytime) gāhs; other texts add the Māh Niyāyeš, which should be said thrice a month.

3. On the gāhāmbārs, the six annual celebrations of the creations, see M. Boyce, Stronghold, 30 ff., and 'On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts', BSOAS XXXIII. 3 (1970), 513-39.

4. On Rapithwin and the annual welcoming of the Lord of the seven months of summer, see M. Boyce, 'Rapithwin, etc.', Pratidānam.

5. i.e. the prayers said by relatives for a deceased member of their family in the first three days after death. See ŠnŠ. XVII. 6. Other texts have instead of this the commemoration of dead relatives on their monthly and yearly anniversaries; cf. Unv., Riv., I, 292:

rōzgār-i pedarān va mādarān va x<sup>v</sup>išān va zanān va farzandān kardan  
 "celebrating the "days" of fathers, mothers, relatives, wives and  
 children". M. Boyce has noted (art. cit., 202, n. 8), "In the  
Patēt x<sup>w</sup>ad (ed. Dhabhar, Zand-i Khurtak Avistak, 81, l. 16 (transl.  
 153), "worship of fire" (ātaxš ... yaštan) replaces the remembrance  
 of the dead."

6. On Frawardīgān see above, notes on Chapter 1.

7. This is one of the names of Mt. Harā, the great central peak of  
 the mountain chain Harā Bərəzaitī (Pahl. Harburz, NP Alburz) which,  
 it was thought, "encircles entirely the eastern lands and the western  
 lands" (Yt. 19. 1); here the souls of the dead are judged (see GBd.  
IX. 9, BTA 95).

8. §§a 4-12 on confession digress from the subject of services which  
 go to the Bridge, which is resumed in §§13-15.

9. i.e. before the sun rises for the fourth day.

10. It appears that, preoccupied with "confession", the writer of  
 the text has forgotten the doctrines of judgement and salvation  
 through good thoughts, words and deeds (cf. ch. 23 below).

11. margarzān is here meant literally.

12. This is puzzling, since on the third night after death the soul  
 should still be in this world (gētīg); the end of the Bridge is on  
 Harborz, i.e. still in the physical world.

13. This emphasises the importance of the Srōš rites; along with a  
 person's confession, these save the soul from perdition. Cf. ŠnŠ.

XIII. 6. The soul is the mēnōg counterpart of the gētīg body, and  
 may suffer as the body suffers.

14. As in the religions that followed Zoroastrianism, it was believed  
 that the dead will be resurrected to physical life again at the time  
 of Frašō kerēti/Frašegird. Against Zaehner's attempt to give a cosmic  
 significance to the tan ī pasēn see M. Boyce, HZ I, 236, n. 32. M.  
 translates tan ī pasēn "(the time of) Resurrection of the Body".

15. i.e. in the Future Body.

16. lit. "shown" (nimāyend), as in §12.

17. According to what has been said a margarzān sinner will not go to

hell if he confesses and atones, but in §§8 and 9 it is stated that atonement must be physical death for each sin, which prohibits atonement for more than one capital offence. From what follows in §10 however, it seems that the priests wished to offer hope of salvation through atonement to even the worst sinners.

18. With this statement cf. Herodotus, I, 138.

19. Cf. ŠnŠ. VIII. 1; West (SBE V, 300, n. 3) explained the difference between the two major types of sin: hamēmāl sins injure other persons, i.e. the hamēmālān "opponents, adversaries", who must be satisfied before a sinner can be absolved of the crime; ruwānīg sins affect only the soul of the sinner and should be confessed before death. See ŠnŠ. VIII. 16, Dd. purs., 40. 11.

20. This is another example of the general use of ahlawdād, as alms (see above, ch. 11, n. 9).

21. cf. ŠnŠ. VIII. 11; for a general treatment of confession in Zoroastrianism and bibliography, see M. Boyce, HZ, I, 319-21. It is noteworthy that although private confession for particular acts, especially before death, is advocated in early Islamic times as here and in the Persian rivāyats, there is not trace of it in living Zoroastrian usage.

22. For the money values of sins see F. Kotwal, Supp. ŠnŠ., App. I.

23. For the confessional texts, see Dhabhar, ZKA, 100-156.

24. Cf. ŠnŠ. VIII. 14; Sd. N., ch. 42.

25. M. translates "contrition, confession and repentance".

26. M. translates "which he has committed secretly".

27. Cf. ŠnŠ. VIII. 9.

28. Cf. ŠnŠ., loc. cit.:

u-š nē awēnišn, u-š rāz be nē barišn "and it (i.e. confession) is not to be overlooked by him, and secrets are not to be conveyed (i.e. disclosed) by him."

Notes to Chapter 16

1. On the origins and religious significance of this group of obligatory festivals see M. Boyce HZ, I, 173-5, and n. 187, and Stronghold, 31 ff. Among Zoroastrian texts see e.g. Sd. Bd. ch. 50.

2. This passage is derived from an Av. original; Dhabhar notes (transl. ZKA, 294, n. 15) "the Rivāyat of Darab Hormazyar (Unv. Riv., I. 440.2) translates the following Av. quotation given in the commentary of the Āfringān-ī Gāhāmbār (see Geldner's Avesta):

aisyāt. hē aṃhē. avat. miždam. paro-asnāi. aṃhē yathā. aētahmi aṃhvo. yat. astvaitī (hazar. maēšīnam ...) i.e. "Declare or show to him ... (i.e. to the faithful) as much recompense for the other world as if in the material world (he had given 1,000 ewes ...)";

cf. ZKA, ed. D., 152. 12:

harw kē hān gāhānbār yazēd ayāb sāzēd ayāb xwarēd ayāb dahēd, a-s kirbag ēdōn bawēd ōiyōn ka-s andar axw ī astōmand 1,000 mēs ī dēnōdag abāg pus pad dahišn ud ahlawdād ō mardān ī ahlawān pad ahlāyih ī weh ruwān pad tōzišn be dād hē ayāb ahlāyih dōšāram rāy kē az astān pahlom and ōy mard mizd.

"Everyone who celebrates or prepares or consumes or gives the Gāhāmbār, then his merit is just as if in the material world he had given 1,000 female sheep with their offspring as a gift and righteous offering to righteous men with best righteousness and for the soul's atonement, or for the sake of love of righteousness which is the best thing among (all) things (astān), that person (will have) this much."

cf. also Sd. Bd. ch. 50. 5, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 541.

3. The sin of omitting to perform this is serious; see above ch. 15 and cf. Āfrin ī Gāhāmbār, transl. West, SBE XXXI, 369-70; Sd. Bd., ch. 94, transl. D., op. cit., 567.

4. See notes to ch. 1.

5. According to GBd. XIII. 18-21 these four belong to the good creation of Ohrmazd, presumably because they are natural predators of xrafstars (cf. GBd. XXIV. 39-4, TDA 155.44, BTA 200). M.'s translation of mušk as "rat" seems inappropriate, since the rat is a xrafstar.

6. Cf. Ohrmazd's celebration of the Yasna at the time of the creation (GBd. III. 23, BTA 44, TDA 38.2-3):

Ohrmazd abāg amahraspandān pad rapihwin gāh mēnōg yazīšn frāz sāxt "Ohrmazd performed the spiritual (service of) worship with the Beneficent-Immortals in the Rapithwin Gāh."

7. M. begins Šb3 here.

8. M. translates "an associate".



9. Mirza reads: ku aḡr [1] āmōn vārān andar aḡāyēd, [uδ] vēr [uδ]  
say kunēd, and translates: "the clouds, which gather, should have  
rain in it, (instead) they produce lightning and thunderbolt."

Notes to Chapter 17

1. cf. ŠnŠ. V: 2 (Tavadia, 91-2). The ŠnŠ. passage suggests that the yašt here is the yašt ī drōn, performed as an elaborate grace before food = bāj ī nān xwardan; see M. Boyce and F. Kotwal 'Zoroastrian Bāj and Dron I', BSOAS XXXIV, 1, 58ff.
2. On this section see Tavadia, ŠnŠ., appendix 5.2 n. 7. As Tavadia observes, women are similarly prohibited from performing the Xwarsēd and Māh niyāyeš in Nir. 63.21ff., but nowhere else. As seen above (ch. 15 n. 1), recitation of the Xwarsēd niyāyeš is obligatory for all Zoroastrians (including women, presumably), and is a way of atoning for sins (see M. Boyce, Stronghold, 95). It seems that our text intends that women be prohibited, because of the possibility of their being unwittingly impure, from reciting these niyāyeš within the Ātaš Bahrām, i.e. the temple of the most holy fire. Otherwise, on the authority of Nir. 63.9ff. (transl. by Tavadia, loc. cit.) we might emend our text, taking MR<sub>1</sub> and J NYŠH MNWS yštnk \*'ystyt' to NYŠH MNWS \*dšt'nyk \*'ystyt' "the woman who is menstruous".
3. On ustōfrīt, "votive offerings", see Tavadia, op. cit., 92-3 n. 7; and also below ch. 20.
4. On zōhr see above, ch. 9, n. 7.
5. gumbad, lit. "dome", usually means, as Dhabhar indicates (Pers. Riv., 56, n. 5), the actual sanctuary of the fire within the temple. See Tavadia, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 36 (1939) p. 257, n. 1; cited by Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 506; see also M. Boyce, "The Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire", p. 464a. As Dhabhar notes, gumbād is also equated with the mān "the abode" of fire (op. cit., 65, n. 9).
6. Lit. "\*taking a husband"; cf. the more usual zan griftan/xwāstan.
7. This emphasises the need for support for the priest, who is worthy of heaven so long as he is fully a priest and knows the Gāthās by heart; the laity, however, can only be saved by actively supporting priests through charity (ahlawdād) and acts of worship.
8. Tavadia translates and discusses this passage and especially yašt 1 gētīg xrid "the yašt which earthly means have brought" (ŠnŠ. V. 2). It is likely that this is the service women should perform before marriage, referred to in this para. On this ritual in general see Unv., Riv., II 37, D., Pers. Riv., 421; Modi, CC, 406-7 and cf.

F. Kotwal Supp. ŠnŠ. XII. 30, p. 36ff; Sd. Bd. ch. 42, transl. D., op. cit., 533-4.

9. M. reads:

pāδ xsāhān, \*tuwān xvaδāyān mardōm a-kāma y-ōmand paδ kār [ī]  
\*x<sup>v</sup>āstārīh \*kardan "if men are unwilling to conclude a marriage contract with the rulers and the mighty lords".

10. M. seems to have missed the point of this, that when a man is persecuted he should endure for the sake of the common good. M. reads:

ka mard kē-s paδ stahm \*kard, gyāg bē hilēδ uδ bē šavēδ; uδ  
duš-pāδxsāhān kār ō kas framāyēnd [ku] ōi kas kē-s az hān ī  
ōi kunīšn šahr uδ zamīy avērānīh, uδ mardōmān rēs ziyān paδ  
x<sup>v</sup>astay bavēδ, hān mard az hān šahr uδ zamīy bē hilēδ, uδ ka-s  
šahr uδ zamīy nē hišt hēh, uδ kardan ī ōi hān kār ray ōi hān  
rēs uδ ziyān [uδ] avērānīh paδ šahr, zamīy [uδ] mardōmān nē  
tuwān būδ hēh kardan, uδ ōi paδ kām vizār ka-s bīm az margīh  
nēst, hān kār uδ dāδestān nē kunēδ, ē-s rēs ud ziyān ī mardōmān  
ī andar hān šahr ō bun bavēδ. "If a man, who has committed an act of violence, leaves (his) place and goes away, and the evil rulers (of the country) order someone (to this effect): "that person by whose action there is desolation of the country and the land, and (also) injury and harm unto men and property, shall leave the country and the land"; and if he might not have left the country and the land, and by doing this action (i.e. by carrying out the order of the evil ruler) he may not be able to do injury, harm and destruction in the country and land, and unto men; and if that man, for the fulfilment of his desire does not carry out his duty, provided there is no danger of death, then (the sin of) the injury and harm unto men (which will be done) in that country will be in his account."

The sin of the man who leaves the country is not "an act of violence", but a sin of omission, i.e. the negligence of his duty to endure the enemy in spite of danger to himself (see also §§10-11).

11. Clearly the notion of Zoroastrian warriors defending Īrān against foreign invaders in the 9th-10th centuries is an anachronism from Sasanian times, but might inspire faith, at least, in continuing the long tradition of valiant resistance to "foreign" oppression. Moreover, the advantage of the anachronistic cast of §§10-11 is that direct reference to Muslim overlords can be avoided, while the point is well made.

12. dād "created" is a gloss on the less common brehēnīd.

13. i.e., presumably, "more", proportionately, than to those who do good deeds in happier days.

14. This "man" is the prophet Zarathuṣtra; the scene is reminiscent both of Y. 29 in which Ahura Mazdā announces the coming of Zarathuṣtra

to Gēuš Urvān, and, equally, of the dialogue between  
Ohrmazd and the fravašis where after the fravašis consent to go into  
the world in GBd. III. 23-24 (BTA 45).

Notes to Chapter 18

1. This is the temple fire dedicated to Warhrān, Av. Verēthraghna, yazad of victory. It has been suggested that the first fires founded in temples were those dedicated to this divine being, but such a fire is not mentioned in Av. sources (e.g. Vd.) and is first recorded only later in works compiled in Sasanian times (see M. Boyce, 'On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire', JAOS, 95, 3, 1975 p. 459 and n. 36). On the categories of temple fires Ātaxš ī Warhrān and Ātaxš ī Ādarān see K. Schippmann Feuerheiligtümer, pp. 510-13; M. Boyce, art. cit., 462f., and on the living cult of temple fires in Iran see Stronghold, pp. 69-74, ch. 4 in general.
2. Cf. Unv., Riv., II, 290-304, Sd. Bd., ch. 17, §5 (D., Pers. Riv., 515). There are no allusions in the older part of the Avesta to the enthronement of fire in a special place, and there is no evidence to place the institution of a temple cult of fire before the fourth century BC (see M. Boyce, art. cit., 456). Thus the reference to Wistāsp and Zardust only represents the standard practice of assigning all observances to the earliest days of the faith.
3. Several passages in later Zoroastrian literature stress the importance of establishing Warhrān fires, and the vital role which these play in the survival of the community in Islamic times, e.g. Unv., Riv., I, 73 (D., Pers. Riv., 62), Sd. Bd., ch. 17, §§1-5 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 515).
4. Av. Asi. vanhvi, the personification of good fortune and due recompense. In Yt. 13. 157 the fravašis are invoked to bless the house with her presence, and in Yt. 17. 6 she is praised in the following words:  
asiš vanuhi asi srīre asi bānumaiti sāiti vyāvaiti bānubyō asi  
dāthre vohum x<sup>v</sup>arəno aēšam naram yōi hačahi: hubaošis baoštaite  
nmānəm, yəthe nmāne asiš vanuhi sūra pāda nidathaite āgrəmaitis  
darayāi haxəōrāi  
 "Asi the good, O Asi the beautiful, is radiant, is glad, is shining with light, O giver of good glory to those men whom you follow; the house smells of perfumes, the house in which good strong Asi puts her feet, willing for long association."
5. Lit.: "if for Ardišwang there is hospitality in the house".  
 M. translates: "if Ardišwang visits the residences (of the people)".
6. The allusion to "royal messengers" is reminiscent of the era of

ancient kings rather than Islamic governors, and thus is evidence of a pre-Islamic origin of this passage.

7. Cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 17. 6-7 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 515):

"For if you kindle fire at night, especially at midnight, 999,000 dirs and druj will die and will cease to do evil in the world."

(Cf. also Vd. 8.80.)

In traditional practice the fire is made to blaze up five times in the twenty-four hours, at the beginning of each watch, with offerings of wood and incense.

8. These diseases are referred to in the Avesta, e.g. Vd. 22. 2, 6, 9, 15.

9. Incense is said to repel the demons and please the yazads. On the ceremony of bōy dādan "offering incense", see Modi, CC, 218-26; M.

Boyce, Stronghold, 74-5. Cf. also Sd. Bd., 17. 7 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 515):

"If frankincense is placed on the fire and if the wind diffuses the fragrance thereof, then up to the place where the fragrance spreads, 1,000,000 divs and drujs are destroyed and decrease and even as many sorcerers, demons and witches." (See also Vd., farg., 8. 79-80, and PRDd. ch. 8. c 1.

10. On this lowest category of fire see M. Boyce, "On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians", BSOAS, XXXI, i, 1968, 61-5, where from an examination of passages from the MHD the spelling 'twlwk' is adopted, transcribed ādurōg.

11. i.e. at some other hour of the night or day.

12. With this passage of PRDd., cf. ch. 46. 28 below, and also Sd. Bd., ch. 54, §§11-20, 34-37 and 42 (this chapter narrates the laments before Ohrmazd of righteous fravašis, fire and gōspand together - see below, n. 2).

13. cf. GBd. III. 7 (BTA 38):

haftom ātaxš (brēhēnīd) kē brāh az asar rōšn, gāh ī ohrmazd.  
"seventh (he created) the Fire, whose splendour is from the Endless Light, the throne of Ohrmazd."

14. On these fires see Darmesteter, ZA I, 149-50, D., Pers. Riv., 59, n. 8. There is a list of fires in Y. 17 which is to be found also in GBd. XVIII (cf. TD 123, BTA, 156), WZ III. 77-82 (BTA 40-41) and Unv., Riv., I, 72, 11. 1-4 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 59). In the Pahl. of Y. 17 brief explanations are given of each fire, but there is a

discrepancy between these and the explanations given in GBd. (loc. cit.). In the Pahl. of Y. 17 the first fire, buland-sūd (Av. bərəzi.savah-), is glossed as the fires of Warhrān collectively (warhrān pad ēw-kardagīh, ed. D. (PY). 94); but in GBd. this status is given to the fifth of five fires, Spəništ, described as

hān ī andar gēhān pad kār dāst ēstēd ud ātaxš-iz ī warhrān  
"that fire which is for use in the world, and also the fire of Warhrān."

That one fire is meant is clear from the following statement:

ēwag xwarišn xwarēd ud āb nē xwarēd, čiyōn hān ī andar gētīg  
pad kār dārēnd ud ātaxš-iz ī warhrān "one eats food and does not eat water, like that which are used in the world (for work) and also the fires of Warhrān."

In WZ, however, the fire buland-sūd is in the fifth position, and the fire abzōnīg (~ Av. spəništa) is first as the fire which Ohrmazd created (dād) in heaven (buland-sūd in GBd.), and whose manifestation (paydāgīh) is in the fires which are burning on earth (pad ātaxš ī pad zamīg sōzišnīg). Thus it accords with the Pahl. gloss of the fire abzōnīg in Y. 17 (i.e. andar garōdmān "in heaven"), and also with the description of Spəništ in GBd. (i.e. andar gēhān/gētīg "in the world"). The passage in the Persian rivāyats (loc. cit.) adheres to the order of Y. 17 but agrees with the gloss of GBd. in stating that Spəništ is "manifest in the world" rather than in Garōdmān with Ohrmazd. It seems more probable, however, that Spəništ "the holiest" is properly the fire that is said to burn before Ohrmazd, while Berezi-savah "of great benefit" is the fire in the world in both hearth and temple. The order of fires given in PRDd. differs from those elsewhere in that the order of the third and fourth fires is reversed. The division of the creation fire into five categories is characteristic of scholastic invention rather than of an authentic tradition from the prophet - e.g. the fire Urvazišta became associated with plants because of the assonance of its name with urvara "plant".

15. Here Garōdmān is the name of the highest heaven of Ohrmazd alone, also described as the fourth heaven in MX. 11 (ed. West). In Vd. XIX. 36, however, Garōdmān is defined as "the abode of Ohrmazd, the abode of the amahraspands, the abode of other holy beings", and elsewhere this term is used synonymously with wahist.

In GBd. the fire of Garōdmān is called bərəzi-savang, whereas in the Pahl. of Y. 17 it is called abzonīg (see above, n. 14).

16. Cf. GBd. I.a. 3 (BTA 20):

hamē az āb būd, ʔud tōhm ī mardōmān ud gōspandān, ʃe hān tōhm ātaxš tōhmag "Everything was from water, except the seeds of men and good animals, for those seeds are of the essence of fire."

and also GBd. I.a. 13 (BTA 26) says of the seeds of men and good animals:

ʃiyōn ēn dō ʃusar ātaxš-tohmag nē āb tohmag "for these two sperms are of the essence of fire, not of the essence of water."

17. This fire corresponds to the fire Av. vohu fryāna (Pahl. weh franāftār), of Y. 17, which is glossed as

hān ī andar tan ī mardōmān "that which is in the bodies of men."

In the other three texts it is described as also being the fire in the bodies of beneficent animals (gōspandān); it consumes both water and food (GBd. XVIII. 7, BTA 159).

18. In Vd. XIX. 135 Spanjagr is mentioned as the victim of Wazišta; in GBd. VI.b. 14, Spanjagr, demon of thunder, and Apōš, demon of drought, are struck by the fire Wazišt, which is the fire of lightning (see also WZ III.81; transl. West, SHE V, 185). In the Avesta Spanjagr is mentioned in 11.5 (SHE V, 185).

19. This fire, Urvazišta, is glossed in Pahl. Y. 17 frāx zišn "abundant life". In GBd. XVIII. 7 it is said:

ēwag āb xwarēd ud xwarišn nē xwarēd, ʃiyōn hān ī andar urwarān, kē-s pad āb ziwēd ud waxšēd "one consumes water and does not consume food, as that which is in the plants, which lives and grows by means of water."

In GBd. the fire of Warhrān is said to consume food (i.e. wood, incense and fat) but not water, and the fires Wazišt, Bərəzi-savang and the fire on the earth have need of neither.

20. This refers to the fire of Warhrān. GBd. XVIII. 15 (BTA 160 ff.) describes this fire in more detail.

21. The world is described as wicked (anāgihōmand) not because it is intrinsically bad, but because it has been afflicted by the assault (petyārag) of Ahreman; Garōdmān alone is undisturbed. Cf. ŠnŠ. XI. 3:

harw kas pad ēn abēgumān ud hamdādestān abāyēd būdan kū: ʃiš ī ahlāyih ud gyāg ī garōdmān weh, ud ʃiš ī hunsandih āsanihātar. "Every person ought to be without doubt and in agreement as regards this: of things, righteousness, and of places, garōdmān (is) best, and of things contentment (is) the most comfortable " (transl. Kotwal, Supp. ŠnŠ., pp. 22-3).



22. These injunctions against abuse of fire and the gross pollution of §10 below could well belong to Islamic times when such sacrilege had become a common threat from Muslim intruders.

23. On ĵeh see E. Benveniste, MO, 1932, 186-192 and A. Christensen, Démonologie, 51. In Sd. Bd., ch. 14 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 514) ĵeh "whore" is explained as any woman who consigns her body to two men in one day. The whore is regarded as one of the most evil types by Zoroastrian texts, since it was the wicked whore ĵeh ī druwand who roused Gannāg Mēnōg from his three-thousand-year stupor (GBd. IV. 4 ff.; BTA 46 ff.). He sprang up, kissed her head, and menstruation appeared on her. Menstruation is directly a result of the whore arousing the Evil Spirit, and the wicked whore in menses is thus doubly repulsive to fire and the righteous man. Ĵeh had defiled all females, as the Evil Spirit had defiled the world, but women are not thereby seen as intrinsically evil. In GBd. XIV.a (TDA 58.21, BTA 136) it is said of women by Ohrmazd dād-iz-om hē to, kē-t jehān sardag (pet)ārāg "you are indeed my creation, to whom the race of whores are adversaries." Ĵeh ī druwand pad daštān in PRDd. is a combination of three influences grossly offensive to fire: the whore, the infidel, menstruation. As mentioned in n. 21, this may belong to Islamic times; in Vd., e.g., there are no instructions for dealing with such a confluence of evil forces.

24. The term ādīst "fire-stand" occurs in Dd. purs. 47 (SBE 163-4), see M. Boyce, "The Fire Temples of Kerman", AO, XXX, 1966, 56, n. 15, and for general discussion of the term in Zoroastrian usage, see ibid., 56-8. Here in PRDd. ādīst must mean "fire-place" in the sense of an ordinary hearth to which women and children would have access, and not the stone pillar upon which the fire burned in the sanctuary of a temple, to which only ritually purified priests were admitted (see Sd. Bd., ch. 18, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 515).

25. Alternatively warz may be taken as "magical power", as M. translates the whole phrase "they will utilize me in the work of miracles."

26. In Sd. Bd., ch. 54, three of the creations of Ohrmazd refuse to go into the material world - man, fire and cattle. Man and the amahraspand Gōšurwan both make a brief complaint about the fate that awaits them in the world, but Ardibehīst (Av. aša vahišta)

amahaspad of fire, makes a longer speech which includes many major points of the speech of Fire in PRDd. 18.d. 7-17, as though both derive from a memorised tradition of the same basic story. In Sd. Bd. ch. 18 there is another version of the speech of Fire to Ohrmazd, and, as in Sd. Bd., ch. 54, Ohrmazd's answer to Fire's refusal to enter the world is the same as to that in PRDd., i.e., Fire is given the sovereignty of heaven, and the right to refuse admission to heaven to those who have offended him.

27. Cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 18.2 (transl. D., op. cit., 515).

28. Mirza translates pad warhrānīh "in the status of warhrān", but, as M. Boyce has pointed out in her article 'On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians', BSOAS XXXI, i, 1968, 61 ff., there are wxamples in Pahl. texts of an Ādurōg being established pad warhrānīh (ibid., 63) which, if it had meant "in the status of Warhrān", would "imply a change in the identity of the Fire, which is wholly against known Zoroastrian practice" (ibid., 61). Here in our present text, too, the translation "in victory, victoriously" fits the context well.

29. These three fires are mentioned several times in the Pahlavi books, notably in GBd., XVIII. 8-17 (BTA 158-163), where it is said that they have been protecting the world since its creation. Again, in Sasanian times, scholastics systematised and elaborated upon ancient notions. In GBd., XVIII. 17 (TDA , BTA 160 ff.) these three fires are associated with the three strata of society:

ud ādur ī farrōbag kē ast, ādurīhā, āsrōn, ud ādur ī gušnasp artēstār, ud ādur ī burzēnmihr wāstaryōš, gōwēd, tā frašegird pānagīh-kardār ī gēhān hēnd čiyōn wēnābdāg wēnīhēd ka wāzēnd ud dēw ud dru] zanēnd "and the fire Farrobag which is, in fire-fashion, the priest, and the fire Gušnasp the warrior, and the fire Burzēnmihr the husbandman are protectors of the world until Frašegird as is visibly seen when they move and smite the dēws and drujs."

For references to modern studies on ancient fires, see M. Boyce, JAOS, 95, 3, 1975, 454-465.

30. As if to illustrate the power Fire has ultimately over all men, the example of Krišāsp is given in 18.f. below: having displeased the yazad Fire, Krišāsp was cast into hell to suffer for his involuntary sin. This is further evidence that, while Zoroastrian theological texts continue to give Zarathuštra's message that righteousness freely chosen (as weighed against moral and spiritual wickedness) is the

criterion for obtaining salvation, in fact, after their prophet's time, Zoroastrians had reverted to older ways of thought and once again treated involuntary ritual transgressions as sins.

31. On the consecration of the Fire of Warhrān, see e.g. Unv., Riv., I, p. 74, ll. 8-19-p. 75, ll. 1-8 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 63-8).

Whereas these different fires were to be brought together and purified for the establishment of a temple fire, there are other lists of fires, e.g. Vd. farg. 8. 81 ff. and PRDd., ch. 35.b. 2-15, which should be purified and brought to an already established Fire of Warhrān simply to grow cold in its presence. This constituted an act of great merit, for it was regarded as a means of redeeming polluted fires. See M. Boyce, art. cit., BSOAS, XXXI, i, 1968, 65-6, and Stronghold, 186-190. Although the aim of these two rites is quite different, the lists of fires have many correspondences. There seems to have been no fixed list of fires, and probably details varied with the compilers' own local experience.

32. The Persian Rivāyat of Kamdin Shapur (Unv., loc. cit.) has xarbande-ye dahīgān "donkey-drovers of the villages". The term does not occur in Vd. farg. 8.

33. Cf. the Rivāyat of Kamdin Shapur (Unv., op. cit., 74-5, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 64):

"During every Gāhāmbār, with proper precautions, the zūr of the fat of a gōspand should be offered; fuel and frankincense should be continually offered and they should thus maintain it."

The practice of placing this fat upon the wood, so as to make the flame flare up, is now discontinued by both Irani and Parsi Zoroastrians, but was observed within living memory in Iran and is attested by frequent references to it in Zoroastrian literature, especially in the Persian rivāyats, e.g. Unv., Riv., I, 75, 77 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 69, 74). For references to literary evidence see M. Boyce 'Ātaš-zohr and Āb-zohr', JRAS, 1966,

'Haoma, Priest of the Sacrifice', HMV, 77-8; and on the ritual of offering fat to the fire see Modi CC, 218-226. M. Boyce has written on contemporary practice in her article 'Mithragān among the Irani Zoroastrians', Mithraic Studies, I, 113, and in Stronghold, 157.

34. Nyberg gave a transliteration of PRDd. 18.f. (along with a translation and notes) in Oriental Studies In Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London, 1933, pp. 336-352. He subsequently published

a revised edition of the text, with notes and glossary, in A Manual of Pahlavi, Pt. I, Wiesbaden, 1964, pp. 31-5. West translated the passage in SBE, XVIII, pp. 373-381. There is a summary of this version of the legend of Kərəsāspa in Dk., IX (ed. Madan, Bombay, 1911, p. 802, l. 14-p. 803, l. 12), which is a synopsis of the fourteenth fargard of the lost Sudkār Nask. Sanjana (Dk., Vol. XVII) gives the Pahlavi text with transliteration (pp. 33-5), and translation (pp. 27-8), and Nyberg transliterated and translated the text in Oriental Studies In Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, pp. 338-9. West translated the passage in SBE, pp. 370-2. In NP the text of Sd. Bd., ch. 20 closely resembles PRDd., 18 f. (Sd. Bd., ed. D., pp. 86-93, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 516-520). The same text is given in the Rivāyat of Kama Bohra, Unv., Riv., I, p. 61, l. 7-p. 65, l. 6. It is also translated by E.K. Antia, 'The Legend of Keresaspa', Spiegel Memorial Volume, ed. J.J. Modi, Bombay, 1908, pp. 93-8.

35. Bailey (Zor. Prob., p. 98 ff.) quotes a passage from Dk.M., 241. 13 ff., which explains the meaning of the words for the instruments of the soul (gyān) which are added here mechanically, it seems, after the word gyān. gyān itself is "the wind ... given vital form by the vitality of ... the body, ... . When it is separated from the body, the body dies ... " The bōy is "the cause of vision ... as the light of the world, the sun, and (as) a lamp in the house." The frawahr is "the maintainer of visible form and nourisher of the body." The ruwān, "which is the ax<sup>v</sup>, is lord over the body ... " the controller of the body and the jān, bōd and fravahr and all the spirits therein, and among them the ruwān possesses instruments. See also Sd. Bd., ch. 98 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 570 ff.).

36. The legendary hero Krišāsp (Av. kərəsāspa) appears several times in Zoroastrian literature, usually in connection with his heroic exploits against demonic creatures, sometimes in his more important eschatological role as slayer of Aži Dahāka, the three-headed dragon. PRDd., ch. 18 f., is concerned with Krišāsp's sin against fire, and the question whether or not the sin will bar him for ever from Paradise. Despite the many good deeds he had performed during his life, without which "neither you (Zardušt) nor any creature of mine would have had permanence" (§ f36 ), the weight of this sin alone, against fire, had prevented him from entering Paradise (wahist).

Section f is not out of place in this ch. The hero of the Av.

and Pahl. books (see below), who embodied the virtues of a champion in the struggle against evil, who was to share in the ultimate conquest of Ahreman before Frašegird, and who, of all souls, seemed best in the sight of Zarduš, this same hero is hateful in the sight of Ohrmazd (Šf. 8, 15, 19, 24). That one who would have been the most blessed of mortals had fallen (because of his offence against fire) to be the vilest of sinners, demonstrates that fire, more than all else, is sacrosanct and worthy of pious attention. M. Boyce has noted that only the one incident is recorded when Krišāsp wrongs Fire in any way, described in Y. 9. 11 and Yt. 19. 40, when the contents of his cooking pot fall into the fire beneath and defile it (M. Boyce, HZ, I, 103, n. 115). This specific accident is not mentioned as his "sin" in PRDd. In Sd. Bd., ch. 20, however, which is generally close to PRDd. 18 f., there is the following narrative (also in the Rivāyat of Kama Bohra, see above, n. 34):

54. "And when Zarātošt Asfantaman said these words Ardībehešt stood up and wept to Zarātošt on account of Keršāsp. 55. And he said: "O Zarātošt, you do not know what Keršāsp has done to me. For in former times my custom and practice were such that when they placed firewood under a pot, I would send the fire until it had cooked the pot and completed their work, then it would come back to its own abode. 56. When he speaks of having killed that dragon, he was hungry, and the fact is that the flames fell upon the fire (i.e. ignited) which he had placed beneath the pot, a moment too late, and he struck the fire with his club and scattered it. 57. Now I shall not allow the soul of Keršāsp into paradise."

The references to "cooking", "dragon" and "pot" would suggest that the story originates from a source common to that of the episode in Y. 9. 11 and Yt. 19. 40; in the Av. version, however, the sin is involuntary, whereas in Sd. Bd., loc. cit., it is emphasised that the hero deliberately harms fire (gorzī bar āteš zad va āteš parāgande sod, Š56). As M. Boyce has explained, among the Iranians there is a long tradition in which voluntary and involuntary sins are not distinguished, which is still alive in modern times among orthodox Zoroastrians with regard to expiation of sins against fire (ibid., loc. cit.). The severity of the charges against Krišāsp in our text clearly suggests that, like Sd. Bd., the hero is seen as a wilful offender against fire, though this is never stated, and that the theme of Y. 9. 11 and Yt. 19. 40 has been adapted accordingly. In the more explicit text of Sd. Bd., 20, Krišāsp is actually forgiven by Ardwahist, after the intercession of Zarduš, and the soul of Krišāsp

obtains release from that torment (ravān-ī keršāsp az ān došxvārī rahā'ī yāft; in PRDd. it is not said whether fire did finally pardon him and allow him into heaven. Zardušt promises to protect Fire' (Š32), and suggests that Fire should act magnanimously (akēnīhā) and should forgive Krišāsp. No pardon is given, however, in Š33-36 (see below nn. 56, 7). The implication is that Krišāsp must return to Hell. In Dk. IX. 14.4, DkM. 803.6-12, Krišāsp is forgiven and passes not to Paradise but to Hammistag "place for the mixed ones", between Heaven and Hell. The judgement of our text, however, is more in accord with orthodox precautions and penalties for the treatment of fire, in e.g. a Persian rivāyat (Unv., Riv., I. 78, 4 f.):

"great care should be taken that dead matter may not be carried to water and fire, for the soul of any person who brings dead matter to water or fire will never be liberated from hell."  
(transl. D., Pers. Riv., 74)

37. In Y. 9. 11, Kərəsāspa is mentioned as the son of Thrīta, who was the third mortal to press haoma after Vīvāhvant and Athwya. It has been argued convincingly that Thrīta and Thraētaona (the son of Athwya), are likely to have been originally closely associated (for references, see M. Boyce, HZ, I. 97-9). In Iran Thraētaona has been celebrated as a great warrior and physician, but this latter role was perhaps originally assigned to Thrīta. The use of the name Thrīta in Y. 9. 11 for the third man to press haoma perhaps stems from the fact that the name is a homonym for the Av. word for "third" (see Geiger, Amāsa Spānta, 58-9). In the other passages (Yt. 13. 61, 136), Kərəsāspa is referred to with the patronymic "sāma" prefixed to his name, and Thrīta is nowhere else mentioned as being his father. Moreover, whereas Thrīta/Thraētaona belong to Indo-Iranian tradition (and so must be very ancient) Kərəsāspa/Krišāsp is a purely Iranian figure.

In Yt. 15. 27, it is said that Kərəsāspa sacrificed by the Gudha, a tributary of the River Raxha. Some have supposed that the Raxha was the river Jaxartes and thus that Kərəsāspa was a Sistanian hero. In Yt. 5. 37, Kərəsāspa sacrifices to Arodvī Sūrā Anāhitā by Lake Pišīnah, which is traditionally identified with a lake south of Kābul, but it is not possible to be more exact than to locate him among the North-Eastern groups of Iranian peoples.

In the Avesta, Kərəsāspa is most frequently called naire. manah "of manly mind" (Yt. 5. 37; 15. 27; 19. 38), and in Yt. 19. 38 he is described as "the strongest of strong men in respect of manly

courage except for Zarathuṣtra" (it is noteworthy that in Yt. 13. 61 Kərəsāspa is mentioned before Zarathuṣtra). In Yt. 13. 61 and 136, he has the epithets gaēsaos gaḍavarahe "with curly hair, wielding the mace". According to Y. 9. 10 and Yt. 15. 28, he had a brother called Urvaxšaya, who is referred to as a "law-giver" (tkaēšō ... dātō rāzō). He was murdered by a certain Hitāspa, who is described as zaranyō. pusəm "golden diademed" in Yt. 19. 41, and Kərəsāspa accordingly prays to Vayu that he may avenge the death of his brother (Yt. 15. 28). Kərəsāspa's most famous feats are outlines in the Avesta and elaborated upon in the Pahl. books. The most famous of these exploits, from the point of view of the legend in PRDd., was the defeat of Azi Sruwara, "the horned dragon". In Y. 9. 11 and Yt. 19. 40, in almost identical words, there is a brief account of how Kərəsāspa was cooking meat in a pot at midday, unaware that he was sitting up on the back of the horned dragon; when the dragon felt the heat of the fire he jumped up and upset the pot on the fire. But in the Avestan accounts there is no explicit statement of the pollution of the fire as a sin, and Kərəsāspa is throughout regarded as a triumphant hero, rather than the mortal sinner he becomes in PRDd. and Sd. Bd.

In the Avesta, Kərəsāspa is reputed to have slain other monsters and titans (some are recalled in PRDd., 18 f., 5 ff., 9 ff., 16 ff., 20 ff.: see notes to these §§), but he is most celebrated for his role in the final battle against demonic forces at the end of time. According to Yt., 13. 59, his body is protected by a bodyguard of ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine fravašis, as are the sea Vourukaša, the stars Haptōiringa and the seed of Zarathuṣtra. These four are all carefully preserved because of their importance in the eschatological drama (see GBd., X. I, BTA, 101; Yt., 19. 92; Vd. farg. 19. 5; and generally M. Boyce, HZ I, 244-5 and 282-3). According to Yt. 9, he must smite the dragon Azi Dahāka, before the resurrection comes. An earlier legend states that Azi Dahāka was slain by Thraētaona in the past (Yt. 19. 37, 92), whereas the legend recorded in the Pahl. books states that he was only fettered by this hero (Pahl. Frēdōn), and that Krišāsp, who lies asleep on the plain of Pēsānsā, will be roused to fight Az ī Dahāg when he escapes from captivity in Mount Damāvand; see GBd. XXXIII, 35, BTA 283; ZVYt. IX, 17-23; Dk. VII, 9. 10 (Sanjana vol. XIV, West SBE, XLVII, 114 as VII, 10. 10); PRDd., ch. 48, 35 (ed. D., 147). According to the version of

the legend in PRDd., loc. cit., Ohrmazd will first ask Frēdōn to rise up and slay Dahāg, but when he refuses, he will go to Krišāsp and resuscitate him. Krišāsp will accept the challenge and kill Dahāg, who "will shriek so loudly that one quarter of the animals of the country of Īrānšahr will run away." (see further commentary, note 14).

It seems, therefore, that there are two distinct versions of the legend of Krišāsp; in one he commits a sin against Fire and the religion of Ohrmazd, and he is consigned to Hell and then to Mammistag or Hell, until the resurrection of the dead. This is the legend summarised in Dk. IX, in PRDd. and Sd. Bd. (see above, n. 35; cf. also what is probably a variant of this version in Vd. farg. I. 9, in which Aōra Mainyu is said to have "miscreated as opposition the Pairikā Xnāthaitī who adhered to Kərəsāspa (frākərəntat pairikam yam xnāthaitē ya upahačat kərəsāspəm). The other version, in GBd., Dd., ZVYt. and MX portrays Krišāsp as immortal, and asleep until the end of the world when he will rise to kill Az ī Dahāg. PRDd., based, as it seems, upon the Avestan legend of the Sudkār Nask (see summary in Dk. IX, [Sanjana XVII] 14, differs from the other Pahl. accounts of Krišāsp, in that it portrays him as a mortal sinner rather than as the immortal champion of good. The hero of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books embodied the virtues of the champion of the struggle against evil, and was closely associated with the eschatology of the Zoroastrian religion. In PRDd. there is an added dimension, in that Krišāsp embodies a moral and spiritual dilemma, the problem of the nature of sin and its consequences in the next world. The dragons and demonic beings are not shadowy figures which serve merely to prove the prowess of a particular hero. They have, in the context of Zoroastrian literature, a role which fits into the religious teaching of Zarathuštra, as the representatives of the Evil Spirit Aōra Mainyu, and they must be destroyed in order to bring about the realisation of Frašō kərəti on earth. So, it is to be expected that, with the eclipse of Zoroastrianism in Iran and the exaltation of Islam, legendary heroes such as Krišāsp (and even their foes) lost the significance that they had in the Zoroastrian world. For references to Krišāsp in Persian and Arab authors, see Justi, Iranische Namenbuch (Marburg, 1895) p. 161-2.

38. Sd. Bd., ch. 20, 4, has:

... va čun zarātošt-rā bedīd begerīst va goft kājī man hīrbadī būdamī ke dar jehān mīgerdīdamī va yazīšn mīkardamī tā īn hame



ranj va balā va došvārī be man narasīdī "and when he saw Zarātošt he wept and said: "Would that I had been a hērbad, for I would have wandered in the world and performed worship, so that all this pain and affliction and difficulty would not have befallen me."

In this passage Krišāsp wishes that he had been a hērbad when he sees Zarathuštra, the greatest of all Zoroastrian priests (see Boyce, 'Zoroaster the Priest', BSOAS XXXIII. i, 1970, 22-38). If Krišāsp had been a hērbad he would have maintained ritual purity at all times with an especial respect for fire (a fact which is perhaps hinted at in the phrase yazišn mīkardamī "I would have performed worship" (Sd. Bd., loc. cit.). Today hērbad has become the title of a subordinate position, in that a priest bearing it cannot perform the major liturgical ceremonies e.g. the Yasna or Vendidād but is only authorised to recite the lesser ceremonies such as Āfrīnagān, Naojote and Marriage. Cf. Unv., Riv., I, 488, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 334. It is clear, however, that the office of hērbad was originally one of considerable status, as S. Wikander has written:

"We have a completely different picture from the Ardā Virāf. Chapter XIV gives an account of the various social classes, which preserve their hierarchy also in the afterlife. Here we find 1. ritual priests and conveyors of tradition - this obviously means the hērbads 2. the warriors (artēštār) 3. those who kill xrafstra, though this is the old task of the magicians, the mōbads are obviously being referred to here 4. Vāstryōšān and 5. hutaxšavān. Here the classes are described in the archaic terms of the priestly tradition: but the name which one might have expected for the priests āsrōn occurs neither in this chapter nor in any other section. The Hērbads are at the head of the hierarchy, and separated from the Mōbads by the class of warriors who take up the second position. The Mōbads are mentioned twice more in this text, and both times they are referred to after the Hērbads (I, 9, II, 37). In a third section the Hērbads and the Dasturs are mentioned as the most elevated priests (III, 7), whereas the Mōbads are passed over." (S. Wikander, Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran (Lund, 1946), 196 f.)

If Wikander is correct in his speculation on the identification of the categories mentioned in the Ardā Virāz, the hērbad seems to have the all-important role of performing the Yasna ceremony (§3 of the passage quoted in p. 196, n. 2 by Wikander: kē-šān hamāg dēn yašt ud yazišn ī yazdān kard ud framūd "for they performed and administered the hamāg-dīn and the worship of the divine beings"). The AVN has an Avestan kernel (Virāza is mentioned in the Avesta), and must have been transmitted through Parthian times. So even though the final redaction is late, from Pars in the 9th-10th century A.D., it may embody older usages, as may the Kərəsāspa legend in PRDd., i.e. the

anachronistic usage of hērbad as high priest. In the inscriptions of Kirdēr one can observe the title of the Sasanian high priest being changed from hērbad to mōwbad. The earlier Tansar has the title hērbad only. M. Boyce has recently suggested that the eastern title hērbad was used for the highest grades of the priest-hood in the Parthian period, to be replaced by mōbad early in Sasanian times (Zoroastrians, 97f.). Generally on the institutions of the Zoroastrian priesthood, see S. Wikander, *op. cit.*, chs. II and IV. On the etymology of Y. Av. aēthrapati, from which Pahl. hērbad is derived, see Bailey, BSOAS, XX, 1957, 42-3, who suggests that it comes from the base ay- "instruct", hence aēthrapati "instructor". There is, however, no clear picture of the function and status of the Av. aēthrapati, nor (in Western Iran) of the distinction between aēthrapati and <sup>\*</sup>magupati (Pahl. mōbad). The word aēthrapati does not occur in the Gāthās, and only seldom in the Younger Avesta, and the Western Iranian term <sup>\*</sup>magupati is first attested in Middle Iranian forms.

39. This may be an allusion to the power bestowed on him through the x<sup>v</sup>arənah (see Yt. 19. 38).

40. Fire is called ahurahe mazdā puthra in the Avesta; see Y. 2, 18, Vd. 5, 9 etc.

41. az ī sruwar, i.e. āzi sruwara of Y. 9. 11 and Yt. 19. 40. In the Avesta this dragon is similarly described as aspōgarəm, nərə.garəm yim višavantəm zairitəm "the horse-eater, the man-eater, poisonous, green". See also Dd. 72. 4; MX 27. 50 (ed. West); SdN. ch. 9. 5; Dk. VII. 1. 32 (Sanjana, Vol. XIV).

42. Sd. Bd. 20. 8 adds:

va čun dar dahān-i ū negāh kardam hanūz mardom az dandān-i ū dar āvixte būdand "and when I looked into its mouth I saw men still hanging from its teeth." See below n. 45.

43. This style of threatening Ohrmazd with hypothetical consequences that would have ensued if the protagonist had not performed his heroic deeds, is repeated in Š314, 18 and 23, and is a form of hyperbole found also in the Avesta (Yt. 13. 12-13).

44. In this text Fire is named as the injured party, and in Š30 Fire speaks out to Ohrmazd against Krišāsp. In Sd. Bd., ch. 20, which is similar to this ch., the amahaspad Ardibehišt is named as having been offended (ardibehišt amšāsband be xəsm-i x<sup>4</sup>is karde'ī "you have made the amahaspad Ardibehišt your enemy"). In PRDd. 18.e. 3 ff.

Fire is personified throughout as protagonist, as in a similar text in Sd. Bd., ch. 18 (cf. ibid., ch. 54, where Ardibehišt is the plaintiff, and see above n. 26). While the two appear to be interchangeable, in strict terms the representation of ātaxš itself as protagonist is more correct when the debate is on the question of fire's first going forth into the physical world at the beginning; but when the complaint is made in Heaven midway through time against a human soul, Ardibehišt the tutelary divinity of fire would more properly be the plaintiff.

45. Kərəsāspa also slew Gandarəwa, described in Yt. 19. 41 as zairi. pāšnəm, yō apatat vīzafānō maraxšānō gaēthā astvaitiš ašahe "with yellow heels, rushing with open jaws to destroy the material world of righteousness." In Yt. 5. 37-8, when Kərəsāspa sacrificed to Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, he asked for her help in his attempt to destroy Gandarəwa, who lived by the sea Vourakaša. His success in this venture is known from Yt. 19. 41, Dk. IX (Sanjana XVII) 14. 2, and PRDd., ch. 18 f. 13. In Yt. 15. 28, Gandarəwa is mentioned thus:

uiti asti. gafyō āhūiriš uiti aēvō. gafyō paitiš uiti gandarəwō upāpō "so Asti. gafyā the Ahuric, so Aevō. gafya, so Gandarəwa living in the waters."

In the Sd. Bd. 20. 14 Gandarw is slain and Krišāsp looks into his mouth, asp va xarr-i morde dar dandān-i vēy āvīxte būdī "dead horses and asses were hanging on his teeth." It appears that Sd. Bd. has asp va xarr instead of mardom of PRDd. §10 because the NP version transposed the description of dead men in the monster's mouth to the episode involving the az ī srūwar (which it calls simply eždarhā, "dragon").

On the Vedic counterpart, Gandharva, see M. Boyce, HZ I, 91, n. 43.

46. It is curious that Krišāsp does not kill Gandarw straight away but only binds him. This is reminiscent of Frēdōn binding Az ī Dahāk (GBd. XXXIII, 35 (BTA 283), West, SBE V, 119. See below, n. 14.).

Sd. Bd., ch. 20. 16-17 has:

16. va noh rūz va noh šab bā ū kārezār kardam dar miān-i daryā  
17. ba'd az noh šabānrōz ūrā begereftam tā sar biāhixtam va  
dast-i ū be bastam va az daryā bīrūn āvardam va ūrā be koštam.

"16. And for nine days and nine nights I did battle with it in the middle of the sea. 17. After nine days and nights I seized it (and) hung it by the head and I bound its hands, and brought it out of the sea and killed it."

47. West's reading seems quite plausible in view of the fact that the

fravaši of Āxrūra is mentioned in Yt. 13. 137 directly after that of Kərəsāspa. It is noteworthy that Āxrūrag is referred to in PRDd. as "friend" (Š12); in Yt. 13. 137 he is said to "withstand the wicked one that deceives his friend", which may be an old reference to this legend in PRDd.

48. Nyberg translates, "je tuai et je mangeai quinze chevaux". West's interpretation seems more probable in the light of Š9, where Gandarw is said to have "devoured twelve villages at one time". With regard to Nyberg's idea that Krišāsp is making a great sacrifice, it is indeed true that Kərəsāspa sacrificed a hundred male horses to Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā (Yt. 5. 37), but there is no reason there, or in this passage, to believe that he would have eaten them himself. What is more, if Krišāsp had been offering a sacrifice to Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, he would surely have mentioned her name in this context as he pleaded his case before Ohrmazd.

49. Sd. Bd. omits the sections 11-13 of PRDd. The episode in which Krišāsp is wakened from sleep is reminiscent of a legend preserved in several Pahlavi texts that Krišāsp will lie asleep on a plain, having been laid low by an arrow, until Az ī Dahāg escapes from his bonds. Then Krišāsp will be roused from sleep by the yazads Srōš and Neryōsang, and he will smite the dragon Az ī dahāg, so that evil will depart from the world. See ZVYt. IX. 17-23 (ed. BTA, 77-9/127-8), GBd. XXXIII. 35 (BTA, 283), PRDd. 48, 35, Dd. purs. 36. 97 (ed. BTA). This is one of several examples of strands of legends from various places being woven into one piece. It is interesting that there is only a fleeting reference in PRDd. 18 to Krišāsp's smiting Az ī Dahāg (Š25), and that in this version Krišāsp is definitely regarded as a mortal who has already died and been in hell when he appears before Ohrmazd. In his role as vanquisher of Az ī Dahāg, on the other hand, Krišāsp has never died, only slept. The legend is retold here, of course, for a specific religious purpose, and strands of the legend which conflict with that purpose are conveniently suppressed.

50. Yt. 19. 41 records that Kərəsāspa's next victims were the nine sons of Pathanya, the sons of Nivika and those of Dāstayāni, Varəšava Dānayana, Pitaona and Arəzō.šamana, but nothing more than their names is known of them, and they are not mentioned elsewhere. It seems unlikely, as Darmesteter has suggested, that the nine sons are the highway-robbers mentioned here (see ZA. I, 627, n. 60). Darmesteter

also identifies Pathana with Pēhēn, the grey wolf of MX 27. 50 (ed. West) but West disregards this identification as being dependent merely on similarity of sound (SBE XXIV, 63, n. 4). In Sd. Bd., ch. 20. 24, the number of highway-robbers (rāhdār) is given as seven.

51. Sd. Bd., 20. 24 has:

har yek be bālāy-i čandān ke mardom dar īsān negāh mīkardand  
pandāstand ke āftāb va māhtāb zīr-i kaš-i īsān bemīgozarad  
va daryā'-ye muhit īsān-rā tā be zānū būd "each one was so tall,  
that when men looked at them they thought that the sun and moon  
passed beneath their armpits and the ocean came up to their  
knees."

52. The third monster to be killed by Kərəsāspa was Snāvidhka, "of the horned race, stony-handed" (srvō.zanəm asəngō.gāum, Yt. 19. 43), who, though not yet fully grown, boasted that he would one day harness Spānta Mainyu and Anra Mainyu to his chariot. On Snāvidhka, see H.S. Nyberg, Die Religion des Alten Iran (Leipzig, 1938), p. 308, and A. Christensen, Essai sur la démonologie iranienne, København, 1941, p. 20, n. 2. PRDd. and Sd. Bd., ch. 20 concur in ignoring this demon and making the wind the victim of Krišāsp's third feat.

53. Sd. Bd., ch. 20. 48 has:

tā man āhremen va bā jomle-ye dīvān nīst konam va dūzex az  
īsān pāk konam va azān palīdihā va gandhā va tārikihā pākīze  
konam va rōšan gerdānam va tanhā darānjā benesīnam "so that  
I may annihilate Ahremen and all the dews, and make hell clear  
of them, and purify it of that corruption and stench and  
darkness, and make it bright, and dwell there alone."

For a description of dēws, see GBd. XXVII, 1-51 (TDA 181.8-182.1, BTA 234ff.). On the resurrection of the dead, ristāxēz, see GBd. XXXIV, 1-33 (BTA 282ff.), and Sd. Bd. (xātem-i kitāb) (ed. D., p. 173 ff., transl. D., Pers. Riv., 575 ff.).

55. Cf. Dk. IX (Sanjana, Vol. XVII) ch. 14. 3. Gōšurwan is not mentioned in Sd. Bd., ch. 20. Gōšurwan (Av. Gōuš. Urwan), "the Soul of the Bull", was believed to absorb the consecrated spirit of the sacrificed animal (GBd. III. 14 BTA, 41). West (SBE XVIII, 380, n. 1) explains that Gōšurwan is friendly to Krišāsp because he has killed so many demons hostile to animal life. However, M. Boyce (HZ I, 103) has suggested that it is rather because Kərəsāspa would have dedicated the meat which he was cooking on the back of Azi Sruwara to this particular yazad.

56. In place of this section, Sd. Bd., ch. 20. 58 ff. has:

58. čun ardībehišt amsāsband īnsoxan begoft ravān-i kersāsp  
begerīst va goft ardībehišt amsāsband rāst guyad xata kardan  
va pašimānam. 59. va dast dar dāman-i zarātōšt zad va goft  
az mardomān hergez hīckas īn bolandī va martabe va manzilat  
navāfte ast ke tō yāftī. 60. aknūn bedīn varj va xorre-ye tō  
ast marā az ardībehišt amsāsband be x<sup>v</sup>āh va šifā at kon ke man  
azīn ranj va azāb rahā'ī yābam.

58. "When the amsāsband Ardībehišt said these words the soul of Kersāsp wept and said: "Ardībehišt the amsāsband speaks the truth. I committed the sin and I repent." 59. And he touched the hem of Zarātōšt's garment and said, "Amongst mankind no one has ever achieved the stature and position and rank which you have achieved. 60. Now on account of this dignity and glory which are yours, plead for me with Ardībehišt the amsāsband and intercede for me that I may obtain release from this pain and punishment."

Krišāsp is forgiven by Ardībehišt after the intercession of Zarātōšt and it is stated: ravān-i kersāsp az ān došx<sup>v</sup>ārī rahā'ī yāft, "the soul of Kersāsp obtained release from that torment."

57. West and Nyberg have pointed out that the passage that follows (SS33-36) appears to be a fragment of a different version of the legend of Krišāsp in which, curiously, Zardušt becomes the antagonist and Ohrmazd the protagonist of the fate of the soul of Krišāsp. However, it may be written this way deliberately, by one who, ever intent to make a moral point, wished to emphasise the intractability of law (through fire), the virtue of righteous indignation (in Zardušt), and the quality of mercy (of Ohrmazd).

58. Cf. Dk. IX, 14. 1. Whilst the sin of killing a man is very serious in Zoroastrianism (see Vd. farg. 4. 40-42, SdN., ch. 100), it seems to be a capital (Pahl. margarzān) offence only when a righteous man is murdered (see Unv., op. cit., I, 299, l. 4 ff., transl. D., Pers. Riv., 286).

59. According to GBd. XXXIV, 6 (BTA 285), Gāyōmard will be the first mortal to be raised from the dead, followed by the rest of mankind.

60. This statement is a conclusion drawn from the story of Krišāsp, whose good deeds, great as they were, could not prevent him from going to hell for his sin against the Fire.

61. The hamēmāl sin is "the sin of false accusation" (Sd. Bd., ch. 65), for which no merit can atone. In general it is a sin as a result of which someone else suffers, such as is described in the Sōgand nāme (Unv., Riv., I, 47-54; D., Pers. Riv., 44, l. 35-45, l. 5) i.e. robber, or taking loans with intent to avoid repayment. A

passage in the Rivāyat of Kama Bohra (Unv., Riv., I, 202, D., Pers. Riv., 210) states:

"Nowhere is it manifest in the Avesta that the sin affecting the accusers can be uprooted by any meritorious deed except that the antagonist is satisfied, but there is no good deed (which can compensate for it) nor is there any other remedy."

The relevance of mentioning the hamēmāl sin in PRDd. is that Krišāsp's sin against Fire was doubly serious because it was both a pollution of the sacred creation Fire, and also a hamēmāl sin against the yazad of Fire and the amahraspand who cares for fire, Ardwahist. For it was believed that the fire was an actual living being with a soul (see GBd., XVIII. 16 (BTA, 160)).

62. This is exemplified in the help Krišāsp receives from the intercession of Gōšurwan in Šf. 31 above, and in the opposition of Fire in Šf. 30.

63. The words ud mard ī xwadāy ī ahlaw appear to be a scribal interpolation. They are out of place in this Š, which is a concluding statement on the value of fire in general and the Fire of Warhrān in particular; but it is not unlikely that they were added at some stage to emphasise the importance of the priesthood - for mard ī ahlaw was a standard term for "priest".

Notes to Chapter 20

1. Ustōfrīt is a general term for offerings made to the yazads (see above ch. 17, n. 3), and, as with drōn, is used to designate a service in which offerings are made (e.g. gāhāmbār). According to PRDd. 17. 2, above, ustōfrīt is one of the services "in which afrīnagān should be said" (kē-š afrīnagān padīš abāyēd guftan). In Š4, below, however, the "giving" must be of the consecrated offerings (in the broad sense of zaothra) and three groups of persons are named as not allowed to communicate. On ustōfrīt cf. Supp. ŠnŠ XII. 10, XIII. 30. Bartholomae, W, 408, translates Av. usəfritay- in Vd. farg. 18. 12 "Weihe, feierliche Darbringung (Pahl. Vd. has ul franaft mēzd "offerings sent up"); see further Tavadia, ŠnŠ. V. 2, n. 7, pp. 92-3.
2. sudāb "wild rue" is consecrated and tasted in the Gāhāmbārs, according to Unv., Riv., I, 428-9, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 322-3. On current Irani use of consecrated sir-o sedow see M. Boyce, Stronghold, 198 f.
3. i.e. who have committed the sin of drāyān jōyišnīh "chattering (while) chewing"; see ŠnŠ, V. 2.
4. M.'s translation; cf. NP bāz būdan "to be exposed".
5. M. translates: "and if they have (prepared the things but) not offered up", and notes that the phrase mad ēstēd is used in the sense of "consecrated, offered up" in ZKA, 89, 2 f.; but the passage M. cites is not explicit and a literal translation does not require this sense:

yazēh man ... pad hān ī mad ēstēd pad barišn ī zōhr; [ē pad harw čē mad ēstēd ham ōh yaz]

Dhabhar translates: "worship me ... with the offerings of the Zaothra acquired by you [yea, worship me with whatever of it is acquired (by you)]

The point here is that consecrated food of which the yazads have had their share (i.e. the fragrance) must be properly disposed of, and so if not eaten by righteous men it must be eaten by righteous creatures. On the custom of giving remaining consecrated food to dogs, see M. Boyce, op. cit., 146.



Notes to Chapter 21

1. See above ch. 8 ,nn.1,5,8.

2. This is the worst of winged noxious creatures, according to GBd., XXII. 10 (PTA 185, TDA 143. 10); its natural enemy is the white hawk bāz ī spēd (GBd. XXII. 27 f., XXIV. 34, TDA , BTA 187-9, 201).

3. i.e. merit is increased 1,500-fold if pollution of water is avoided; cf. Sd. N., ch. 43:

pas hargāh ke vazay az āb bar āvarand va xošk konand ba'd az ān bekošandēš hazār ud devist deram sang kerfe bāšad "so every time that they take a frog out of water and make it dry (and) after that they kill it, it is 1,200 derams in weight of merit."

4. One tanāpuhl is equal to 90 stērs; then there is some corruption with the numeral, for as it stands the merit for killing an ant is the same as for killing a sodomite etc.

5. Cf. Sd. N., ch. 43. 4.

6. Doubtful readings; M. cites GBd. IV. 15 (BTA 48, TDA 43. 4 ff.) as parallel to this section: gzdwm klbyš kšwk W wzg, and also Bd. 10. 5: gzdwm klw'k W wzg. The objection to Mirza's reading is that while GBd. IV. 15 is a list of different species given as examples of xrafstras let loose on Earth by Ahreman, our text groups together the creatures according to their particular species, as in GBd. XXII, 10-17 (TDA 143. 10 ff.), although the order is somewhat different:

<u>PRDd.</u>	<u>GBd. 143.10ff.</u>
§3 <u>mar-ē pad parr</u>	§10 <u>mār sardag</u>
§4 <u>wak</u>	§11 <u>gazdumb sardag</u>
§5 <u>mōrag</u>	§12 <u>karbunag sardag</u>
§6-7 <u>mār</u>	§13 <u>pāzug sardag</u>
§8 <u>gazdumb + ?</u>	§14 <u>kirm ... sardag</u>
§9 <u>pāzug</u>	§15 <u>mōr sardag</u>
§10 <u>hārbāg</u>	§16 <u>magas sardag</u>
§11 <u>karzang</u>	<u>malax sardag</u>
§12 <u>(az ī) sag karbunag</u>	<u>paxšag sardag</u>
§13 <u>kašawag</u>	<u>kayk sardag</u>
§14 <u>magas ī kirm-rēz</u>	<u>parrag sardag</u>
§15 <u>yōz</u>	<u>wazag sardag</u>
§16 <u>gurbag</u>	
§17 <u>kayk</u>	

Thus M.'s reading would include three different species in §8 of our text (which are also mentioned elsewhere). §8 corresponds to GBd.

XXII, TD<sub>1</sub> (119. 12 f.): W gcdwmb' W pykwk W kšwk tšthywl

TD<sub>2</sub> (143. 15-144. 1): W gcdwmb' W pykwk šwk tyšt hyywl

DH (65. 1-4): gcdwmb' pykwk' W kšwk tšthywl

In what follows Bailey leaves wpykyk and 'swl (TDA 144) untranscribed and does not translate, though he takes the latter word to be the explanation of \*tišt, which also he does not translate. As Bailey says, NP has tasāča, tašāča "crocodile", taštāqa "tortoise", tasi, tasi "porcupine". It is probable that TDA 143. 15-144. 1 (BTA 185, §11): ū kaz-dūmb ū pēkūk ū kašava ū taštākvar "and the scorpion, the parasite, the sea-tortoise, the tortoise" approaches the original Zand as represented in GBd. and in PRDd.

7. Cf. GBd. XXII: p'zwk ZY gwhgltk. See Bailey on GBd., ed. TDA, 144, n. 3, and BSOS, VII, 85.

8. Cf. Bailey, ibid., n. 9.

9. The identification of this and several other xrafstars in this chapter is made difficult by the similarity in Pahl. script of glck' (garzag "snake, rat"), gwlbk' (gurbag "cat"), \*klcng (karzang "crab"), klpnk'/klbnk' (karbunag "lizard"), klb's (karbās "lizard"), \*hlp'k' (harbāg "chamelion") and the ideogram KLB' (sag "dog").

There are similar ambiguities in GBd. XXII and XXIII (see Bailey and BTA). Karzang "crab" is M.'s reading here, whereas Bailey in his citation of this passage reads garzak but does not translate, and adds "There remain a number of obscure words" (142). M. reads 150 (though MSS have 100 y'k, i.e. one hook too many for 150), which would be more likely if the numerals preceded the noun as in §15 below. In his note 5, p. 409, M. cites a passage from WZ IX. 22 to support his translation of garzag as "garzay-mouse" in §16 (see n. 13, below);

ēwag mušk ī gōnag syā be awēšān garzag ī xār ciyōn garzag  
ī mav ud kōfig xwānihēd, andar kustag ī drayāb wēš bawēd.  
 "one is the rat of black colour which is called the thorny  
 garzag like the garzag of the hole and of the mountain,  
 there are many on the shore of the sea."

The passage adds that this creature bites, but it does not mention its being poisonous, all of which suggests a crab or similar marine animal.

10. Mirza has karbūy-ē "a gecko", i.e. a kind of lizard similar to his \*kirbiš of §8. However, it seems that here also the similarity of words in Pahl. orthography has confused the scribe, and that the

word karbunag has been omitted as a dittography of KLB', sag. In Vd. farg. 14. 5, aži- spakana- kahrpuna- is translated by the Pahl. az ī sag karbunag "snake which is a dog-lizard", and is glossed sagīh-iš ēd kū abāz ō kun nišīnēd "its caninity is this that it sits back on its rump." It is significant that the next xrafstra is kašawag "tortoise", just as in Vd., loc. cit.

11. In the Persian rivāyats, different numbers are given: Unv., Riv., i, 273: 3 tanāfur, ibid., I, 274: 30 tanāfur (D., Pers. Riv., 269, 270).

12. Cf. Unv., op. cit., I, 272 (D., op. cit., 268) magas-ī siyāh ī kirmrēz. Cf. also GBd. XXII, 24 (TDA 145. 14-15 - see Bailey's ed.):

magas ī kaykēn rāy gōwēd kū ka ō gōšt rīyēd kirm, ud ka ō zamīg kayk, ud ka ō andarwāy paxšag, ud ka ō nišēm ī kabōd riyēd pēlag ī mar ī kūk az-iš hambust, ud ka ō āb zarug  
 "Of the flea fly he says that when it defecates into flesh a worm is produced and when into earth a flea and when into the atmosphere a gnat, and when into a pigeon's nest the cocoon of a small snake, and when into water a leech."

M. translates "ants, producing worms", as though it were mōr ī kirm-rēz.

13. Again the reading is doubtful, but it must be the same as krpk'/klpk in GBd. XXIII. 4-5 (TDA 148).

kē čahār gurg ī šar be ōzanēd kirbag and bawēd čand ēwag karpag (?) ī kuk-dumb be ōzanēd,

which Bailey translates:

"whoso kills four lions, his merit is as great as when he kills a short-tailed cat."

BTA reads karcha "crab". M.'s reading of PRDd. here, \*viš aḡgan (see textual note 26, presumably \*wys 'pkn) is an emendation of both words. MSS nasā can be retained, however, in nasā-bar, and the sense accords with what is said of the cat in the Persian Rivāyats, i.e. it pollutes food with its mouth (Unv., op. cit., I. 276 f., D., op. cit., 270).

14. Cf. GBd. XXII (BTA XXII. 25, TDA 146. 2).

mōr rāy paydāg kū ka-š se sad sāl āšyāgān nē wisōbēnd, abāz ō mārī pad parr bawēd.

"Of the ant it is revealed that when its nests are not destroyed for three hundred years it turns into a winged snake."

15. The hedgehog was respected because it destroys small xrafstars, e.g. ants (GBd. XXIV, 42, BTA 201-3). In Vd. farg. 12. 3, the hedgehog is called vaḡhāpara-, while Av. dužaka is given there as a perjorative name (from which Pahl. zūzag, NP zūža, is derived). See

Darmesteter, SBE IV, 152, n. 1-2.

16. This figure accords with Vd. farg. 13.4, which gives the punishment as one thousand stripes (one tanāpuhl equals two hundred stripes).

17. See Vd. farg. 13. 51; when a dog dies, its spirit  
"passes to the spring of the waters ... and there out of every thousand she-dogs, two water dogs are formed, a water dog and a water she-dog" (transl. Darmesteter, op. cit., 164).

18. For the penalties for killing a water-beaver see Vd. farg. 13. 52-5, IX. 53-5 and XIV. Cf. also GBd. XXIV. 44 (BTA 203):

babrag ī ābī pad hamēstārīh ī dēw ī andar āb bawēd dād ēstēd  
"the water-beaver is created in opposition to the dēw which exists in the water."

On the ostensible exaggeration of such punishments see Darmesteter, op. cit., Introduction V., §20 f.

Notes to Chapter 23

1. With this chapter cf. HN II, III; AVN IV, XVII; Dd. purs. 30, 31; MX, ed. West, II. 123; Sd. Bd., ch. 99 (D., Pers. Riv., 572-3); also GBd. XXX, BTA 256 ff. See also Zaehner, Dawn, 302-8.

2. These words are a paraphrase of PÜ 43. 1.

3. According to HN II. 5 ff. (Haug-West 280-1, 309-10), the soul chants the Gāthā Ustavaiti and asks for blessedness on the first night and during the three nights' experiences:

hān and āsānīh ... čand harwisp hān ī-š pad zindagīh andar axwān dīd "(he has) as much repose as all that which he experienced in (his) life in the world."

Similarly AVN IV. 12 (H-W, 17. 7 ff.) has:

u-š andar hān se šab hān and nekīh ud āsānīh ud xubīh mad ēstēd čand hamāg nekīh ī-š pad gētīg dīd "and in those three nights that much goodness and repose and well-being came to him as all that felicity which he experienced in the world."

In these accounts the good soul experiences felicity from the moment of death. But in Dd.A XLIX 2 f. (see West, SBE, XVIII, 46, n. 2), the souls of the good and the wicked are said to enjoy happiness for their good actions and punishment for their sinful actions during these three nights. Sd. Bd., ch. 99. 1, however, warns of a common distress for all the dead:

"The soul walks about for three days in this world and goes to the place whence it has come out of the body and is in search of the body and entertains a hope thus 'would that I could enter the body once again!'" (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 572)

After these three days and nights it is carried by Saroš amšaspad to the Činvad Bridge. See below, n. 14 on Wizares.

4. According to Sd. Bd., ch. 99, the fragrant breeze or foul stench is perceived only when the soul steps on the Činvad Bridge; our text makes no mention of this bridge here. The torment which the soul experiences in the first three days is, in all texts, said to be like an intense form of worldly pleasure. The fragrance, however, is unearthly in both quality and origin (cf. AVN. IV. 17:

hān bōy az rāpīhwintar rōn az nēmag ī yazdān be āyēd "that fragrance comes from the southerly direction from the quarter of the yazads"),

and is the first perception of heavenly happiness. In MX (loc. cit.) the heavenly fragrance is encountered only after meeting the maiden; in the Pahl. accounts, the greater happiness of the soul is not in

the encounter with the maiden, as in Sd. Bd., ch. 99, but in the celestial bliss of dwelling among the divine beings. In PRDd., also, the maiden is not a mere reward, like an Islamic houri, but the actual creation of the righteous soul (cf. Y. 48. 4, translated by I. Gershevitch, JRAS, 1952, 177). She is presented as a reflection of the soul's beauty and as herald of paradise; cf. Dd. purs., 30. 4:

ruwān ī ahlawān be ō wahišt pad zōr ī hān ī mēnōg ī kirbag  
abāg weh mēnōg ī ruwān parwānag pad paymān ud pāyag

"the righteous soul (steps forth) to heaven through the strength of the spirit of good works along with the good spirit which is the guide of the soul unto its allotted station."

The fair escort of the soul to heaven is thus of man's own fashioning, as are his own happiness and suffering; cf. Dd. purs., 30. 15:

ud hān ī ahlawān ruwān az wahišt ud garōdmān be hayyār dahišnīh  
nē bawēd cē hān ī purr urwahn axwān ēg-iš nē az-iš ayāsiš nīh

bē-š harw kas awišt ēg-iš purr ayāsišnīh ast "And for the soul of the righteous there is no giving out of help from heaven, for that existence which is full of joy, then there is no mindfulness of it for him, except for each person who is fully mindful for it." (See West, SBE XVIII, 67-8 and his note.)

5. For the female figure who appears before the soul, Daēna/Dēn, cf. Vd. farg., 19. 100-101; Dd.A. purs., 19. 6; 23. 5, HN II. 22-23, and AVN IV. 18. In the last two works she is called xwēš dēn as well as kunišn ī xwēš. For discussion see Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, 165; Boyce HZ I, 237 ff.; J.C. Pavry, Zoroastrian doctrine of a future life, 29-48; Molé, 'Daēnā, le pont Cinvat et l'initiation dans le Mazdéisme', RHR CLVII, 1960, 155-85.

6. Bailey has pointed out that in Y. 26. 4 dēn is glossed by kunišn "acts", and also that in WZ XXX.48 the doctrine of the dēn taking maiden form is replaced by the ruwān ī rāh which wears the good actions of the individual as a garment (az ham humēnišnīh hugōwišnīh ud hukunišnīh paymōg-ēw paymō[z]īhēd) and correspondingly the evil ruwān wears a garment of his deeds (Bailey, Zor. Prob., 115). With this latter motif cf. the white garment and the torn and foul garment which the good and evil souls are said to wear in PRDd. 23. 2 and 19 respectively. On the paymōg, paymōzan "garment", see Bailey, ibid., 112, n. 2, and generally on ruwān in the Pahl. books, see Bailey, ibid., ch. III "Martom", pp. 78-119.

In his study Clement of Alexandria, S.R.C. Lilla argues that there are certain features in Clement's picture of the Himmelsreise of the soul "which cannot be adequately explained without resorting

to Gnosticism and to Platonism" (p. 182). In Clement's belief the angels' task is to watch the ascent of the souls through the heavens and to stop those souls who are not completely free from material things and passions, and also to let go through and to praise those souls which are free in this way and possess gnosis: Lilla cites Clement, Strom. iv. 117. 2 (ii. 299. 24-8):

τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐπαγομένους τινὰ τῶν  
κοσμικῶν κατέχουσιν οἱ τὸ τέλος ἀπαιτοῦντες τοῖς σφετέροις βαρου-  
μένους πάθεσι, τὸν δὲ γυμνὸν τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων τῷ τέλει, πλήρη δὲ  
γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοσύνης συνευχόμενοι παραπέμπουσι,  
τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μακαρίσαντες

When the same scholar describes another feature of Clement's thought, he does not notice the striking parallel with the Zoroastrian belief (ibid., 183) the soul must show these angels a kind of "free pass" or identity token (σύμβολον) represented by its purity and by the justice of its actions upon the earth:

σύμβολον ἅγιον τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς  
δικαιοσύνης τὸν φωτεινὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι τῇ ἀνόδῳ  
ἀγγέλοις . . . τὴν ποιότητα τῆς διαθέσεως τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῇ ψυχῇ  
κατ' ἐπιχώρησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος γεγανωμένη, Strom. iv. 116. 2  
(ii. 299. 18-21), cited in ibid., 183.

Lilla compares this with gnostic versions of the Himmelsreise, e.g. the Apocalypse of Paul in the Nag-Hammadi texts (where, ascending to the sixth heaven, St. Paul is obliged to give a sign to the malevolent old man who stands in his way), for Lilla assumes that Clement has put us "in the realm of Gnosticism". Surely, though, Clement is here much closer to the Zoroastrian belief, however he may have arrived - perhaps through the connection between Clement and Jewish and Christian apocalypses suggested by W. Bousset and J. Daniélou (for refs., see Lilla, op. cit., 182, n. 1).

7. Here the Zoroastrian is congratulated for having retired in the face of evil worship in order to practise the good religion, to protect himself and the good creations from evil. Cf. MXA., 24. 8 ff.; there is no mention of seeking to convert the wicked, whose fate is sealed.

8. The maiden here seems suddenly to have become everyone's soul. Perhaps pad gētīg is opposite here to pad mēnōg, i.e. between the man's death and the resurrection, his disembodied Dēn will grow ever more beautiful.

9. Cf. GBd. XXX. 26, TDA 203. 12 ff., BTA 263. With the common nouns

for "good thought", "good speech", and "good action", given as names for gradations of the heavenly realms, the whole description of the passage of the soul after physical death is a form of admonition in metaphor, to righteousness in the present world; cf. Dk.M. 45. 13 hād kadār-iz-ēw mardōm handāzišn ō ruwān bōzišn "La destination de tout homme le mène au salut de son âme" (de Menasce, Le Troisième livre du Dēnkart, p. 63).

The significance of the soul's encounter with the maiden is explained in Dk. III (Dk.M. 66, de Menasce, ibid., p. 80):

"L'acte méritoire (atteignant) celui qui reçoit la puissance de l'acte méritoire, qui est le bon mēnōg, et cela a pour image la forme d'une belle jeune fille; on l'appelle kainō, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle vient au-devant de l'âme qui a trépassé, et avec l'auteur des actes méritoires, vient, âme juste, en raison de la prédominance des actes méritoires sur les peccamineux. La puissance qu'elle a au passage du Pont Cinvat l'élève au lieu suprême des éternelles demandes et largesses."

On the gradations of heaven see also MX. 7. 8, 39. 9 (ed. West, and transl. West, SBE XXIV, 29-30). In AVN IV. 7 Wirāz approaches the Cinwad Bridge:

fradom gām pad humat ud dudīgar gām pad huxt, ud sidīgar gām pad huwaršt "the first footstep with the good thought, and the second footstep with the good word, and the third footstep with the good deed" (H-W, 154).

10. So in MX II. 150, l. 7 (ed. West). In HN, loc. cit., they do ask questions.

11. With this section cf. Dd. purs. 30. 13:

hān-iz ruwān mēnōgīg framāzišn, rāmišn hamhandāzariha awiš rasānīg u-š pad nimāyišn ī ō gētīgān nām mēdyōgzarm rōyn "to that also which is the spiritual completion of the soul's pleasure it is attaining in like proportion, and in its appearance to worldly beings it is a butter of the name Maidyō-zarem" (West, SBE, XVIII, 66).

The passage goes on to explain that the produce of cattle is the best material food, and, of that, spring butter is the most excellent.

Also see HN II. 38 f.; MX II. 152 (ed. West). This food is the food of souls in heaven, but, as West notes,

"it is to be distinguished from the draught of immortality, called Hūš, which is prepared from the fat of the ox Hadhayans and the white Hōm at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX. 25)", West, SBE XVIII, 66 f., n. 5, with changes in transcription.

Maidhyōi. zarəmaya is the first of the Gāhāmbār feasts in the Zoroastrian calendar, for the New Year (lit. "Day") festival nō rūz at the spring equinox. The food of righteous souls is thus as fresh



as, and symbolic of, the day of resurrection, the "new day" of eschatological expectation.

12. Here Sd. Bd., ch. 9. 17 has:

va ān sūrat ūra guyad kojā x<sup>v</sup>āhī gerīxtan  
 "and that form says to him 'where shalt thou flee?'" (transl.  
 D., Pers. Riv., 573).

It is possible that the plight of the unrighteous soul is here portrayed with irony as the words of these last three questions are reminiscent of Zarathuštra's own plight when first he took up his mission as prophet of righteousness:

Y. 46. 1: kam. namōi zam kuthrā namōi ayenī ... kathā thwā  
mazdā xšnaošaī ahurā?

13. The text is uncertain here (M. reads -m var-jāmay be gīrēnd "take away my mantle", i.e. MSS wltpyš written for wl-TWP'H, comparing NP puše and var-puše (see M., 412, n. 5). The reading adopted, -m wltk pyš 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>/'XDWNx<sub>1</sub> accounts for the following ēg-om "first ... then", giving a reasonable sense with the rest of the passage, as suggesting the arrest and assault of highway robbery.

14. Perhaps ganj refers to the store of good deeds through which the soul has hope for recompense, which is vitiated by his own hoard of wickedness. In Dd. purs. 22. 5, the maiden is called ganjwar ī kirbag "the treasurer of good deeds".

15. Av. vīzar sa (< /zarəš "tear" + vī "away": "the tearer away").

See Pahl. Vd. farg. 1. 9. 29, which comments on the dēw Wizareš:

harw kas-ēw pad band-ēw andar oftēd; ka be mīrēd ka ašō a-š  
az gardan be oftēd; ka druwand a-š pad hān ham band be ō  
dušox haujēnd. "he falls onto every person with a noose (at birth); when he dies if he is righteous, then it shall fall from his neck; if wicked, then they will drag him with that very noose to hell."

In fact, however, the noose is said to be cast in the first place by Asto. viḍātu (Pahl. Astwihād) "Dissolution", or "Death", on which see L.H. Gray, 'The foundations of the Iranian religions', JCOI 15, 1929, 201-2.

According to GBd. XXVII. 22, BTA 236, the souls of (all) dead men must wrestle with Wizareš when they remain in the world during the three days after death (cf. also Dd. purs. 22. 3). For this reason it is said in a Persian Rivāyat that when Wizareš terrorizes the soul during the three nights, the soul may be protected by the fire which the living kindle for its sake and from which Wizareš flees (Unv., Riv., i, 71. 15-18, D., Pers. Riv., 58-9). However, in other texts,

as in ours, Wizareš does not appear until the fourth day after death and ensnares only the wicked. In all texts Wizareš drags the wicked soul to hell. The noose is reminiscent of the stranglehold of the evil Action in Sd. Bd., ch. 99. 20:

dast be gerdan-i ū bekonad va har dō az mīān-i Činwad pul sar negūn beoftand va be duzex šavand "She clasps her arms round his neck and both plunge headlong from the middle of the Činwad Bridge and go to hell."

Thus there are two distinct versions of the fate of the righteous and wicked souls: in one, extant in a fragment of the Avesta (HN), and in the majority of Pahlavi accounts, the good soul experiences pure happiness, and the wicked soul total wretchedness, immediately after death. They have their deserts as a result of their choice in life; since there is no chance of a reverse in their fate, there is no intercession or interference. In the other version the soul, good or bad, must endure the insecurity and doubt of the first days of disembodiment.

16. Cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 99. 25 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 573, and see n. 5). In MX II. 194 it is explained that in hell food can be eaten only by similitude (hangōšīdag homānag). According to Dd. purs. 31. 8, foul as the infernal food may be, wicked souls will remain unsated by it and ever crave more.

17. As D. notes (p. 23) an interpolation in MSS of PRDd. ch. 9 comprises material relating to the subject-matter of ch. 23, but does not actually fit into the text of ch. 23. The interpolated passage is as follows:

- (4) u-s<sup>1</sup> ohrmazd hān ī dudīgar gōwišn \*a-s<sup>2</sup> abāz pursēd, cē paydāg kū harw ahlaw ud druwand ka ō činwad puhl \*rasēd<sup>3</sup> ud ohrmazd be wēnēd ohrmazd az harw kas be pursēd kū: "(cē kār, u)-t kār \*cē<sup>4</sup> hamē kard, pad xwarišn ī kē zist hē?"
- (5) ka ahlaw a-s dudīgar aziš abāz nē pursēd cē be garōdmān barēnd.
- (6) ud ka druwand sard anāgih pad xwēš kunēnd, be ō dušox šawēd.
- (7) u-s ahreman be ō awiš gōwēd kū čim [rāy] ka be ō gilistag ī man āmad hē ka-t ēn gyāg jud dard ud dušwārih ud anāgih nē any čiš pad hān?"
- (8) pas az hān gōwišn, ka ohrmazd ēdōn guft ahreman ēdōn guft, abaxših bawēd ud hān abaxš rāy bawēd ka-šān rist wirāyēnd.

1. MSS have also L' (nē). 2. MSS 'Pš (u-s). 3. MSS YXMTWNd (rasēnd). 4. MSS ZY MN (ī az).

- (4) "And Ohrmazd then asks him the next question, for it is revealed that when every righteous and wicked soul comes to the Činwad Bridge and Ohrmazd sees it, Ohrmazd asks of every one: '(What action? and) what action did you do? by whose sustenance did you live?'.
- (5) If it (i.e. the soul) is righteous then it is not asked again, for they take him to Garōdmān.
- (6) And if it is wicked they inflict on it dulling torment, it goes to hell.
- (7) And Ahreman says to it: 'For what reason have you come to my hovel, when for you this place is nothing but pain, hardship and torment?'.
- (8) After those words, when Ohrmazd has spoken thus, and Ahreman has spoken thus, there is repentance, and it is on account of that repentance that the dead are raised."

Notes to Chapter 24

1. It is clear from the repetition of the four creatures that murw is written mistakenly for gurg in the first instance. M. translates murw "bird" and way "vulture".
2. Here a doctrine of hell and straightforward retribution is taught without hope of amendment or ultimate reconciliation for the wicked.

Notes to Chapter 25

1. This chapter is transcribed and translated by S. Wikander, see Der Arische Männerbund, Lund, 1938, pp. 16-17. Cf. also Sd. Bd., ch. ed. D., p. 94 f., transl. D., Pers. Riv., 521-2

2. Sd. Bd., loc. cit., 1, has nīkī kardan i.e. "doing good", which supports the translation of ahlāyih "righteousness" rather than M.'s holiness". Wikander has "Frömmigkeit". Wikander translates sahīg "erhaben".

3. M. translates:

"How long after the time of Fraškard, i.e. (after) the production of Fraškard takes place, (shall there be) the Resurrection?",

but the syntax and the sense are somewhat strained. Thus abāz ō cannot mean "after". Sd. Bd. has simply tā qiāmat va rastāxīz čand mānde ast "How long will it be until the day of resurrection and the raising up of the dead." Pers. čand mānde ast would seem to be a rendering of Pahl. čand zamān abāz ... bawēd "how much time remains (until)."

4. According to M.'s version, a period of one thousand years intervenes between Frašegird and the Resurrection; there is no such doctrine elsewhere in the Zoroastrian tradition. In GBd. XXXI, BTA 275 ff., Zarathuštra is said to have been born in the fourth millennium (hazārag ī čahārom) after which three thousand years follow until the coming of Sōšyans, who will raise all the dead in fifty-seven years. In the next chapter of GBd., entitled abar ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn, the tradition is that every person will see his own good and bad deeds, after which the righteous "will see delight in Garōdmān in material body those three days" (ud ašō andar garōdmān tanōmand hān sē rōz urwahmanīh wēnēd), while the wicked suffer punishment in Hell for three days (BTA 287); cf. also Dd. purs. 13. 4, SBE XVIII, 33-4 and see West's note, p. 34, n. 1). In GBd. XXXII this is called hān frašegird kardārīh "the actualisation of Frašegird" i.e. the ristāxēz "resurrection" and reunion with the body, followed, three days later, by the final judgement and ordeal in the river of molten metal. The world becomes purified of evil and perfected as a result of this final purgation, and men exist in the tan ī pasēn, with no intervening delay. Our text alludes to Zarathuštra's doctrine that complete happiness comes only with a

return to the perfect worldly state (gētīg). In our text, however, Zarathuštra is the mouthpiece for what must have been a common anxiety for Zoroastrians: how long must the departed soul endure in the disembodied state until reunion with the body? True to the tradition as in GBd., loc. cit., Zarathuštra is told that three thousand years yet remain.

In our text Zardušt's question seems a non sequitur after the initial statement on ahlayīh "righteousness". The connection between virtuous behaviour and the three thousand years is explained in Sd. Bd., ch. 25. 4, ed. D., p. 94 f.:

"The creator Ormazd said: 'O Zartušt Asfantaman! These three thousand years are glorious in thy eyes. Go and propagate the religion to Mazdā-worshippers, acquire virtue and make your soul righteous and worthy of paradise; because if you make your soul righteous, it will reach heaven.'"

5. Cf. Sd. Bd. 25. 3:

zarātošt - anōširvān - bād begirīst, goft ey dādār-i veh-i afzūnī hanūz \*digar mānde ast va čandīn gāh mārā pay-i tan mi bāyad būdan "Zarātusht - may he be immortal-souled - wept and said: 'O good and propitious Creator! It is yet \*a very long time and we must attend to the body for so much time.'" (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 521 f.)

pay-i tan could be read bī tan, giving the sense "and we must be without the body for so much time."

6. Sd. Bd. ch. 25. 5 makes no mention of the couple being married - they are merely a girl (doxtar) of eighteen years and a boy (pesar) of twenty, who come together in a dwelling:

harw dō yekdigar rā dōst dārānd va yek čandī dar arzūye yekdigar bāšānd va pas yek šabī be ham rasānd jāygāhi bī tars va bīm "both love each other and desire one another for a while, and then one night they meet in a dwelling, without fear and terror."

Mirza cites a phrase kaḏay kardan meaning "to marry" (Pahl. I. 61. 7 f.), but there the verb refers not so much to the act of marriage as to the more literal meaning "to set up house":

ka kadag kāmēd kardan nazdist uzēnag pad mēhan kunē [ud] xwēštan rāy zan xwad xwah "if you desire to set up house, first make provision for the household and find yourself a wife."

In our text the words mērag and ziyānag replace the preceding terms kanīzag and mard ī juwān (cf. mard and zan in Sd. Bd., loc. cit. after doxtar and pesar). Wikander explains:

"es wird mērak und ziyānak für die gewöhnlicheren Synonyma eingesetzt, wo eine sentimentale Färbung gefordert wird."

7. Cf. Dd. purs. 30. 20:

ud hān ī ahlaw andar wahišt ud garōdmān gāh hān mēzd ī fradom  
ī hāzēd, u-š tā ristāxēz, ka gētīg-iz abēzag ud apetyārag bawēd.  
xwad \*az-is awardišnīg. pad ristāxēz hān ī meh ud weh ud pašom  
hābēd, ud jāwēdan xwarīhēd.

"And the throne of the righteous in Paradise and the supreme Heaven is the reward which he obtains first, and (it is) his until the resurrection, when even the world becomes pure and undisturbed. He is himself immoveable from it (i.e. his place). Through the resurrection he obtains what is greatest and best and most excellent."

Notes to Chapter 26

1. This chapter is a rendering of Y. 11; see Dhabhar's edition of the Pahl. translation accompanying the Yasna (PÜ), pp. 78-80. The PÜ has been transcribed by Unvala in Hōm Yt., p. 83 ff. For former editions of the PÜ see ibid., p. 83. Cf. also Sd. Bd., ch. 26, ed. Dhabhar, p. 95, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 522.
2. Av. āfrivačarhō zavainti "they curse, uttering imprecations" is rendered in the PÜ pad āfrīn gōwišnīh \*rōwēnd (Y. 11. 1; on \*rōw- see Unvala, ibid., p. 83, n. ib); a gloss follows in Pahl. se ast ī rōšnag kū nifrīn kunēnd.
3. Cf. Av. gāuš zaotārem zavaiti "the ox curses the priest"; cf. the PÜ 11. 1: gāw zōt rōwēd kē andar dārišn "the ox curses the priest who keeps it."
4. With the words u-t dusrawīh ud abārīg anāgīh abāg harw anāgīh bawād cf. the PÜ 11. 1: u-t ēdōn dusrawīh abāg bawād (the Av. is uta dāuš.sravā hačimmō). abāg in
5. With the words u-m ō arzanīgān nē dahē cf. Y. 11. 1: yō mam xVastam nōit baxšahe "who does not portion me out (when I am well) cooked". The PÜ 11. 1 has: nē man rāy xwāstag nē baxsē ō arzanīgān "who does not bestow wealth on the worthy for my sake" (see Unvala, ibid., 85, n. 5b), thus PRDd. renders the Av. better than the PÜ
6. Cf. Y. 11. 2 Av. āat mam tūm fšaonayehe hāiryā<sup>ā</sup> vā puthrahe vā haoyā<sup>ā</sup> vā maršuyā<sup>ā</sup> "then thou makest me fat for the sake of (thy) wife, or of (thy) son, or of (thy) own self, or of (thy) wicked belly" (Unvala, loc. cit.). The PÜ 11. 2 renders ēg man tō fšōnēnē kū-m abāz dārē nairikān ud pūsarān ud hān ī xwēs mulān rāy "then you fatten me, that is keep me back for the sake of your wife and sons and that belly of yours."
7. PÜ 11. 2 has 'w' 'LH bwl't' l lpyt'. rowēd "curse" occurs several times in Y. 11, twice with ō ['L/'w and indir. obj., once with dir. obj. In our text a similar discrepancy exists with nifrīn kun- "curse", viz. §2: 'LH 'YŠ 1'd nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>; §3: (BK) 'sp 'L 'YŠ nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>, (MR<sub>1</sub>, J) 'sp 'L 'L 'YŠ nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>; §4: (BK) hwmzydt' 'L nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>, (MR<sub>1</sub>, J) hwmzydt' 'L 'YŠ 1'd nplyn' 'BYDWNx<sub>1</sub>.



8. With the words abar man nišast ma tuwān bawād cf. the PÜ 11. 2:

ma bawē arwandān asp kārezār ayōxtār kū-t tan tāxtan ma tuwān bawād ud ma arwandān abar nišastan ud ma arwandān be nihādan kū abāz dāstan ma tuwān bawād.

The last phrase " ... mayest thou not be able to keep them (i.e. the horses) in check" (Unvala, *ibid.*, 86) may be the inspiration for dušmenān abāz nē dārē in our text.

9. kē pad zōr ud nērōg ī man hayyarīh etc. represents Av. (Y. 11. 2) yō maṃ zāvarə nōiṭ jaiōyehi: PÜ kē pad hān ī man zōhr (*sic*) nē zāyē: gloss kār ud dādestān.

10. Cf. Y. 11. 3 haomō x<sup>v</sup>ašārəm zavaiti: hōm ō xwardār rōwēd. Unvala (*ibid.*, 87, n. 3b) notes that Bartholomae interpreted x<sup>v</sup>ašārəm as the representative of agriculturists (Wb. 1880). On khvāšar \*hu. vāstar- "good pasturer" see Benveniste, JA, 1932, 123-4. Thus the three social classes (mentioned in B4 of our text) - of priest, warrior and husbandman - are seen to be responsible for the care of the ox, horse and Hōm yazad respectively.

11. In PÜ 11. 3 the words kū-m andar yazišn kār nē framāye serve as a gloss to Av. yō maṃ aiwiš. hutəm dārayehi: Pahl. kē man az hunišn dārē.

12. Cf. Y. 11. 4 Av. frārənaot "bestowed": Pahl. franāft "set in motion, professed", is a mistranslation (see Unvala, *ibid.*, p. 89, n. 46\*).

13. gōspand seems to be used specifically as a term for standard sacrificial animals, whereas the more general gōspand sardag includes the more unusual members of the whole category (e.g. deer).

14. The words be jōyē correspond to Av. (Y. 11. 5) yō ... zināt vā trəfyāt vā apa vā yasāiti: Pahl. kē ... zīnēd ayāb triftēnēd ayāb apparēd. On the meat offering to Hōm see below PRDd., ch. 59 . 3; SnS. XI. 4, SBE V, 335; Unv., Riv., i. 262 (D., Pers. Riv., 262 and n. 4).

15. The words wināhēd dahišn ī ohrmazd correspond to the Pahl. gloss on Av. (Y. 11. 6) dahakāča (Pahl. \*dahāg): kahēnīdār kē dahišn ī ohrmazd be kahēnēd.

16. The words kirrēnīdār ī čiš tabāh kunēd correspond to the Pahl. gloss on Av. (Y. 11. 6) mūrakāča (Pahl. mūdag-kardār): kū čiš tabāh be kunēd. M. translates kirrēnīdār as "tyrant".

17. The words kār ud dādestān ... āwarēd correspond to the Pahl. gloss on Av. (Y. 11. 6) pouru. sarəδa varšnāča (Pahl. purr sardag warzīdār): kū kār ud dādestān was frāz kunēd ēwag-iz pad frazām be nē kunēd.

18. Haosravah slew Fraŋrasyan of the Tūirya people with the help of Haoma. See e.g. Yt. 9. 18, 22; 19. 56-64, 77. For the Pahl. and later versions of the legend see Darmesteter, ZA I, 111, n. 19; II, 636, n. 114; Christensen, Les Kayanides, 61-9, 109-17. Cf. also Unv., Riv., 1, 263, ll. 12-13, D., Pers. Riv., 263 and n. 3.

Notes to Chapter 27

1. This chapter is derived from the Pahlavi translation and glosses of HN I, of which Haug gives both the Av. and Pahl. texts (AVN, 269 ff.); he translates the Av. and, in his notes, the Pahl. where it differs (*ibid.*, 303 ff.). Three versions of the text, all different, exist in Persian: Sd.N., ch. 80 (ed. D., 55), Sd. Bd., ch. 27 (ed. D., 96), and a passage from the Rivāyat of Kāma Bohra, ch. 88 (Unv., Riv., i, 16-17, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 16-17). In HN I the prayer is called ašō. stūti-, which is translated by Pahl. ahlāyīh stāyišnīh "praise of righteousness" (and glossed by ašām vohū). Bartholomae (Air. Wb. 1593-4) points out that stav- is regularly used with ašām, but in PRDd., and in the later, NP texts, no trace of the name ašō. stūti- remains and the prayer is known throughout by its opening two words (see Haug, *op. cit.*, 303, n. 2).

HN I is presented as a dialogue between Ahura Mazdā and Zarathuštra. Ahura Mazdā first alludes to the different values of "praise of righteousness", then, when questioned by Zarathuštra on each, describes the different values separately. The Zand of each of these separate answers form the basis of §§7-12 of our text. The three Persian texts cited above follow approximately the same formulation as §§1-12 of our text.

2. It is clear that our text closely follows the Pahl. of HN I. 31. The Av. (Haug, *op. cit.*, 277) is:

karšvarə yat xʷanirathəm mat. fšum maṭ. rathəm paiti vīrəm

which Bartholomae translates:

"K. X<sup>w</sup> samt seinem Tierem, Wagen und Menschen" (Air. Wb., 834).

The Pahl. version of this is an obvious mistranslation:

kešwar ī xwanirah abāg ramag ud abāg rāh bē az wīr [gloss: jud az mardōm] "the region of Xwanirah with flocks and with roads, without men [gloss: excluding people]"

Haug suggests that the translator

"has, perhaps, confounded paiti with para" (*ibid.*, 309, n. 3).

The kešwar of Xwanirah does not appear in the NP versions.

3. The Avestan of HN I. 13 (Haug, *op. cit.*, 273) is

yaṃ bā nā frōuharəta haurvatbya aməratatbya ašām staoiti  
"which a man recites for Haurvarād and Ameretād when eating"  
(transl. Haug, *op. cit.*, 307)

The Pahlavi version of this is

ka mard frāz xwarišnīh ī hordād ud amurdād ahlāyīh stāyēd, hān

ī ašəmvoḥū ōy gōwēd ud pas srōš drōn xwarēd "when a man who is about to eat [cf. also ibid., I. 18] Hordād and Amurdād praises Righteousness, he says the ašəm voḥū and then he consumes the Srōš drōn."

Our text alone follows this version in mentioning the Srōš drōn.

The Srōš drōn as baʃ is a priestly usage, arising from the necessity for priests of solemnising Srōš drōn in every gāh after death; so it is used instead of bāʃ of Ohrmazd as grace before meals (see M. Boyce and F. Kotwal, "Zoroastrian Bāʃ and Drōn I", BSOAS XXXIV, 1, 1971, 64 ff.). With this š cf. Sd.N., ch. 80. 6: čūn nān xurand; Sd. Bd., ch. 4: ke vāʃ begūyand; Unv., Riv., i, 17: čūn nān xʷāhand xurdan. On drōn see below ch. 56.

4. Cf. HN I. 18, Av.:

yaṃ bā nā pasča fraṇuharaiti haomahe hutahe ašəm staoiti

Pahl.: ka mard az frāz xwarišnīh ī hōm ī hunīd ahlāyīh stāyēd hān ī ašəm voḥūg-ēw be gōwēd ud parahōm xwarēd. (Haug, op. cit., 274)

Again, our text alone follows the Pahl. gloss of HN, loc. cit.;

cf. Sd.N., ch. 80. 8:

va ānke arzeš čand šad ast ke baʿd azān xurdan bexʷānand;

Kama Bohra, HF, 131-2:

baʿd az xurdan-ī nān [lacking in Unv., Riv., loc. cit.].

No comparable phrase occurs in Sd. Bd., loc. cit. On the drinking of the preparation parāhōm see M. Boyce, "Ātaš-zohr and Āb-zōhr", JRAS (1966), 115, n. 5.

5. With these words cf. HN I, 23: Av.:

yaṃ bā nā xʷafnāša ustryamnō avasuhabdəmnō ašəm staoiti; Pahl.: ka mard be xufsēd pad xwāb ul nibēmišnīh ud be xufsišn ahlāyīh stāyēd ašəm voḥūg-e (Haug, op. cit., 275); Bartholomae translates Av. xʷafnāša ustryamnō avasuhabdəmnō "zum Schlaf ausgestreckt ein schlafend" (Air. Wb. 1863),

which accords better with the Pahl. rendering than does Haug's translation: "starting up from sleep and going to sleep again" (op. cit., 308 and n. 1); Haug does not translate the Pahl. phrase. That our text has interpreted HN as meaning "recites it (then) goes to sleep", suggests that Bartholomae is correct. HN I. 28 is similarly ambiguous Av.:

yaṃ bā nā xʷafnāša frayrisəmnō frabišyamnō ašəm staoiti; Pahl.: ka mard az xwāb frāz wirāyīšnīh ud frāz bwdšnyh (?) ahlāyīh stāyēd (Haug, op. cit., 275) "which a man recites, awaking and rising from sleep" (Haug, op. cit., 308).

(Bartholomae suggests emending frabišyamnō to frabušyamnō, op. cit., 985.) The corresponding phrase in our text (Š10) clearly refers to

the act of waking, reciting the prayer, and then going back to sleep.

The Rivāyat of Kāma Bohra corresponds to §§9 and 10 of our text viz.

"And as to that one Ashem Vohu which they recited and (then) go to bed, it is of as much merit as if you have recited one thousand Ashem Vohus on other occasions. As to that one Ashem Vohu which they recited and turned from side to side (in bed), it is of as much merit as if you have recited ten thousand Ashem Vohus on other occasions. As to that one Ashem Vohu which is recited at the time when you wish to get up from bed, it is of as much merit as if you have recited one hundred thousand Ashem Vohus on other occasions." (Unv., Riv., I, 16, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 16)

However the two other Persian texts specify two different times for meritorious acts: Sd.N., ch. 80, 8-9:

va ānke arzeš yek hazār ast ānast ke az xuftan az pahlū dar gerdi va dorost bexvāni; ānke arzeš dah hazār ast ānast ke cūn az xvāb bar xīzī va be xvānī (ed. D., 57); Sd. Bd., ch. 27. 57: cūn be xuspan d aš m vohū begūyand čandāneš kerfe bavād ke be vaqti-ye dīgar hazār aš m vohū; az xvāb dar āyand va dīgar aš m vohū begūyand čandāneš arj va kerfe bavād ke be bevaqti-ye dīgar dah hazār dar vaqt-i \*taqarru' cūn aš m vohū begūyand va čandān arj va qeimat ast ke īrān šahr.

The discrepancy between the Pahl. and NP versions may be a result of the apparent ambiguity of the Avestan and Pahl. versions of HN I. 23 and 28 cited above. A further passage from ŠnŠ., cited by D. in Pers. Riv., 17, n. 3, explains the great virtue of reciting the aš m vohū before going to sleep, by virtue of this time being an opportunity for a final religious act before sleep and even possible death in sleep.

6. The words abdom wardišn [ī gyān] render Av. ustāme urvaēse gayahe (HN I. 33; Haug, op. cit., 277). It seems that in our text gyān (XY') has been omitted by a copyist, having been read mistakenly as a dittography of a-s ['s] which follows. Elsewhere the words abdom wardišn render Av., urvaēsa- apāma-, see Y. 43.5, 6 dāmōiš urvaēse apāme "beim letzten Ende der Schöpfung" (Bartholomae, op.cit., 1535); Y. 51. 6 apāme aš hōuš urvaēse "beim letzten Ende des Lebens" (ibid., 1535).

In these contexts the term refers to the cosmic event in the future, at the time of frašō. kərəti, and so may have been in the mind of the copyist of our text, but clearly, as proved by HN I. 33 Av. ustāme urvaēsē gayahe (also Y. 71. 14, 15), Pahl. abdom wardišn ī gyān, our text refers to the time of the end of life in the body.

7. The Avestan HN I. 36 states:

kā āēva ašō. stūitiš yā vīspəm imat yaṭ antarōča

zam antarəča asmanəm imamča zam avača raoča vīspača vohu  
mazdašta aša. čithra masanača vandanāča srayanaca arəjaiti  
 (Haug, op. cit., 278) "What is the one recital of the  
 Ashem which is worth all this which is in the earth and  
 in the sky, and this earth, and those lights, and all  
 good things created by Mazda which have their origin in  
 truth?" (Haug, op. cit., 309).

Cf. HN I. 38:

yaṭ fraoirišaiti pairi dušmataēibyasca dušūxtaēibyasča  
dušvarštaēibyasča (ibid., 279) "when one renounces evil  
 thoughts and evil words and evil deeds" (ibid., 309).

The Pahl. version adds a gloss: HN I. 38:

kē ōy frōd wardēd be az dušmat ud dušūxt ud dušxwaršt humat  
īm wināh wēš kū kirbag dušoxīg hān ašam vohūg-ē be gowēd a-s  
wahistīg be bawēd "Whosoever turns from evil thoughts, word  
 and deed; good thought (is) this: (when) sin (is) more than  
 merit (he is) worthy of hell; (if) he recites one ašam vohū,  
 then thereby he becomes worthy of heaven."

Nothing is said of this last-minute redemptive power of the ašam vohū  
 in the Avestan text of HN I, and the Pahl. gloss seems to present a  
 late doctrine, which is, however, stated in some detail in the NP  
 versions. See especially Rivāyat of Kāma Bohra (Unv., Riv., 17);  
 cf. Unv., Riv., i, 18. 4-7.

For an Av. commentary on the ašam vohū see Y. 20 (and see further  
 below, ch. 57). Dhabhar cites a similar commentary in Pahl. (Pers.  
Riv., 20-23, and translates a NP version of the same (ibid., 18-20;  
 text in Unv., Riv., i, 19. 19-21. 12). See also Modi, CC, 348-9.

Notes to Chapter 28

1. The main point of this chapter is made only in the final section, for which the preceding prepares the ground with exhortation and example by illustration. Virtue is recommended as preferable to procrastination because death may at any time overtake the body, leaving the soul the poorer at the bridge of judgement. Because of the transient nature of all material things, and because all beings are subject to death, only virtue and goodness are worthy objects of man's accumulative instinct. Such ideas are reminiscent of handarz "wisdom-literature". It has been said that the fatalism that is typical of that genre "is probably ... part of the non-religious character of the andarz" (M. Boyce, 'Middle Persian Literature', Handbuch der Orientalistik, Brill, 1968, 53). However, many examples can be taken from Pahlavi and Persian Zoroastrian texts to show that the apparent fatalism and other-worldliness of this Š of PRDd. is in accord with orthodox Zoroastrianism and is neither gnostic in character nor merely "the morality of an aristocratic and urbane society" Zaehner, Teachings of the Magi, 98). In several texts teachings about the futility of earthly riches are put into the mouth of Ohrmazd. They are as much part of the religion as are other, more dogmatic features of similar texts. For example:

dādār ohrmazd goft " ... mardōmān rā āgāh konī ke čīzī andūzī ke bā x<sup>h</sup>īstan betavānī āvardan va īn'ā be faryād-i šomā rasad, va ān čīz kār-i kerfe kardanast "The Creator Ohrmazd said: " ... teach mankind to amass the thing which one can take with one (at death) and (which) comes to your help here (in heaven), and that thing is the performing of meritorious actions." (Sd. Bd., ch. 9, 7 f.).

These words were addressed to the prophet Zarathuštra, but they are comparable to a statement in MX which has the form of a religious andarz:

čē pad frazmgarīh tan ō xākīh gumēzīhēd ud abestām ō ruwān bawēd. ud harw kas ruwān rāy ran'j abar barēd ud az kār ud kirbag agāh bawīšn (MX I. 22-4, ed. West) "For in the end the body is mingled into the dust and refuge is in the soul. And every person should take trouble for the sake of the soul and should be conscious of meritorious action."

In another passage in MX, the Spirit of Wisdom instructs the wise man (dānāg):

ud hān ī-t mēnōg ud gētīg rāy pursīd gētīg pad frazām margīh ud apaydāgīh ud mēnōg pad frazām hān ī ahlawān ruwān azarman ud amarg ud apetyārag ud purr-xwarrah ud purr-rāmišn tā hamē ud hamē rawiṣnīh abāg yazdān ud amahraspandān ud frawahr ī

ahlawān (MX 40. 29-30) "And that which you asked concerning the spiritual and the physical worlds, the physical world in the end (is) death and annihilation, and the spiritual world in the end (is) the souls of righteous (men), ageless, deathless, free from misfortune, full of glory, full of peace, for ever and ever in the company of the gods and immortals and the spirits of righteous (men).

Elsewhere, when the Spirit of Wisdom advises the wise man not to put his trust in life (zīndagīh), there is no disdain for life or for physicality intended, but it warns the believer to beware of the snares of Ahreman who makes this world mortal:

pad zīndagīh wistāx ma bawišn čē abdom margīh abar rasēd ud nasāy sag ud way kirrēnēd ud astag ō zamīg ōbadēd "do not put your trust in life, for at the last, death will overtake you and dog and bird will rend your corpse and your bones will fall to the earth." (ibid., 2. 110-3. (ed. West)

From the perspective of Zoroastrianism the doctrine that all things of this world become dust is preached as a vigorous incentive to do good and practise the highest virtue, not as an incitement to take such comfort as may be found in a palliative of insipid fatalism. In Dd. purs. LXX it is stated:

dastwarān ēdōn guft estēd kū čiš ast ī pad brehēnišn ast ud pad kunišn u-šān ēdōn be wizērēnīd ku zīndagīh zan ud frazand xwadāyīh ud xwāstag pad breh ud asrōnīh arteštārīh ud wastaryōšīh ahlawīh ud druwandīh pad kunišn (K35., fol. 183 r., 16-183v. 2) "The high priests have said thus, that there are some things through destiny, and there are some through action, and it is thus fully decided by them, that life, wife and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood warfare and husbandry are through action" (transl. West, SBE XVIII, 215).

Thus it is only because of the assault of evil and the consequent constrictions of fate that certain things must be endured with equanimity, while man is always free to choose between righteousness and wickedness, heaven and hell; the righteous will have their reward in heaven and should not expect it sooner in this world. A certain dispassion is recommended in the midst of worldly fortunes:

\*ka nēkīh rasēd ma abēr šād bawē ka anāgīh rasēd ma abēr pad bēš bawē, čē (kē) nēkīh ī zamān ō anāgīh ud anāgīh ī zamān ō nēkīh, ud hēc abrāz nēst kē sēb nē az pēs ud hēc sēb nēst kē abrāz nē az pas (Handarz ī Ādurbād Mahraspandān, 8149, PT 71. 3 ff.) "Do not be overjoyed in good times nor overdistressed in bad times, for the good fortune of Time turns (to) misfortune and the misfortune of Time turns to good fortune, and there is no "up" that has not been preceded by a "down" and no "down" that is not followed by an "up". (Zaehner, Teachings of the Magi, 109).

This is not the resignation to an inscrutable divine will,



such as characterises the Islamic faith, for example, but an acknowledgement of conditions which can only be transcended through virtue. PT 146. 15-147. 2 is an example of how such a view is perfectly Zoroastrian in its implication (transl. Zaehner, op. cit., 112 and cf. MX I. 98-9 (ed. West) and Sd. Bd., ch. 7, which liken the world and its fortunes to passing clouds and see also the Handarz ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān §89, in PT. 65. 6-9 (transl. Zaehner, op. cit., 105) where they are likened to a bird that alights on trees and never stays. When an ascetic element appears in such texts, it is an ethical asceticism, i.e. in exertion to abstain from evil, as e.g. in PT 144. 5 ff.:

hambār ēwāz ahlāyīh wēš tuxsēd, kār ud kirbag, čē čis ī pad hambār šāyēd dāstan, ēwāz ahlāyīh weh (Wāzag ī ēwčand ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, §2, PT 144. 5 ff.) "Strive to hoard up only righteousness, (that is) virtuous deeds, for of (all) the things that one may hoard, only righteousness is good." (Zaehner, ToM, 110).

This does not, of course, require a hermetic retreat from the world (on "fasting from sin" see Sd.N., ch. 83, transl. West, SBE XXIV, 348).

The doctrine of ultimate worldly and spiritual perfection, of Frašegird, embodies such a sublime objective that those who preached it could be uncompromisingly severe in explaining the tribulation of this world, e.g. in Dd. purs. 5, in answer to the question "Why does evil always happen more to the good than to the bad?", Manusčihhr says:

... wehān, tars ī az dard ud pādefrāh ī az dušox rāy, āsānīh ud xwārīh ī pad gētīg hilēnd, čis-iz abārōnīh nē mēnēd, gōwēd, kunēd "the good, through fear of the pain and punishment of hell, should forsake the comfort and ease in the world and should not think, speak or do anything improper whatever".

One must look to Dk. III, however, to find the fullest explanation of the plight of mankind in the mortal world:

hād ōsomandīh ud ahōšīh ī ōšōmandān tan az judgōhr ī ebgat gumēzišn azēr star pāyag bawišn andar ēbgatīg gumēzišn abāz nē dāstan ī dādār az dahišnān ī andar gumēzišn čim pad amaragānīg rawāg paywandīh ī andar gumēzišn abāg ōšōmandīh bawēd sūdīh ī dahišnān pad be paywastan ī ō frašegird abāz wardenidan, ī-š zyān abar kām ōš ud axwī|ēbgat pad frazām ōšīh ī xwad ebgat az-īš

"the mortality and immortality of the mortal body is from the Mixed State of the heterogenous nature of the Adversary below the star station. In the (state of) Adversity of the Mixed State the reason for the Creator's not keeping (death) back from the Creatures in the Mixed State is that in the general continuous progression which is with mortality in the Mixed State there is advantage for the Creatures in uniting to achieve frašegird, from which the harm of mortality in the will, the

consciousness and existence of the Adversary is the death of the Adversary himself" (Dk.M., 316. 20-217. 4).

Generally with this ch. of PRDd. cf. Sd.N., ch. 81 and Sd. Bd., ch. 28.

2. Astwihād first attacked Gayōmard (see GBd. IV. 24, TDA 44. 12, BTA 51): he is personified as the demon who casts a noose over the necks of the wicked (e.g. Dd. purs. XXII. 3, p. 48, purs. XXXVI. 93, p. 105, SBE XVIII. p. 52, and p. 114). In Dd. purs. 36. 51 Astwihād is explained as "the disintegration of material beings" astōmandān wišōbīh (SBE XVIII, p. 95) which corresponds to the Av. astō. viṣātu- "untying of life", see Air. Wb., 213, 1443-4.

3. With these words cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 28. 4, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 523.

4. M. construes this passage differently, thus:

"The reason why the mortal man inflicts injuries on the mortal man (is this): (one wrongly thinks of the other that) 'he strove for this purpose that I may not have wealth'; (or he thinks) 'he strove for this purpose that I may not have children'; (or) 'he strove for this purpose that my animals may die'."

5. As M. Boyce has stated (art. cit., 51):

"Wisdom (xrad) is constantly praised in the andarz texts; but this is not the mantic wisdom of prophecy and divination, but that of observation and reflection".

Yet this wisdom of observation and reflection is something more than Zaehner's understanding of wisdom as reason or common sense (op. cit., 99) for it is spiritual in the power and protection it affords man :

ud tō rāy gōwēm, pus ī man, \*kū jahišn-ayyār pad mardōmān  
čis ī xrad weh; čē agar \*pargast. xwāstag be sawēd, ayāb  
čahārpāy be mirēd, xrad be mānēd "and I say to you, my son,  
(it is) fortunate for men, wisdom (is) the thing which is  
best; for if, heaven forbid! one's wealth goes away, or if  
one's animals die, wisdom remains." (Handarz ī Ādurbād  
Mahraspandān, §104, PT 67. 5-8)

It is a species of the innate wisdom asn xrad through which, according to MX, Ohrmazd created the universe (MXA LVI, §5, p. 148-9), and by which all other wisdom is inspired.

Notes to Chapter 29

1. With this chapter cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 29, D., Pers. Riv., 523 f. Sd. Bd. makes no mention of the example of litigation in our text, but nevertheless emphasises the obligation of a son to his father etc.

2. Possibly this refers to the prophet Zarathuštra himself.

3. M. reads paō ēv-bār hāčēnānd and translates as "will be initiated (into the holy order) once again".

4. Cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 29. 13:

čonānke rayān az tan behtar ast, hamčonān hērbad, ke farhang amūzad ruvān parvarad va az nīk va bad āgāh konad be bīn tā anke tan va ruvān parvarad čand farq ast va kodām behtar ast "just as the soul is better than the body, so is the teacher, who teaches wisdom and nourishes the soul and informs it of good and evil: behold what difference there is between him, who nourishes the body and him who nourishes the soul and who is the better (of the two)." (D., Pers. Riv., 524).

(It is noteworthy, also, that in Sd. Bd., ch. 29. 6, there is a glancing reference to xwēdōdah.)

5. Dhabhar has observed that these five functionaries of the Sasanian sacerdotal system are given in PÜ of Y. I. They are as follows: §21 (Spiegel - S.) dādwar ~ Av. nmānya- (Geldner - G.Š7); §8 (S.) mōwbad ~ Av. vīsyā- (G.Š3); §11 (S.) rad ~ Av. zantuma- (G.Š4); §14 (S.) mōg-handarzbād ~ Av. dahyuma- (G.Š5); §17 (S.) mowbadān mowbad ~ Av. zarathuštrotāma (G.Š6) (Cf. also Y. 7. 27, 14, 17, 20, 23, and WZA, p. 88, intro. p. xvii; see also Tavadia SS 66 f.; with Pahl. mōg-handarzbād cf. Arm. moyan (h)andercapet (Hübschmann AG I. 99, 179). See also Darmesteter ZA I. 30-32.

The reason for the addition of this gloss in PRDd. remains obscure.

Notes to Chapter 31

1. With this ch. cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 31 and Shāhnāme, Tehran ed., I 26-7, transl. Warner, I 134. For a list of the chief Av. passages concerning Yima and references to scholarly discussions of the legends see M. Boyce, HZ I. 93, n. 54. As M. Boyce has said of the legend in our text:

"Presumably this is the legend alluded to in both Yt. 19 (his claim being the "lie" spoken of there) and the Gāthās - Yima having perhaps instituted a sacrifice to himself, as if he were indeed divine." (op. cit. I. 93)

See also Lentz, A Locust's Leg, Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh, 132.

2. Cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 31. 3:

Čun mī āmad be zānuy mīraft mānand-i kasī ke mobtilā bāšad va pāy nadārad. va jāme-ye darīde va kohne va xirge-ye pušide dāst. "When he came, he walked on his knees like one who was afflicted and had no feet. He had put on clothes, which were tattered, and wore garments which were threadbare" (D., Pers. Riv., 525).

3. M.'s reconstruction of this § maintains the order of creations in e.g. GBd. III. 7 (BTa 39), and WZA I. 25, p. LXVIII. BK, IO bear no relation to this emended order, but it can be seen, by numbering the order of creations in M.'s version, that MR<sub>1</sub>, J follow a recognisably similar pattern: (Numbers in brackets indicate M.'s order.) water (6), earth (7), plant (8), sun (1), moon (2), stars (3), [heavenly creation (4) missing, perhaps omitted as dittography of following] sky (5), cattle (9), men (10), worldly creation (11). (6), (7) and (8) must be transposed to the position after (5) for MR<sub>1</sub>, J to yield M.'s order. Sd. Bd., ch. 31. 6 has: āsmān va zamīn va māh va setār va har če dar gītī hast - which is unhelpful.

4. Alternatively "indeed for any other, then whoever ... "; M. translates "and also furthermore, (if) any one ...".

5. On Yima and the blood sacrifice see R.C. Zaehner, Dawn, 84 f., and J. Duchêsne-Guillemin, La religion, 99-102. Generally on Zoroastrian doctrine concerning animal sacrifice see M. Boyce, op. cit., I, 214, and n. 90, and on the interpretation of Y. 32. 8 (cited by Zaehner, loc. cit.), see ibid., I. 93, n. 55. In a passage in the Persian rivāyats the institution of the six Gāhambār festivals is attributed to Jamshed (Yima/Yim); the story is told to explain the purpose of

sīr - u - sedow (Unv., Riv., I. 428, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 322-3) see M. Boyce, Stronghold, p. 42. In Pahl. Vd. farg. 2. 2 Yim is called hu-rāmag "of good flocks" (~ Av. hvathwa- "having good herds", see M. Boyce, HZ I. 92). It is significant that the story in PRDd. appears to develop from this standard epithet. In Pahl. Vd., loc. cit., it is explained:

hurāmagih ēd būd kū-š rāmag ī mardōmān ud rāmag ī gōspandān drust dašt

"his being of good flocks was this, that he properly maintained the herds of men and good animals."

The elephant is usually considered as gōspand; it is mentioned here, presumably, as the most powerful of beneficent animals, yet as is said in Šb2, it is seen as anomalous and therefore as a threat (here the dēws offer it as if they had created it).

6. See Vd. farg. 2. 2-4.

7. M. translates "When this earth will be desert", but cf. GBd.

XXXIV. 33 (BTA 293):

ēn zamīg anabesar ud anišeb ud hāmōn bawēd "this earth will become a plain both without height (lit. "without crown"), without bottom".

This refers to the time of frašegird when all will be flat and fertile, not a desert plain. Cf. also Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 47, and E. Benveniste, Persian Religion, p. 71.

8. This alludes perhaps to the ceasing of the effects of moon and winds upon the waters (see GBd. X. 10, 12, BTA 103) which cause the ebb and flow of tides. Just as the stench and saltiness (gandīh ud sūrīh) are removed at the time of Frašegird (GBd. X. 18, BTA 103-5) the movements of the waters will cease; freedom from change is associated with immortality, not stagnation (see GBd. XI. 7, BTA 105).

9. The saēna bird, of Yt. 14. 41, has its perch on the Tree of All Seeds in the middle of the sea Vourukaša (Yt. 12. 17, and see also GBd. XVI. 4, BTA 147; MXA ch. LXI. 37-9, p. 167-8). Presumably the reference is to the bird's retirement to a nest in the forest when, after Frašegird, its annual task of distributing seeds is no longer necessary.

10. In Dd. purs. 38, 18 f. also, Yim repents and is pardoned, and he advises his successors to wear the sacred girdle for protection (see

D., Pers. Riv., 24, n. 1).

11. The idea that Yim is appointed master of the Zoroastrian "Limbo" (hammistagān) is found only here; it appears to be a tidy, scholastic solution to the problem of the discrepancy of the various traditions of this ancient king, whereby Yim's rule, which in Vd. farg. 2 is over his subterranean var, is transposed to the intermediary realm, i.e. so as to include the legend of Yima's sin, punishment and exclusion from the glory of heaven in Yt. 19 and Shāhnāma (on the various traditions of Yima see M. Boyce, HZ I, 92-95, and on [gyāg ī] hammistagān "Place for the Mixed Ones", see ibid., 237 and Ph. Gignoux "L'enfer et le paradis d'après les sources pehlevies", JA 1968, 226.

Notes to Chapter 32

1. With this chapter cf. Sd. Bd., ch.32 and MXA XLV p. 131.
2. M. translates padiš as "thereby" (i.e. "as a result of the affliction of Ahreman and the dēws"). Cf. MXA XLV. 4: nē pad ēd dārēd kū-š čiš-iz ziyān pad ōy kas kard "does not consider that any injury whatever was done by him to that person", and also Sd. Bd., ch. 32. 1: hīč zyān bedō nakardīm "we have not done any injury to him"; these passages both support the translation "we have done to him ... etc.".
3. abaydāg kunēd lit. "they make invisible"; the soul is of the substance of light and is annihilated by being obscured by evil. In Zoroastrian texts there is agreement that the soul ruwān is the chief faculty of man which, though spiritual by nature, abides within a physical form during a human life. So Ahreman's conquest of the ruwān amounts to the consummate act of corruption and triumph over the human will (cf. DkM. 241. 16 f.:

ruwān, ī ast axw, xwadāy abar tan ... rāyēnīdar ī tan ud jān ud bōy ud frawahr ud hamist waxš ī padiš "The ruwān, which is the will, is lord over the body ..., the controller of the body and the vital soul and perception and the fravaši and all the spirits therein").

The crime of the wicked lies in their obedience and compliance to the will of Ahreman and their allowing him to enter the world through their evil actions (see MXA XLV. 5:

bē ka-š hān ī ēwtāg ruwān be apparēd ud tabāh be kunēd, ēg pad ēd dārēd kū: '-m ziyān-ē bowandag padiš kard', \*ēd čē-š ēn pad abāyist kunišn ī tanōmandīh ī xwēš kard "But when he steals the soul of a single (individual) and makes it corrupt, then he thinks: 'I did to him a complete injury', because this was done by him through the compulsive action of his own flesh.").

Notes to Chapter 33

1. With this chapter cf. Sd. Bd. ch. 33.
2. In PRDd. "the faithful" wehān are urged to spurn friendship with "wicked" men druwardūn. This latter term has a specific traditional usage as "unbeliever" (darvand is still current as a term among the oldest generation of rural Parsis). Sd. Bd. ch. 33 urges that the faithful (behdīnān) must avoid "men of ill repute and evil doers" (mardom-ī bad-nām ud bad-kerdār) and "evil men" (mardom-ī bad) who make the soul "wicked" (darvand). However, both texts are warning Zoroastrians, albeit obliquely, to avoid contact with non-Zoroastrians. Sd.N. ch. 38 is more explicit:

Inke jehad va kušēš bāyad, az ham kāse-ye jūd-dīnān be bāyad parhīzīdan ... zīrā ke hargāh ke kasī be nā šustī kasī xurad, del meil be sūye ū konad, če gonāh bavād gonāh kardan rā delīr šavad va ravān-i ū be darvandī garāyad "So far as effort and endeavour prevail, it is necessary to abstain from the same cup as those of a different religion ... because whenever someone drinks with an unclean person, his heart inclines towards him, for it is a sin, and on account of the sin he becomes bold and his soul inclines to wickedness".

3. The contrast with Christian teaching is stark: St. Paul, in accordance with Christ's words in Mt. 5.44 ( ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς ),

advocates genuine compliance with those of other faiths:

εἴ τις καλεῖ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπίστων, καὶ θέλετε πορεύεσθαι, πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν ἐσθίετε, μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντας διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν.

I Cor. 10.27

ἀπρόσκοποι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις γίνεσθε καὶ Ἑλλήσι καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καθὼς καὶ γὰρ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω, μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσι.

I Cor. 10.32

Paul's compliance is primarily motivated by the Christian standards of universalism and toleration, e.g. in ibid., 10. 25-27 (which, again, is the opposite of Zoroastrian attitudes in PRDd., e.g. ch. 14. 7 above):

πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον ἐσθίετε, μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντας διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν· τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.

I Cor. 10.25

There is nevertheless a comparable element of expediency in both religious attitudes. It has been said of the apostle that through his deep desire to make converts he had



"made himself an absolute slave to men to win them, becoming a Jew to Jews and a Gentile to Gentiles. He would be anything to anybody to convert him. Why? For the sake of the Gospel, that he might share with them in it" (C.S.C. Williams in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, §836d, p. 959)

By contrast, when, amid the oppression and intolerance of infidel rulers, the Zoroastrian writer advocates "love" for enemies (dōšāram), it is entirely as an expedient ploy (PRDd. 33.b). In an interpolated passage of II Cor., heavy with Pharisaism, Paul is himself uncompromising in certain areas, viz. in his very Zoroastrian admonition against contamination, here through intermarriage:

Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις· τίς γὰρ μετοχὴ δικαιοσύνης  
καὶ ἀνομία; ἢ τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; II Cor. 6.14

PRDd. is consistent and unwavering along a similar line of aloofness from outsiders. The surprising element in this chapter is that the writer advocates actual duplicity as an expedient means. This chapter thus continues the theme of previous chapters that all dealings with "unbelievers" agdēnān/druwandān (e.g. ch. 30), make the soul wicked, which is the great triumph of Ahreman (ch. 32).

Notes to Chapter 34

1. i.e. when the child should know better, but is still under-age, [s]he must pay for sins committed, but at a reduced rate: according to Unv., Riv., II. 304 a yād is equivalent to 180 stērs, a tanāpuhl to 300, a margarzān sin is 8-15 times the value of a tanāpuhl.

2. With para. b. cf. Sd. Bd. ch. 34.

3. According to Sd. Bd. 34. 1 and 2, and Unv., Riv. I. 177, the minimum ages for betrothal and marriage are respectively nine and twelve years for a girl.

4. On bahr see Bartholomae, z. Sas. Recht V. 14-15.

5. For this passage the reading and translation of Bartholomae are adopted (see Mir. Mund. III. 33):

"des (Ehe)manns ... Herrengewalt über das Tun der Frau ist so, daß sie alles, wie er es ihr befiehlt, unweigerlich tun muß."

M. reads:

[aḡar] mard u zan pāḡaxšāy xvaḡāy ēdōn aḡar-kār ī xvēš harv čeyōn-š framāyēδ, nē pāḡaxšāy bē ka kunēnd, uδ mard u zan paδ hān zamān garzēnd \*atarsgāhīh

(M. does not acknowledge his emendation of MSS hwt'yh 10 \*xvaḡāy and translates:

"About men and women - the supreme master is so overruling, that it is not lawful unless they do whatever he orders them, and (if) men and women grumble at that time, it is an act of disobedience.")

This translation is out of place in the context both of this chapter and of Zoroastrian theology generally (i.e. to suggest that God is aḡar-kār "overruling" in this way).

6. Sd. Bd., ch. 34. 3 has "four times". It is clear that the main subject of PRDd. 34 is the obedience of women to their husbands, and the sinfulness of a wife's rejection of her husband. The examples of disobedience which follow in ŠSc. 5, 6 and 7 are added, plainly, as rhetorical elaborations in order to bring the specific restriction on women's freedom into a context of supposedly general rules for authority and subservience. The real function of the examples given is not to give instruction for such cases (which are commonsense and, in the case of slaves, probably unnecessary), but, by juxtaposition with the woman's case, to liken her to a child (as is done explicitly in Sd. Bd., ch. 34. 5-6 bāyad be šuhar ūrā mānande ye farzand dārad),

and to a slave in her role as wife.

7. The meaning is that in the first case (pad tan) the damage is material and apparent, in that adultery would harm the husband socially etc. in the world; in the second (pad ruwān) the sin is still physical by nature (i.e. afflicting with menstrual pollution), but its effect is wholly ritual and spiritual. The correct behaviour of a wife is defined in Sd. Bd., ch. 34. 5-6, that she is "honest, utters few words and gives birth to many male children" (mastur, va kam-soxan bāšad, farzand-i narida-ye bīštar zāyad). The converse of such attributes are so strongly stigmatised as intrinsically feminine that they are traditionally personified as such, e.g. Druj "falsehood", Yeh "whore", Āz "lust", Nāsuš "pollution". When in Sd. Bd. two further grounds for divorce are given, it is as if they are equated and held as similarly culpable as acts of some female evil force:

ānke jādūi konad va amūzad va ... ānke farzand az-iš nazāyad  
 "that she practises and teaches witchcraft, and ... that she bears no child".

On adultery see further Vd. farg. 18. 62 ff.; Unv., Riv. I. 196 ff. (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 208 ff.); Sd.N. ch. 67; on the sin of daštān marz see Vd. farg. 15. 7; 18. 67 ff.

8. As mentioned above (n. 7), Sd. Bd. states that a husband can properly treat his wife as a child. Similarly, when the marriage breaks down he must continue to protect her, if she is still unattached to another man, though he relinquishes all claims over her as his wife.

A Persian rivāyat states similarly:

gar sūhar-i zan rezā betavānad kard ke nikāh i nō be bandad,  
gar na zan bī sālār našāyad gōzāštan (Unv., Riv., I, 197)  
 "if the husband of the wife can assent to it that she contracts a new marriage (good), if not the woman should not be left without a guardian."

Notes to Chapter 35

1. This chapter explains the origin and propensity for good or evil of natural phenomena that appear anomalous in the normal categorisation of creation in Zoroastrianism. Distinction has to be made, e.g., between two kinds of lightning - rōzāg and wīr, the former the lightning that flashes between clouds, the latter the thunderbolt which destroys creation on earth (see below, n. 2). "The star which falls", the shooting star, is an anomaly because, though it is a star, it behaves like a planet (see below, n. 7).

2. Perhaps implicit in this is the notion that since reflections appear to be entirely immaterial they are manifestations of the mēnōg "spiritual state" in physical creation (cf. GBd. I. 44, TDA 11, BTA 14)

"out of His own Selfhood, out of the Essence of Light, Ohrmazd created forth the form of His own creatures in the astral form of luminous and white fire".

3. M. reads paδ hayārīh ī ātas āyēδ "which comes for the assistance of that fire".

4. Our text here as above p. 59. 2 gives incorrect orthography of Spanjagr as the word is confounded with spnclwšk, the Pahlavi transcription of Av. spinja uruska, see Bartholomae Air.Wb., 1625. The fire referred to in our text is the fire wazišt, cf. GBd. XXI. c. 3, TDA 135. 7-9, BTA 174:

\*spanjagr abāg ātaxš ī wazišt pad wārān kardārīh kōxsīd ud garrānag ud rōzāg paydāgīhist "Spanjagr fought with the fire Wazišt over the production of rain and thunder and lightning manifested."

In GBd. there is a description of the action and purpose of lightning. When Tistrya seizes water from the sea, it goes up into the atmosphere, and the dēws freeze the water so that it cannot rain; then

ka pad hān ēwēnag bawēd, ātaxš ī wazišt čiyōn andar abr be dād hamēstārīh ī \*spanjagr dēw hān āb widāzēnēd ud gad ō sar ī \*spanjagr dēw pahikōbēd; hān gad dazišn ī ātaxš ud widāzišn ī āb rāy rōšnīh andar abr bawēd, kē rōzāg xwānēd. ud \*spanjagr ka hān gad abar pahikōbēd, wāng ī sahmgēn kunēd kē garrānag xwānēd. (GBd. XXI, c., 12-13, TDA 137. 14-138. 6, BTA 176 ff.)

"When it happens in that manner, the fire Wazišt, as it is fixed in the cloud for opposition of the dēw Spanjagr, melts the water, and strikes the mace on the head of the dēw Spanjagr; on account of that mace kindling the fire and "melting" the water there is a (flash of) light in the cloud, which they call lightning. And when it strikes the mace Spanjagr makes a dreadful cry which they call thunder!"

In our text it is said that this light comes from Garōdmān, so in GBd.:

ātaxš-iz ī wazišt tan ham ātaxš ī gētīg kē abāg āb andar abr u-š frawahr hān xwarrah ī az asar rōšnīh awiš mad ēstēd  
(GBd. XXI. c., 14, TDA 138, 6-8)

"The body of the fire Wazišt, too, is the same fire, which is with the water in the cloud; its fravašt is that xwarrah which has come to it from the Endless Light" (BTA, 177).

(Thunder and lightning are frequently associated with theophany in both Old and New Testaments: see e.g. Ex. 19:16; Ezk. 1:4, 13; Rv. 4:5.) According to GBd., when Tištrya seizes water from the sea, impurities such as stones, fish and frogs etc. go up into the atmosphere also, and the stones become thunderbolts:

hān sangōmand kē pad tābišn ī ātaxš ī andar wāy pad hān ēwenāg garm būd ēstēd abāg āb abāz wārēd; ēn ātaxš ī oftēd kē ham mardōmān wīr xwānēnd ham sang hēnd ī ham zrēh ī abāg āb ul ō andarwāy sawēd (GBd. XXI. E. 2-3)

"That stony substance which has been heated by the heat of the fire in the atmosphere in that way rains down with the rain; these fires which fall which men call lightning are also the same stones of the same sea which go up to the atmosphere."  
(Cf. Lk. 10:18 "I watched Satan fall like lightning from heaven.")

5. This is the ass which is righteous (ašavan) and stands in the middle of the sea Vourukaša (Y. 41. 28); it is described in GBd. XXIV. 10 ff., TDA 151. 8-153. 5, BTA 194 ff.; with our passage cf. ibid., loc. cit., 16, TDA 152. 8 ff.:

ka hān xar andar zrēh gird be āyēd ud gōš be xamēd hamāg āb ī zrēh ī fraxwkard pad pad čandišn čanded ud šaspēd

"When that ass comes round in the sea and bends its ears the whole water of the sea Fraxwkard is agitated and tossed."  
(see Bailey, Zor. Prob., 153, n. 1.)

§20 ud tištar āb az zrēh ī fraxwkard pad hayyārīh ī xar ī sē pay rāy hugartar stanēd.

"And Tištrya seizes the water more easily from the sea of Fraxwkard through the help of the ass with three legs."

6. The voice of Ahreman is not itself thunder (pace M., 430, n. 6) but is likened to thunder; thunder is the voice of Spanjagr, as in GBd. XXI. C. 13, TDA 138. 5 f., cited in n. 4 above, and also:

Spanjagr az hān gad zanišnīh garrānīd ud wāng kard, čiyōn nun-iz pad hān ardīg pad wārān kardārīh garrānāg ud rōzāg paydāg (GBd. VI. B. 14, TDA 64. 5 ff.)

"owing to the blow of that mace, Spenjagr roared and shouted, as even now roaring and lightning are present in that conflict in the production of rain." (BTA 75).

Thus it is likely that in our text the voice of Ahreman is first compared to thunder and that gwlḡ is another orthographical error for

gl'nk'; (cf. GBd. VI. b. 14, TDA loc. cit., glw'wyb; ibid. XXI. c. 3, TDA 135. 9 glw'k; ibid. XXVII, 49, TDA 187. 13 gl'n'k, DkM. 62. X. 7 dlw'yk; cf. also MPT grn'g, and see BSOS IX. 90). With this passage cf. GBd. XXVII. 49, TDA 187. 13 ff.:

ēn-iz gōwēd kū gannāg mēnōg wāng ō garrānāg ud ō-iz wāng ī kulang ī šaš sālag ud ō-iz wāng ī xar ud ō-iz wāng ī mard ī ahlaw ka akāmagōmandihā zanēd ud wāng kunēd, mānēd.

"This, too, one says: 'The yell of the Evil Spirit resembles thunder, and also resembles the cry of a six-years-old crane, and also the cry of an ass, and also the cry of a righteous man, who cries out when one smites him against his wish.'"

7. According to GBd. the stars were fixed in the firmament by Ohrmazd (GBd. II. 2, TDA 25. 9 f., BTA 30), whereas the planets were created by Ahreman as an influence of disruption upon the world (DkM. 278. 21-279. 2). The planets' irregular motion could not be explained, and so they were considered as demonic:

u-šan rawišn-iz nē čiyōn axtarān; čē ast ka rēz, ast ī dagrand, ast ka abāz rawišn, ast ka ēstād hēnd; u-šan abaxtaran namīg ēd kū nē axtar hēnd ... čē awēšan dēw hēnd, zarmanih ud anagih kardār (GBd. V. a. 9, TDA 54. 5-15)

"their motion too is not like that of the constellations; for there is a time when they are swift, there is another when they are slow, there is a time when they are retrograde, there is another when they are stationary; their being named abakhtar is owing to this that they are "not akhtar", for they are dēws producing decrepitude and injury." (transl. based on BTA, 63)

With this cf. the falling of the star called Wormwood (Gk.

ἄφροδιτος ), Rv. 8:10. The Christian Fathers identified the fall of the Morning Star (Vulg. Lucifer) with that of the prince of the demons, represented and symbolised by the pagan tyrant (cf. also Is. 14:12). Elsewhere falling stars are associated with fallen angels, e.g. Rv. 9:1, and ibid. 12:9 "Its (i.e. the huge red dragon's) tail dragged a third of the stars from the sky and dropped them to the earth."

8. With this para. cf. GBd. XXI. e. 5, TDA 140. 6-11:

ēn stūnag pad asmān paydāg bawēd, kē mardōmān sanwar xwānēnd. harw čē dabr zard ud sabz ud suxr ud xašēn ud aryavān waxš hēnd ud dēw kē pad hamēstārīh \*srēzēnd ī tištar suxr wārēd nē būdan rāy ō abr \*kōxsēnd ast kē-šan dēwān-iz ī sahmgen xwānēnd ud harw čē spēd waxš ast ī yazd kē hayyārīh ī tištar rāy abāg hān dēwān \*kōxsēnd.

"This pillar becomes visible in the sky which men call a bow. Whatever are black, yellow, green, red and dark blue spirits are the dēws which are contending in the conflict, that Tištār may not be able to rain down redly they struggle against the clouds. Some call them "the terrible dēws". Whatever are white spirits are the yazads who to assist Tištār struggle with the

dēws." (text and transl. Bailey, GBd. 1140, with changes in transcr., and see in his article, JRAS 1934, i, 509.)

9. "embers" seems to suit this context better than "light" (pace M., p. 431, n. 9, whose textual citations are somewhat inconclusive). All fires used for sacred or domestic purposes produce ash; gaseous eruptions, volcanoes, thunderbolts and falling stars, however, all emanate from violent sources, produce no embers and are thus considered unnatural and so as part of the creation of Ahreman.

Notes to Chapter 36

1. With this chapter cf. Sd. Bd. ch. 36 and ZVYt. II. §§1-14 (transl. West, SBE V, 194-8).

2. This is the assembly which will meet at the time of Frašegird in which every person will see his own good deeds and evil deeds, and righteous men will be separated from wicked (GBd. XXIV. 10 ff., TDA 223. 12-224. 4, BTA 287). Isadvāstar (Av. Isat. Vāstra "Desiring Pasture") is eldest of the three eschatological sons of Zardušt, hailed as a priest (asrōn) and Mowbadan-Mowbad and so as the epitome of the priestly class (see GBd. XXXV. 56, TDA 235. 8 ff., BTA 301, Ind. Bd. XXXII. 5, West, SBE V, 142). According to GBd. XXXIV. 20 (TDA 225. 11 ff., BTA 289), the reuniting of father, son, wife etc. takes place not at the assembly of Isadvāstar, but afterwards, when all have walked through the purgative river of molten metal. Only then, when purged of all defilement, will they be given the elixir of eternal life (ibid., §23), for which, in our text, Zardušt is asking prematurely.

3. M. translates dwst' ... šwd "a friend (will meet his) friend, and the father the son and the relatives, and the wife the husband."

4. The meaning here is that the wicked will not reach salvation, i.e. they will be damned in eternity. According to PRDd., ch. 48. 70, below, and elsewhere in the Pahl. and NP Zoroastrian books, "the sinful will finally become cleansed of their sins". Here, however, PRDd. appears to preserve an older and more severe doctrine, which as M. Boyce has argued,

"accords with Zoroaster's noble anger against wickedness and his passionate longing for a world that was wholly just", HZ. I. 244

For a discussion and references to Av. and Pahl. texts on the ordeal by fire and judgement see ibid., 242-4.

Zardušt seeks to be immortal like those heroes mentioned in Dd., purs. 89. 3 (West, SBE XVIII, 256) whose function is to bring about the renovation (frašegird) of other creatures (Dd. A purs. 36. 98, p. 103, West, SBE XVIII, 111); but as West remarks:

"The existence of such immortal creatures ... is here taken as a proof of the reality of the resurrection itself" (ibid., 112, n. 4).

Such is not the function of the generality of mankind. As PRDd. demonstrates (along with other Zoroastrian texts), the true purpose of



man, as epitomised in Zardušt, is to strive for perfection in this temporal world, and to perpetuate this effort through the continuity of his lineage rather than in barren longevity (see Sd. Bd., ch. 36, Dd. purs. 36. 43, ZVYt. II. 1-14). For Zoroastrians the quest for eternal life is a concerted enterprise for the benefit of the whole cosmos, not for the eternal life or liberation of an individual. There is a peculiarly Zoroastrian definition of "immortality" itself:

hān ī weh dām nōg abēzag tāšīdan jāwēdānīg frāz dāstan andar abēzag ud nēk rawišnīh anōšag winnārdan "To make the good creatures again fresh and pure and to keep them constant and forward in pure and virtuous conduct is to render them immortal." (Dd. A purs. XXXVI. 21, p. 79, transl. West, ibid., 85).

The lineage of mankind must be

"ever young in succession ... so that there is a succession of life through their own well-destined offspring".  
(hamējuwān pad paywand ... kū-šan pad xwēš frazand awādag zīndagīh paywandīhēd) Dd. 41, p. 86, transl. West, ibid., 92.

It is said that there is even a virtue in being content with the inevitable approach of death, since:

anāgīh ī gētīg, pad zīndagīh, brīnōmard, ud ma asāmān abrīn bawēnd andar anāgīh ī gētīg, pad hamāg zīndagīh ī abag dard "the evil of the world, in life, is definite, and they shall not make one exist unlimitedly in the evil of the world, through an eternal life with pain." (Dd. purs. 36. 39; transl. West, ibid., 91).

Hence the Manuščihr, for whom death is otherwise abhorrent beyond all else, can state that for Zardušt

"death became more desirable than the perpetual life of his own body" (Margīh az hamē zīndagīh ī hān ī xwēš tan, Dd. purs. 36. 43).

5. This name is variously written, and the exact form cannot be determined from the Pahlavi script. See Justi, INb. 71; West, SBE V, 195 f.; XXXVII 111; (Cf. NP barātarvaxš, Sd.N., ch. 9. 5 and barātaruš, Sd. Bd., 36. 2); for texts about the murder of Zardušt, and about Brādvēš, see Jackson, Zoroaster, ch. 10, 124-32; also below, ch. 47. 23.

6. M. translates driyōšān as "holy men". On the Avestan cognate of this word, see K. Barr 'Avest. drəyu-, driyu-', Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen ... dicata,

In her HZ. I, 261, M. Boyce quotes his explanation of the term:

"the true follower of the creed of the Prophet, the meek and pious man who stands firmly on the side of God and makes himself solely dependent on Him" (art. cit., 40),

and she adds:

"Barr's interpretation is strengthened by the evidence of Sogdian, in which language drywšk-, jwxšq- ( \*driguška-) means disciple (for references see Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, Oxford 1954, §285" (ibid., 261, n. 42)

7. i.e. "mortality"

8. Alternatively, following M., this can be read zan kun "marry!".

9. i.e. whoever wilfully practises ascetic celibacy. Chastity, however, is praised as a virtue, and indeed āsnūd in §13 could be rendered "chaste".

Notes to Chapter 37

1. Because of the central ritual importance of fire in Zoroastrianism there are many texts on its correct care. This chapter not only treats of the correct behaviour required of Zoroastrians to maintain the purity of fire when in ordinary household use (SSa. 2, 3, 6-14), but also deals with the uniquely Zoroastrian practice of "collecting the fires" (ātaxš čīdan). This practice is regarded as an act of rescuing fires which have been put to harsh use. The rule for the "collection" of the hearth-fire is that when fire is used for cooking, it should then be taken, cinders and ashes, to the adurōg. This is enjoined as an obligatory religious practice for the faithful - in Persian Rivāyats it is even recommended as a regular practice after every use of the cooking fire - but, as has been said, this perhaps represents an excess of priestly zeal and was ignored by the laity (M. Boyce, Stronghold, 72, n. 11). In part of this chapter, however, there is a list of supererogatory works of collecting fires that have been subjected to gross impurities. The earliest source for this tradition is Vd. farg. 8. 81-96, a passage which has been understood as detailing the rite of establishing an Ātaxš ī Warahrān, in which the flames of sixteen polluted fires are repeatedly purified and consecrated until they are united in the "cathedral fire" of Warahrān. However, as M. Boyce has pointed out, in this passage

"it is not a question of the deliberate gathering of such fires for this high purpose, but rather of rescuing them when and where they chance to be found" ("On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians", BSOAS XXXI, i, 1968, 65).

So in our text the reward is great in proportion to the pollution originally suffered by each fire. The fires are treated not as inanimate but as living beings, each with an individual spirit, which, after suffering at the hands of men, should be allowed, once purified, to grow cold in the presence of a sacred Fire. There are several such lists of fires, in Pahl. and NP texts, and these are brought together by Dhabhar in Pers. Riv., pp. 63-8. The purpose of the detailed exposition of duty and merit of collecting fires is not merely theoretical. The fact that it occurs in several texts demonstrates that it was a popular teaching with practical value. This list of fires is not comprehensive, but would have involved all members of the community (since the ordinary hearth fire is mentioned). For a detailed description of the practice see M. Boyce, Stronghold, 186-90.

The practice of "collecting the fires" serves to resolve for Zoroastrians the obvious problem of the necessary daily pollution of their most sacred element in this corporate act of "rescue". The anxiety for the regular and unintentional abuse of fire in the round of human life is given dramatic form in the speech of fire in ch. above.

2. See also Sd. Bd., ch. 79. 14, Sd.N., ch. 11. 6. Those who do not look after fire are threatened with miscarriage in pregnant women and female heirs.

3. On the collection of household fires see Unv., Riv., I, 674-9, D., Pers. Riv., 56, where it is recommended that they be taken to an ātaš gāh (D., ibid., loc. cit., n. 8 "i.e. an abode of fire, i.e. either Atash-Adaran, or Atash-Bahram"). Cf. Sd. Bd. 19. 1; Sd. Naṣr., 48. 2. On the actual practice see M. Boyce, Stronghold, 72-4, and 'The Fire temples of Kerman', 58-9, 63-4.

4. With this passage cf. Unv., Riv., 67. 4-6:

"A fire which is made use of in a house, if put to use three times, should be gathered up and put in the place (adjoining) so that the ash-bed may be cold; if not, it is a sin. The blaze from over that fire should let pass on (to a combustible) and that (fire) should be carried near Atash Adaran, and when four months and ten days pass away, (that fire of the Atash Adaran) should be gathered up and carried to the Atash Vahram" (D., Pers. Riv., 56).

So in PRDd., it is better to read be ō ādurōg ud ātaš ī warahrān, pace M. (be ō aḍarōy ī ātaš ī varhrān "to the Adarōy of the fire Varhran"). In her article (ibid., p. 61 ff.) M. Boyce cites passages from MHD which concern the endowment of an 'twrlwk, and which

"suggest that the 'twrlwk was a relatively humble fire, which, though properly established and endowed, might burn in a place other than a dādgāh, i.e. a duly constructed sanctuary" (art. cit., 63).

In our text BK has the spelling 'twlwk, MR<sub>1</sub>, J 'tlwk'. M. Boyce interprets this word as "little fire", reading 'twlwk/'twlwk and explains this as a possible repetition of letters (with the addition of a diminutive suffix), in which an anomalous l has been introduced to avoid ambiguity in the orthography (see art. cit., 64 and n. 93, and also "On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of fire", JAOS 95, 3, 1975, 463, n. 70.

In our text the household fires are taken first not to an ātaš ādarān (cf. Pers. Riv., loc. cit., and M. Boyce, art. cit., 462),

but to an Ādurōg. See M. Boyce, BSOAS XXXI, 1, 1968, 67, on the NP mistranslation ātaš-i ādarān from Pahl. ātaxš ī ādarōg.

5. Cf. Sd.N. ch. 48; Sd. Bd. ch. 79. 5.

6. M. reads :

ēv-š xvār kunišn, var ... pērāmōn harv gyāy frāz kunišn, uδ az frāz kard, frāz ... kard.

and translates as

"then it should be weakened, and should be covered on every side with the ashes ... , and after it is covered (once), it should be covered again."

7. When in ch. 2 above greater caution is enjoined for using food in summer than in winter, it would seem that the rule stems from fear of pollution from the summer heat and the swarms of seasonal xrafstras. Here fire is treated as similarly more vulnerable in summer, though in practical terms it might be supposed that it would need more protection in the winter cold.

8. For M.'s reading and transl. see above textual n. 11 to this passage. M.'s sense is strained, however, for PWN TLYN occurs too far from PWN h'myn' lwc šp'n to give the sense "twice during both (i.e. day and night) in summer". Conceivably MSS preserve a mistake for KTLWNšn = mānišn "abiding".

9. Here adwadād ( Av. aōwadāti, see Bartholomae Air. Wb., 61; Z. Air Wb., 117) "lack of food" is applied to the fire as if it "eats" cf. FO ch. 33, WZKM XIV, 209:

adwadād hān bawēd ka xwārišn ud xwārišn \*az (ms = MNW) sūy ud tišn padīš abāz dāred "Adwadād is when by it food and drink are kept away from the hungry and the thirsty".

10. Cf. Unv., Riv., I. 67:

va gar be gozārand ke be mūrad haštād Istīr gonāh bāšad "and if it is allowed to extinguish, it is a sin of 80 istirs" (D., Pers. Riv., 56)

This lends support to the above reading rather than that of M.:

ka be apsarēδ [paδ] gāh vināh "If it is extinguished it is a sin on the spot."

11. M. translates: "If afterwards it is ignited anew, and it is covered with ashes ...".

12. Cf. Unv., Riv., I, 67. 14

har bār ke dast be āteš konad farmān gonāh bāšad "Every time that the hand is taken on to the fire, it is a farmān sin" (D., ibid., 57).

A farmān is only 4-7 stērs, whereas 300 stērs is a tanāpuhl sin, a serious offence.

13. This term is a straight rendering of Av. nasu. pāka- in Vd. farg. 8. 81, "cooking carrion" (e.g. xrafstras such as lizards, frogs, etc.; see M. Boyce, HZ I, 327, n. 6). M.'s translation "corpse-burning" is suggestive of human cremation, which is clearly not what is meant here.

14. The numerical values of merit agree with the figures in Vd. farg. 8. 89-96.

15. M. rejects the reading āhangarān on the grounds that it is implied in čēlāngarān. In Vd. farg. 8. 89-90, however, both categories are mentioned in the same list.

16. A farmān is the least serious of offences, but if the fire were neglected every day, the accretion of sins would be serious.

17. Cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 79. 4

va hizm-i tar nabāyad sōxtan va nīz be ātaš hīč čīz našāyad brištan "and damp wood should not be burned, and also nothing should be roasted on the fire".

The rule that meat should be cooked in pots, i.e. physically separated from the flame, suggests and underlying unease among Zoroastrians about the cooking of flesh even of gōspand, though it is held to be clean (pāk) in orthodox texts (e.g. Unv., Riv., I. 134. 18, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 150) and though ātaš-zōhr "the [animal fat] offerings to the fire" were put directly into the flame (see M. Boyce "Ātaš-Zōhr and Ab-Zōhr", JRAS, 1966, 100).

Notes to Chapter 38

1. Hamāgdēn is a technical religious term which occurs frequently in Pahl. books, especially in Dd. West translates the word "all the religious rites". It occurs in Supp. ŠnŠ XVII. 4, and F. Kotwal explains that the term appears to be used as a term

"for all the observances of the three days after death, namely a yasna of Srōš in the hāwan gāh each day, a drōn of Srōš in every gāh, the recitation of a x<sup>v</sup>waršēd and mihir niyāyeš followed by patēt in each of the three daylight gāhs, the recitation of srōš yašt with patēt in aiwisruthrām gāh and of māh niyāyeš and srōš yašt hādōxt followed by patēt in uśahīn gāh. One Vendīdād ... used to be performed during this time" (Supp. ŠnŠ., p. 109, n. 3).

According to the Persian rivāyats the hamāgdēn was numbered among the greatest of good works (e.g. Unv., Riv., i, 294. 8-9, D., Pers. Riv., 285). However it is also said that the consecration of Hamāgdēn, and the practice of xwēdōdah had fallen into disuse (dar īn rūzgār har dō az dast oftāde ast - Unv., Riv., i, 308, 14, D., Pers. Riv., 293). Increasing poverty was perhaps a factor making it difficult to afford the full range of ceremonies. According to the prophecies of ZVYt., at the end of the millennium of Zardušt, there will be a serious decline in standards, a neglect of the practice of religious rites, and an inflation of the value of meritorious deeds:

"One Yasht will be as a Hamādin (performed) in the time of Gushtasp" (D., Pers. Riv., 466).

This set of ceremonies which, it was believed, made more certain and safe the journey of the soul after death (Dd., purs. 84. 5-7) could only be performed by a priest (Dd., purs. 83); on the payment of priests for this see e.g. Dd., purs. 45. 5; 65 pass., and 87. 5-11.

2. As M. notes, wurrōyēd dād is not what is expected here, kāmēd dād would more properly have meant "wishes to give"; the translation given above of both words as "dedicates" is in the sense of "has faith to give" i.e. for a sacred purpose.

Notes to Chapter 39

1. i.e. 300 stērs or one tanāpuhl. M. translates as "it is the principal (amount of the) merit of 300 (satērs)".
2. The status of being pādixšāy makes a wife dependent on her late husband's bequest to her, for she may not marry again; here, however, the theme is how much a pādixšāy zan should herself give in charity each year while the husband is still alive (which is clear from what follows), i.e. not, as M. translates, how much she should be given after his death; M. translates: "(then) it is lawful to give (her) 110 drahms from the property of the husband". (In Sd. Bd. ch. 87. 9 the pādixšāy wife is referred to as "she who has espoused one husband and is not destined for someone else" ān ... ke šuhar yekī karde bāšad va nāmzad-i kas nabāšad).
3. Giving birth to a priest (here the chief officiating priest, i.e. zōt, and the priest whose duty is to handle the pestle (hāwan) and press the haoma, i.e. hāwanān) is one of the most meritorious acts of which a woman is capable.
4. M. reads and renders the preceding passage as follows (with a semicolon after previous wēh-dēn):  
uo dahišn ō ōi kunišn kē vēh-dēn; u-š vēš andar abāyēš, u-š vināhgārīh nē šnāsēš, uš ka hamāy drahm | ī | ēmar andar apāyēš bē ō ōi mayōy-mard pēš apāyēš dāš "and the gift should be given to him who is a Zoroastrian; and if something more (than the usual gift) is necessary for him, and one does not know his sinfulness, and if all (the gifts) require a (great) number of drahms, one should give (such gifts) to that person in the presence of the Mayōy-mard".
5. With this last sentence cf. Sd. Bd. ch. 87. 11, and see below, Ch. 42, on giving to the needy.



Notes to Chapter 40

1. The term xwarsēd yašt refers to the "praise" niyāyišn of the yazad of the Sun (recited three times every day, see above ch. 15. a. 14); māh yašt is the niyāyišn of the Moon yazad (recited three times in the month); for both see ZKA, ed. D., text 14-23, 28-32, transl. 22-40, 50-58 respectively. These prayers are considered to be obligatory and highly meritorious for Zoroastrians, cf. Nir., f. 70r., ll. 2-7; Supp. ŠnŠ. XII. 31; Sd.N., ch. 6. The omission of a recitation is a framān sin each time (see above ch. 15. a. 14 and here below §4).
2. i.e. of saying the niyāyišn in its Pahlavi form only, without the Avestan prayer.
3. This is the "outer" religious ceremony which may be dedicated to any one of the yazads.

Notes to Chapter 41

1. Thirty margarzān sins are mentioned in MX (ed. West) ch. 36, and cf. a similar list in a Persian Rivāyat (Unv., Riv., I 299, 4-12, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 286-7. In PRDd., as is stated, only the most important which are mentioned, i.e. murder, sodomy, extinguishing fire, sorcery, adultery, correspond closely to MX, loc. cit.; other sins are roughly similar (see below nn. 6-11); the four sins with nasā, mentioned in PRDd. 41, do not occur in the two other texts, but three are given in Sd. Bd., ch. 37 (which adds "suicide" zahr xordan). One sin which occurs in MX and Riv., loc. cit., which is omitted by might be expected in this list is preventing xwedodah (MX. ch. 36. 7)
2. MX (and Riv.) loc. cit., has mard ī ašō ōzadan "killing a righteous man" (a priest?) which defines murder more accurately than PRDd. 41, considering that it is stated above, PRDd., 21. 1, 2, that a tanāpuhl merit is gained by killing a sodomite or "a wicked margarzān" (mard-ē druwand ī margarzān).
3. Cf. MX. 36. 17: kē jāduī kunēd.
4. i.e. to eat xrafstras.
5. The mention of ten years is curious (for burial is forbidden per se) this time is not specified in Sd. Bd., loc. cit.
6. Cf. Sd. Bd., loc. cit., rāh zadan; cf. MX. 36. 20 duzī.
7. Cf. MX. 36. 27 kē ō zan ī kasan šawēd; Sd. Bd. loc. cit., zan az kasān besetādan.
8. This corresponds to MX. 36. 21 mihrān drujih.
9. Cf. MX. 36. 29 ke drōg u anast gōwēd.
10. Possibly this corresponds to MX. 36. 16 kē zandīkī kunēd.
11. Cf. MX. 36. 13 nigērāč and ibid., 36. 12 kē pa har kēs girawēd u parastēd.

Notes to Chapter 42

1. This chapter has been transcribed and translated by Tavadia in MMV., 479 ff.; it is omitted in M. T. notes Bartholomae's treatment of §§1-4 in ZKM. II, 38 f., and finds that "the great Iranist is wrong in some points". T.'s translation is literal and, except in minor details, satisfactory. T.'s title for the ch., viz. "A Pahlavi Text on Communism", is perhaps somewhat an exaggeration; in fact T. suggests that "the rules were framed as a compromise to Mazdak's radicalism". Doubtless in the late 5th cent. A.D., church and state made conditions oppressive for the peasant majority, and the Mazdakite movement won much popular support. For Zoroastrians of the era of Muslim domination, however, conditions were generally much worse, and there are signs in this text that the principles laid down by the author are meant as practical guidelines in times of real exigency; T. observes that "the tone and the various reservations make an impression of certain reality about them; they could not have been mere pious wishes or flights of fancy". So it would seem that this chapter, rather than a survival and modification of Mazdak's "communism", is an exhortation to Zoroastrians in Islamic times for solidarity. In so far as communism is a theory according to which private property should be abolished and all things held in common, a central organising authority would be required, to which property would be surrendered for redistribution. In this chapter such authority as there is is clearly the priesthood, and what follows is not a quasi-communist ideology formulated as "rules" (see T., §6), but a set of priestly maxims for the laity to live by in order to benefit the clergy and the poor. See further nn. 4, 6, 8 below on how T.'s translation is determined by his particular interpretation of the chapter.

2. i.e. as a gift to an ahlaw "priest" or to the poor; with §2 cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 38. 1.

3. xwāstag here probably refers to the essentials, i.e. seeds and fodder. T.'s reading pasušxVaranīh "cattle breeding" seems too abstract for the context.

4. As T. notes, in ŠnŠ., 8. 3 three hundred stērs is the limit of wealth which one may possess and yet be able to indulge in hunting. T. assumes that weh zišnīh refers to a higher status suggested in

ŠnŠ. 8. 3. However, since the amounts mentioned in Š1 are in drahms, it seems likely that drahms are meant here also, since no denomination is mentioned. If so, then weh zišnīh does not correspond to the usual sense of Eng. "good-living", but perhaps rather to "a proper (standard of) living".

5. T. inserts a comma after parrēxtag and reads ān yut hač uzēnak ī xVēš parēxtak "having left that aside separate from his own expenditure".

6. T. translates this "he should give it as a pious gift" (pa ahravdāt be dahēt); however, there is no necessitative verb in the clause (e.g. abāyēd).

7. This is in accord with the Zoroastrian attitude towards wealth, and proves that the author is not advocating confiscation of property. In Islamic times the gap between Zoroastrian rich and poor was presumably narrowed, and so this Š is hardly a concession to the rich.

8. T. interprets this Š as restricting the amount of wealth which a householder may own in a year; from that restricted amount is then calculated how much he should contribute to the support of the poor; T. translates:

"From all which is his, so much [can be possessed by him] as it is requisite for one year for himself and the people in his guardianship. From that which is requisite, when one piece is less or more, [then the rules are these:] ... "

It is unnecessary, however, to divide the section into two separate sentences; a better sense emerges when the text is read as a continuous passage. So, pace T., the author does not stipulate how much wealth may be possessed, but rather how "charitable giving" to the poor should be calculated.

9. i.e. one is then exempted from the obligation to make charitable offerings as calculated in Š6 above.

10. T. translates:

"all that which is left aside from himself and the people in his guardianship is to be given up",

which implies that wealth is to be surrendered ("given up") to some unnamed authority. However, be dahišn means, more probably, "should be given away", i.e. to the poor.

Notes to Chapter 43

1. On Š1 see Bart., M.Mund., II. 5.
2. i.e. 300 stērs, = one tanāpuhl. Ideally, by alternately becoming pregnant and suckling her new child the woman can avoid menstruation altogether. Menstruation is doubly abhorred as it is at the same time a heavy pollution as of dead matter from the body, and also a sign of non-conception. Women are not penalized as producers of this impurity (apart from by their monthly enforced isolation when in menses) but they are rewarded spiritually for abolishing it by conceiving etc.
3. On uzdēs meaning "image", not "heathen idol", see M. Boyce, "Iconoclasm among the Zoroastrians", Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman cults, Studies for Morton Smith at sixty, Part IV., ed. J. Neusner, Leiden 1975, p. 96 with n. 15.

Notes to Chapter 44

1. M. translates:

"are all (to be regarded as) "nasāy" (after death), just like that of men".

Notes to Chapter 45

1. For an explanation of this statement, see below, Commentary ch. 46, n. 17.

2. See above, Commentary, ch. 43, n. 3.

Notes to Chapter 46

1. The account of the world's creation in this chapter accords in many details with the versions in Vd. and GBd., etc., but because of one feature - that God created it from a "body" (tan), it has been seen as peculiar and unique. H.W. Bailey has called it

"an isolated and peculiar attempt to trace back the origin of created things to that out of which they were made" (Zor. Prob., 121).

The same scholar suggests cautiously that the scheme (of the chapter) so conceived is "perhaps due to some foreign influence" (ibid., loc. cit.). However Prof. Bailey does not specify what influence this might be (though he does see Greek influence in one particular aspect of the myth, see below, n. 4). R.C. Zaehner, however, in ZZ 136-7 and Dawn, 259 has gone further and writing of PRDd. 46 states:

"In this strange account of the world's origin which has no parallel in any other Zoroastrian text, we cannot fail to see a direct borrowing from India" (Dawn, loc. cit.).

Zaehner is referring to the Puruṣasūkta in the Rig-Veda (X. 90), and identifies "Spihr" as the Zoroastrian puruṣa (ZZ, 136). There are two important features of the Indian text, however, which are lacking in PRDd. 46, which Zaehner does not consider before dubbing the latter as a direct borrowing. First, in RV X. 90 it is stated repeatedly that the puruṣa is sacrificed as an obligation (§§7, 8, 9, 10). Second, the puruṣa is dismembered (§12). No mention is made of either of these notions in PRDd. 46. Also, in fact, only two creations in the Pahlavi text correspond to those from the puruṣa - the sky is produced from the head, the earth from the feet (surely following a logic that is not unique to the RV). Prof. Zaehner was obliged, therefore, to refer to a third text (SGV I. 20-4) to make a more convincing connection between RV and PRDd. 46.

The account of PRDd. may appear more foreign than it actually is because of one factor: the absence therein of the Evil Spirit in his major role in the cosmogony of, as it were, provoking God to create the world in time (cf. GBd. I). However this absence can be explained if it is seen that the account does not start at the very beginning of all (as does GBd. I) but describes the creation of the world during the period of Ahreman's stupor after his being smitten by the Ahunavar mathra (i.e. after GBd. I. a. 2, TDA 17). Professor Zaehner himself appears to have provided unwittingly an alternative answer to what

may be the identity of the tan "body" (in PRDd. 46. 3: andar ō tan burd, u-š sē hazār sāl andar tan dāst). For, having moved on to develop the theme "Man the Microcosm", Zaehner translates Dd. purs. 63

"The lord of all, Ohrmazd, fashioned forth the Endless form from the Endless light. Its creaturely existence was of Ohrmazd and its light was that of fire which does not burn. Bright it was and like a flame, productive like the fertile earth. And within the Endless Form he created man who is called the [small] World. For three thousand years he neither moved, nor ate, nor slept, nor spoke ... "

Clearly, here the Endless form corresponds to the xwarg ī ātaxš of PRDd. 46. 2, from which the creation (dām ud dahišn) of the embryonic gētīg world are fashioned (*ibid.*, §3). This latter corresponds to what is called in Dd., *loc. cit.*, "the man who is called the world (gētīg)", and Zaehner identifies this man, correctly, as Gayōmard. There is no reason to suppose, then, that tan of our text is anything other than the "body" of Gayōmard (- not that of Spihr as Zaehner had suggested in ZZ 136; but Zaehner was keen to identify the text with RV X. 90). According to GBd. I. 59, TDA 16. 10-12

Ohrmazd pad dām-dahišnīh mādarīh ud pidarīh ī dahišn ast, cē ka-š dām pad mēnōg parward hān būd mādarīh, ka-š be ō gētīg dād hān mēnōg būd pidarīh "Ohrmazd in Creation both the motherhood and fatherhood of the creation, since when he nourished creation in the invisible world (mēnōg), that was his motherhood; when he created the invisible as the visible world (gētīg) that was his fatherhood" (transl. Bailey, GBd. 16).

The means of production of the spiritual world is easy to imagine in the metaphor of motherhood. In PRDd. 46 the fatherhood of the physical world is, perhaps, explained by analogy with the father of Mankind, Gayōmard, who embodies all the world. In several Zoroastrian texts the body of man is said to be a "similitude" (handāzag) of the elements of the physical world (e.g. GBd. XXVIII, TDA 189; DkM. 278, and cf. WZ 30. 5-11). However, from such comparisons to the detailed myth in PRDd. 46 that the physical world was actually created from a cosmic "body" is indeed a considerable step. There is something of a precedent for the latter theme in the tradition preserved in GBd. XIV. 2, TDA 100 (also *ibid.*, VI. f. 8, TDA 69. 15-70. 1); and MX 27. 18 that metals were produced from the body of Gayōmard as he was dying, stricken by the illness (wēmārīh) of the Hostile Spirit:

gōwēd kū ka gayōmard wēmārīh abar mad pad hōy dast ōbast, az sar sруб, az xōn arzīz, ud az mazg sēm, az pay āhan, az ast rōy, ud az pīh abgenag, ud az bāzā pōlāwad, ud az jan be šawišnīh zarr ... "It is stated that when the illness came upon Gayōmard fell to his left hand, from his head appeared lead, from his blood tin, and from his marrow silver, from his feet iron, from



his bones copper and from his fat crystal, and from his arms steel and from the going forth of his breath-soul gold ... " (GBd., TDA 100, Bailey's reading and translation, with changes in the transcription).

On this theme see M. Boyce, HZ I, 140, n. 81; cf. WZ III. 69, ed. BTA, p. 38; and on the production of plants from the body of the primeval ox see WZ III. 43 ff. (see below, n. 25). Two further features of PRDd. may be evidence that the writer has taken the above myth of Gayōmard and extrapolated it within an otherwise orthodox account of the world's creation. First, the motif of creation from the cosmic body appears to have been used in this chapter merely to provide a novel structure upon which to drape the old and familiar traditional account. The motif is not developed: there is no explanation of what this body is, or of what happens to it once it has produced the creations; it is taken up erratically (§§4, 5, 11, 13, 28, 36) with the formula of the phrase "X" (dām ud dahišn) az "Y" (handām ī tan) be brēhēnīd; it is then each time forgotten as the writer develops traditional doctrines associated with the creations. Second, the creations are produced in virtually the orthodox order of GBd. I. a (but see below n.14), except that the creation of primeval man does not follow after that or the primeval ox. Gayōmard is conspicuously lacking, for fire is the next creation here, and man's creation is mentioned much later, almost as an afterthought, in §36. It appears that the writer had assumed that man was already created (i.e. in the "body", of Gayōmard (?), in §3). §36 is somewhat confused in its detail, in any case, as though the writer is unclear as to how to have "man" created in this account (see below, nn. to §36). Pace Zaehner, then, it can be assumed that PRDd. 46 does not at all represent a direct borrowing from India, but is an original combination of traditional details of the orthodox Zoroastrian account of creation: the writer took the myth of Gayōmard as producer of metals and extrapolated it within the traditional account, thereby giving the latter an entirely new appearance.

2. Lit. "from his own body".

3. Z. translates "surrounding walls"; M. "walls".

4. On the creation of the sky in general see Bailey's chapter "Asmān" in Zor. Prob., 120-148. The sky is spherical in shape: Bailey has compared this passage with GBd. I. a. 6:

fragān bun ī asmān čandīh pahnāy ī-s drahnāy čandīh drahnāy  
ī-s bālāy ud čandīh bālāy ī-s zahīh hamōg handāz

"of the basic boundary of the sky the width is as great as its length, its length as great as its height, and its height as great as its depth wholly equal" (transl. Bailey, ibid., 135).

Bailey adds: "Such is also the doctrine of Aristotle, whence probably it has been derived", ibid., loc. cit.

5. The name of this yazad, which means literally "the blessing of the devout" is explained in GBd. XXVI. 94 (TDA 175. 6-10):

Dahmān āfrīn hān mēnōg, ka mardōmān āfrīn kunēnd, hān xwarrāh  
be rasēd; čē čiyōn āb, pad hān paymānag, ī-m guft kū abāz ō  
x'vān rasēd, āfrīn-iz, ī dahmān kunēnd, abāz ō mard rasēd;  
xwastag ī pad tuxšagīh kunēnd pānag dahmān āfrīn.

"The 'Dahmān āfrīn' is that spirit, that light, which approaches when men offer blessing; for, as the water reverts to the source in that measure as - I have - said, the blessing-, too, which the good offer, comes back to man in that measure; the blessing of the - good is the - preserver of the wealth which they - acquire with industry." (transl. BTA, 227).

6. M. translates: "and there is no worldly maintenance for it". I follow Bailey's translation, see Zor. Prob., 123. The sky is not supported by any pillars (see GBd. XXXIV. 5, TDA 221. 14, BTA, 285), for it was created an-abar-dāštār "without support" (WZ 34. 20). With reference to the repetition of the phrase u-s dāstārīh ī gētīg nēst (see also GBd., loc. cit.). However, in GBd. XXVI. 76 (TDA 172. 15, BTA 225), Asmān, the spiritual sky is said to hold "this sky" (i.e. the physical sky).

7. M. translates as

"He created the earth from the feet, its \*structural management is by the Lord Mihr, the good Dahwān Afrīn, the charity of Righteousness the charity of Holiness {for the happiness of the worthy} (and) the Spirit of the Wealth {which they give in charity} ".

However this seems awkward and unclear; Z.'s transl. is clearer (but his reading az kōf is non-sensical):

"And the earth was fashioned from its feet; and it is ruled by the mountains. [Mihr, the Lord, the Goodly Praise of the Wise, \*Rašn, the just and the judge of Righteousness give spiritual (unseen, mēnōk) riches in alms to those who are worthy of good things."

\*Z.'s emendation \*Rašn (from MSS l't/lyt'). Z. is probably correct in identifying the yazads (Mihr), Rašn, and Srōš (ZZ, 363, n. 85). They are the three judges of men's actions (kirb[ag]). It seems that their inclusion in PRDd. here is all a gloss to u-s winnārīšn az kirbag above.

8. M. translates: "He interred the substance in it". Z. translates: "And minerals were inserted into it", i.e. both emend MSS. M. compares with GBd. VI. c. 1 (TDA 65. 13, BTA 77) hān gōhr ī kōf andar zamīg dād ēstēd "the substance of the mountains was created in the earth". M. argues that gōhr refers here and in PRDd. to metals, as do NP gauhar/jauhar (see M., p. 443, n. 6). Perhaps, however, "minerals" is preferable: it appears that the writer of this chapter was bearing in mind that the metals are said to have been produced from the body of Gayōmard as in GBd.

9. According to GBd., loc. cit., all mountains have grown up from the root of Harburz. They arose in order to stabilize the earth after the Evil Spirit shook it (az zamīg abar raft hēnd, draxtān homānag, ... ud pas az hān zamīg az gyāg čandēnīdan nē šāyist "they grew up from the earth like trees ... and after that it was not possible to cause the earth to tremble/shake from its place."

10. Cf. GBd. VI. c. 5 (TDA 66. 12, BTA 76) pad haštdah sāl.

11. According to GBd. IX. 2 (TDA 76. 9 f., BTA 93) this eight hundred years divides up as follows: "two hundred years up to the star station, and two hundred years up to the moon station, and two hundred years up to the top of the sky."

12. So also GBd. IX. 5 (TDA 77. 7-8, BTA 95). It is not the mountain that encloses the earth, but the sky; cf. Yt. 13. 2, where the sky is said to be upon and around this earth just like a bird (upon) an egg; (see W.B. Henning, Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller, Leipzig, 1954, 289-92). Perhaps there is here some coincidence with the tradition that Harburz (Harā bərəzaiti) encircles the rim of the flat earth (see Yt. 19. 1, and GBd. IX. 5, TDA 77. 7 f., BTA, 95). Bailey cites three other passages (WZ 34. 20, MX 43. 8 ff. and Dd. purs. 90) in which the sky is compared to an egg, within which the earth is the yolk. On Harburz see further M. Boyce, HZ. I. 133 ff.

13. M.'s translation. Z., from the same reading, translates as "it was fashioned from its (sc. the implement's) legs and forefeet" (ZZ 365, and see ibid., 363, n. 85).

14. A tradition normally associated with the sky is here transposed to the earth, perhaps in an attempt to rationalise the doctrine of the kingdom of Ohrmazd to come upon the earth. In GBd. IV. 10 (TDA 41, BTA 48) it is said that the Evil Spirit assaults the sky thus:

asmān ī pad star pāyag ēstād frōd ō tuhīgīh haxt. ... ka andar buništ ī rōšnān ud tomīgān ōwōn ku azabar ī star pāyag ēstād "(he) drew the sky, which was at the Star-station, down towards the void ... which was under the foundation of the luminaries and the planets".

Ahremen's affliction of the earth is described in GBd. VI. c (TDA 65 f., BTA 76 ff.).

15. Z. has the same sense (ibid., 365); M. translates, "round about the Alburz are the walls (of the sky)", but in Yt. 19. 1 it is said that Harā "encircles entirely the eastern lands and the western lands"; (the encircling Harā corresponds to the Indian concept of lōka lōka, see M. Boyce, HZ. I. 134, with n. 25).

16. Cf. Unv., Riv. II. 58 ff.; D., Pers. Riv., 426-7.

17. It appears that this can be interpreted in at least three different ways. M. translates:

"After that when the Druj attacked the creation, even no one among the people of the world, except Zardušt, saw (him)."

This interpretation seems unlikely, for elsewhere Zoroastrians emphasise the dangerous lurking presence of the Druj in this world (and there is no celebrated and unrepeatable encounter between the prophet and the Druj in their texts). It is not surprising, then, that M. finds this and the previous § to have "no connection with what precedes" (p. 444, n. 9). Z.'s translation is even less likely:

"After the lie had rushed into creation, no one of material creatures could be seen except Zoroaster (sic)" (op. cit., p. 365).

The third possible interpretation, given in the transl. above, takes §§8 and 9 as coherent, continuing on from §7, albeit in the form of a gloss running on, as in other places, as if mechanically from the writer's copious knowledge of the Zand: §9 thus refers to the state of the world after the Evil Spirit has dragged the sky down, pierced the earth and made both sky and earth dark (GBd. IV. 10 ff., TDA 42, BTA 49). According to GBd. III. 7 the sun is on the fifth station which is Garōdmān (panjom garōdmān kē anagr rōšn xwanihēd xwarsēd pad hān pāyag ēstēd, TDA 32. 14-15). In GBd. IV. 10 the Evil Spirit is said to have attacked the sky and dragged it down to the void (tuhīgīh) so that he stood "above the Star-Station from within the sky up to one-third (azabar ī star pāyag az andarōn ī asmān tā sē ēwag be ēstād, TDA 42. 1-2). Since, in the scheme of GBd., the stars are on the third station, it is thus that the Evil Spirit obscured the sun and the light of Garōdman from all mortals (see above, ch. 45).

Only the prophet was to see this light (i.e. of Garōdmān) when, as is said in WZ XXI. 9:

"he approached within twenty-four feet of the amahraspands, because of the great light of the amahraspands, then he could not see his own shadow on the ground" (be ō wist-ud čahār pay ī amahraspandān mad, wuzurg rōšnīh ī amahraspandān rāy, ēg-iš sāyag ī xwēš pad zamīg nē dīd).

In WZ XXI. 10 it is said, moreover, that this conference (hanjaman) with Ohrmazd and the immortals took place in Iran pad kustag ī dehān pad bār ī āb ī daitya "in the direction of the country on the banks of the waters of the Daitya", i.e. they brought their own light from Garōdmān with them.

18. Here, after the preceding gloss, the main subject is resumed in this §.

19. In GBd. XXVIII. 8 (TDA 192. 1-3, BTA 246), the rivers are likened to the human blood circulation (cf. WZ, ed. BTA, III. 28, West, VII. 4, SBE V); since both are seen as self-purifying systems, the parallel is close. Here, however, the context requires "waters" that pour out of the body, of which tears are the most suitable fluid (though, strictly speaking, they are regarded as polluting by the purity code of Zoroastrianism). Perhaps the reference to tears discloses some additional slight evidence that that cosmic tan of the chapter is that of Gayōmard, who might well have shed such tears as well as his seed when he passed away (GBd. XIV. 5).

20. Normally water is said to have been produced second, instead of as here third, the usual position of earth in the process of creation. Cf. a similar passage to PRDd. 46. 12 in GBd. XI. c. 2, TDA 90-91, BTA 112; what is left implicit in our text is clear in GBd: the spirits of three rivers refused to flow because of the pollution in the world since the invasion of Ahreman. Ohrmazd presents Zardušt to them, saying:

be dahēm, kē-t hōm zōhr awiš rēzēd ud drust abāz kunēd ud pahrēz be gōwēd "I will create him who will pour hōm zōhr into you and he will cleanse you again and proclaim your defence".

In GBd. this common Zoroastrian motif of the flux of pure matter returning pure to its source is given an ethical meaning in XXVI. 94 (quoted in 1. 5 above), and XIC. 2-4, TDA 91, concludes

ēdōn-iz āfrīn ī ašōwan kunēd pad en pahmānag abāz ō xwad rasēd "so also do the blessings which the righteous make come back to them in this measure".

So also in GBd. XI. 3 (TDA 85. 1-3, BTA 105), the rivers are said to

flow as swiftly as a man who recites an ašəm vohū from beginning to end.

21. In the GBd. account of creation each of the living creations is produced in single, prototype form, viz. one plant, gāw ī ēw- dād and Gayōmard (I. a. 11-13, TDA 20-21). The unique plant, having been attacked by the Evil Spirit, is pounded small by Amurdād, mixed with the waters of Tistrya, and scattered thus in rain over the earth. Only then do the plants grow in myriad forms, as is said in ibid., VI. d. 2, TDA 67. 6: čiyōn mōy pad sar ī mardōmān "like hair upon the heads of men". In PRDd. 46 no specific mention is made of the myth of the one plant, only general references are given in an allusive fashion. In §15 the myth of the (uniquely-created) ox, the assault by Ahreman and the creation from the spilled semen of the ox is related just as in GBd. I. a. 12 and the two myths of creation of gōspand are sewn roughly together before a long digression intervenes. Once again, in §§28 and 36 the writer attempts to join together the old and new accounts by trying to retain the stages of prototype and then plural creation. The above discrepancies, and the fact that the chapter is generally disorganised and rambling, suggest that the writer is composing freely de novo, yet at the same time using motifs, similes, and strands of myth that are so traditional and familiar that they allow him to pay little attention to the strict logical sequence of the material.

22. Presumably the excluded plant is the white Hōm (see below, n. 23), though this is uncertain.

23. According to GBd. XVI. 5, TDA 116. 2-4, the white Hōm is the Gōkarn tree. Its main property is explained in GBd., loc. cit.: u-š pad frašegird anōšagīh az-iš wirāyēnd "and at the renovation they will prepare immortality from it" (BTA 147). It is not the "tree of all seeds" wan ī was tōhmag (GBd. VI. d. 5, TDA 67. 10) which grows nearby (GBd. VI. d. 6, TDA 67. 13). Presumably the "forest which is in the sea" is a rationalisation of the mythical Tree of Many Seeds and the Gōkarn which stands nearby, in the sea of Fraxwkard. From the former come the seeds of all plants, except the Gōkarn, from which comes the white Hōm. On both these trees and for references to texts, etc., see M. Boyce, HZ I, 137-8.

24. i.e. on the banks of the river Weh Daiti (see GBd. I. a. 12, TDA 20. 14-21. 1, BTA, 25).

25. This is, of course, the myth recorded in GBd. VI. e, TDA 68, BTA

80). What is not mentioned in PRDd. 46, however, is that according to GBd., loc. cit. (and ibid., XIII, TDA 93, BTA 116) when the ox died,

urwar čihrih rāy, az hannāmān ī gāw panjāh ud panj sardag ī jōrdā ud dwāzdah sardag ī urwar ī bešaz az zamīg waxšīd hēnd  
 "on account of its plant nature, fifty-five species of corn and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from the limbs of the ox from the earth".

Then, the text says, the light and strength which was in the seed of the ox was entrusted to the moon, by whose light it was purified and only then were the beneficent animals produced, from a parent pair, on earth. Most interesting, from the point of view of PRDd. 46, is that WZ has an identical account of the myth of the ox and the production of plants and gōspand, with the addition of a passage which gives details of which parts of the ox produced what plants and herbs (ed. BTA 31 ff., ch. III, §§44-49, transl. West, SBE V. 177 f.), i.e. from its marrow, blood, nose, lungs and heart. So, like the production of metals from the dying Gayōmard (quoted in no. 1 above from GBd.), this is another Zoroastrian precedent for PRDd. 46; viz. the myth of creation of heterogenous substances out of organs (to which they are supposed to correspond) from a primeval "body".

26. See AVN XV. 1-8, Asa-Haug 36-7/164; the good herdsman has the highest reward in heaven.

27. The punishment for maltreaters of animals is described in AVN LXXV. 5, LXXVII. 6-10, Asa Haug 108/193, 110/194.

28. See above, textual n. 54.

29. With the following passage cf. GBd. XIII. 10-11, TDA 94. 11 ff., BTA 118-20.

30. According to GBd. XIII. 28, TDA 97. 13 ff., BTA 122, the dog was created in the Star-Station as a protection for gōspand, and is two-thirds gōspand, one-third human.

31. Z. has the same sense, but M. renders this as:

"and the mountain buzzard and the black crow and the vulture are created for devouring the (dead) body (and) all the polluted matter in the corpse".

32. With §§30-34 cf. ch. 18. d. above.

33. On the creation of the three great fires see GBd. XVIII. 8-14, TDA 124-5, BTA 158-60 (where they are said to burn "gloriously" xwarrāhōmandīhā). The translation of pad warahrānīh as "victoriously"

been suggested by M. Boyce, "On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians", BSOAS XXXI, i, 1968, p. 61; see also the same scholar's "The Pious Foundations of the Zoroastrians", XXXI, ii, 1968, p. 288.

34. On this rite of purifying household fires etc., see M. Boyce, "On the Sacred Fires" (art. cit.), and Stronghold, 186 ff. See also ch. 37, Comm., n. 1.

35. Cf. GBd. XVIII. 14, TDA 125, BTA 160.

36. SS. Hartman translates §§36 ff. in Gayōmard, 115.

37. Compared with the clear account of creation of man in GBd., this text is, as Zaehner has said, "some confusion in the text, for the author seems to have mixed up two traditions" (ZZ 136). Because the writer knew that man was created from Gayōmard, Gayōmard had to be mentioned in this § as progenitor of mankind, but his creation becomes confused with that of the first couple, Mašya and Mašgana. Pace Zaehner, however, the text is not incorrect in the phrase "from the clay from which Gayōmard was made" (op. cit., 137), for mankind is of his very clay, (i.e. "flesh"). The mistake in the text is rather that Gayōmard has been written, instead of mardōm in the phrase: ud gayōmard az spandarmad be brehēnīd. Although it is said in GBd. I. a. 13 (BTA 26) that Gayōmard was created from the earth (az zamīg), the writer has confused the sequence, and the text begins to make sense only with this correction. For Zaehner's further thoughts on this § see "Postscript to Zurvan", BSOAS, XVII, 1955, p. 244 f.

38. Lit. "kept going" (hamē raft). This corresponds to GBd. IV. 25 pas as madan ī petyarag sīh sāl zīst "after the approach of the Adversary he survived for thirty years" (TDA 45. 2).

39. M. translates: "it was thirty years since he moved about"; Z: "it was thirty years before he passed away"; Hartman: "Trente s'écoulèrent pendant qu'il se mourait".

40. On Mašya and Mašyānag see GBd. XIV; for references to texts concerning them see A. Christensen Le premier homme, I, 13 ff.



Notes to Chapter 47

1. This chapter is transcribed and translated by M. Molé, La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi, pp. 116-21, with commentary ibid., 238-251, and introductory remarks 7 f. Parts of ch. 47 may be compared with accounts of Wištāsp's conversion in Dk. VII. 4 (transl. West, SBE XLVII, 50-73; Molé, op. cit., 42-61) and in Zarātust Nāma (ZN., ed. and transl. F. Rosenberg, Le livre de Zoroastre, St. Pétersbourg, 1904, text 48 ff., transl. 49 ff., Eng. transl. by E.B. Eastwick, apud J. Wilson, The Parsi Religion, 1843, 504 ff.). Molé includes in op. cit. Vizīrkird ī dīnīg and compares it with PRDd. 47 (also in Culte); this, however, is "a text known to be a fabrication made in India in the 19th century A.C.", (M. Boyce, HZ I, 182, n. 3). A.V.W. Jackson makes no mention of PRDd. 47 in his chapter on the conversion of Wištāsp in Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, 56-68. For discussion of texts containing the legends of Zoroaster see West, op. cit., Introduction; Molé, Culte, II. 1, pp. 271-283, "La légende prophétique et ses sources", and II. 3, pp. 348-385, "La conversion de Vištāspa", and M. Boyce, HZ I, chs. 7 and 11.

Wištāsp's conversion is not mentioned in either the Av. or Pahl. Wištāsp Yt., however the résumé of the Wištāsp Sāst in Dk. VIII. 11 has the essentials of the narrative. Molé, keen to find a source from Av. scriptures, or Pahl. résimés, states:

"C'est ... sur le Vištāsp sāst que parait essentiellement reposer le récit de la rivāyat pehlevie dont le sujet principal est la conversion de Vištāsp. Si tel est le cas, certaines parties du septième livre doivent reposer également sur le même nask; il se peut, en outre, que l'actuel Vištāsp Yašt en présente un pâle reflet", Culte, 282.

Indeed the correspondences between the résumé of the Wištāsp Sāst in Dk. and PRDd. are such as to suggest that the redactor of PRDd. 47 had access to such a tradition. The text of Dk. VIII. 11 is:

wištāsp sāst abar \*hamāg ī ō kay wištāsp mādayān; hān ī ō xwadāyih xēm, čihhr, barišn, dānišn, frahang ud dād. rāyēnīdārīh ī dāmān, kāmāg-rawāgīh ī yazdān pad-iš abāyīšnīg ud abar \*frēstādan dādār ohrmazd amahraspandān ō kay wištāsp pad gugāyih ī abar ohrmazd, ud ayādagīh ī spitāmān zardūšt, abēzag wehīh ī dēn mazdēs; framān ī dahyubad wištāsp pad pērōzīh pad padīriftan ī dēn az zardūšt. wēnābdāg madan ī amahraspandān ō dar, ud did ō mān handēmānīh wištāsp u-s ham-nīstān. \*frēstagān wizārdan ī ō wištāsp ō ohrmazd paygām ud padīriftan rāmīhā wištāsp dēn mazdēs. sārēnīdan ī xešm dēw arzāsp ī xiyōn ō kōsišn ī wištāsp ud petyārdārīh

ī zardust; ārayišn ud rawišn ī wistāsp säh ō hān kōsišn, ud čē andar ham dar abādīh pahlom ast ahlāyīh (DkM. 687. 13-688. 3)  
 "The Wistāsp sāt is about all the particulars (pertaining) to Kay Wistāsp; the character, nature, bearing, knowledge, learning and law (pertaining) to sovereignty. The government of the creatures, the advancement of the will of the yazads requisite for it. And about the Creator Ohrmazd sending the amahraspands to Kay Wistāsp as testimony on (behalf of) Ohrmazd, and reminder of Spitāmān Zardust (of) the pure goodness of the Mazda-worshipping religion; the command of the ruler Wistāsp victoriously for the accepting of the religion from Zardust. The visible coming of the amahraspands to the palace, and then the audience with Wistāsp and his companions at court. The envoys' explanation of Ohrmazd's message to Wistāsp, and Wistāsp's peaceful acceptance of the Mazdā-worshipping religion. The demon Wrath's provoking of Arzāsp the Xiyōn for war with Wistāsp and hostility to Zardust; the arrangements and movements of King Wistāsp for that war, and whatever is on the same subject. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness."

The account of the conversion in PRDd. 47 and the more fantastical account in ZN both have elements in common with Dk. VII. 4, but, as Molé observes,

"ces écrits contiennent des éléments sûrement anciens qui manquent dans le septième livre et dont l'apparition ne peut être due à son influence", Culte, 276.

These ancient elements may derive ultimately from the lost Av.

Wistāsp Sāt, or from another, unknown Av. source (the resumés of the Spend Nask in Dk. VIII. 14, and of other nasks in Dk., give no notice of the conversion of Zoroaster's royal patron). PRDd. 47 appears not to be a direct translation of an Av. text (as parts of Dk. VII. 4 e.g. clearly are), for the syntax, grammar and vocabulary are, with minor exceptions, those of late Pahl. and do not reflect the archaisms of a translation from an Avestan original.

The structure and style of ch. 47 are typical of PRDd.: simple, formulaic, allusive, subordinating detail, variety and literary grace to the practical, didactic purposes of the author. The narrative is not a record of myth and legend simply as sacred history; primarily it affords a means of emphasising and explaining the value of initiation into the religion (see notes to the legend of Krišāsp, ch. 18 above). For Molé this chapter is among those examples of the legend of Zoroaster which "laissent mieux transparaitre la réalité rituelle sous-jacente" (Culte, 276). He later explains "la récit de la conversion de Vistāsp est le mythe du Nawzod" (*ibid.*, 383); this hypothesis, however, rests upon one of the principal ideas of Molé's Culte, i.e. that Wistāsp

"n'est pas seulement le prototype du roi orthodoxe, il est

celui de tout laïque mazdéen, qui peut - qui doit - se conformer à son modèle" (ibid., 59).

If Molé is right, and this seems perhaps reasonable to suppose, such an equation of rôles (i.e. Wištāsp as archetypal layman) adds an allegorical dimension to the simple and familiar story of ch. 47. Moreover, Wištāsp is referred to throughout this ch. without his usual title Kay (as M. Boyce has pointed out, kay comes to mean "king" in Zoroastrian tradition "evidently because Kavi Vištāspa and his forbears, the "kavis" par excellence, were princely rulers" (HZ I, 11, and see n. 42). The omission of this title, and indeed the absence of any indication of Wištāsp's regal status (except the epithet gēhān xwadāy, §8), is perhaps significant: Wištāsp is here primarily layman and potential convert, and only secondarily "king". In the stylised drama of the narrative, Zardušt is priest, Wištāsp is layman, and Ohrmazd himself has the rôle of king par excellence, with his amahraspands as courtiers and emissaries. Only when Wištāsp has accepted the religion does the text indicate his authority as king, and then indirectly (u-s pas zardušt pad mōbadān-mōbadīh be gumārd). Thereafter Wištāsp the king is viceregent for Ohrmazd in the world (pad gētīg). Before his conversion, Wištāsp is doubting (§\*18), stubborn (§14) and, if the events of §§5 and 6 took place at his court, deceived by his own subjects and therefore lacking in authority. That the power and authority of the king had long been regarded as sacred, and part of divine xšathra, is demonstrated by many passages in the Gāthās, e.g.:

dāidī tū ārmaitē vištāspai īšəm maibyāca

"Give thou, O piety, power to Vishtaspa and to me." Y. 28. 7 (transl. Insler, 27)

2. Molé construes this differently: ē kū Zartuxšt gyāk kū-s Dēn hac Ohrmazd patiraft" Zoroastre. Un passage dit: "C'est d'Ohrmazd qu'il reçut la Religion". If Molé translates ēd ku ("formule habituelle de la rivāyat", Légende, Commentaire, p. 238, n. 1) "un passage dit", then it is not clear how he understands gyāg. Perhaps he includes gyāg in the introductory formula; however, though gyāg does elsewhere occur in an introductory formula gyāg-ē paydāg kū "(In) one passage it is revealed that" (e.g. PRDd. 16. b; 18. d., e.; 19, 20), in the present context, with the mention of geographical location following (§3) gyāg evidently means simply "(geographical) place".

3. Dk. VII. 3. 51 ff., WZ XXI-XXII, and ZN variously elaborate on the theme of Zoroaster's encounters with Ohrmazd. The Pahl. texts agree on the age of Zoroaster, and that he had seven revelations over a period of ten years. In WZ XXIII, however, the seven revelations are "seven questionings" (Pahl. haft frašnīh) in which each of the seven amahraspands (including Ohrmazd) advises Zoroaster on the care of the creation each protects. This tradition, which is reproduced in ZN, may derive from the Spend Nask, for the "seven questionings" are mentioned in the resumé of this nask in Dk. VIII. 14. 5-6:

(5) haft brīn, čiyōn spend xwānīhēd, haft frašn, harw jār-ē frašn-ē, ud baxšišn ī abārīg \*naskhā pad ēd haft frašn pad frāz gōwīšnīh ī andar ēwag ēwag gyāg ī hampursagīh.

(6) abar frašn frašn, hangām ī nišastan ud āxistan ī harw jār, ud ēwēnag ī nišastan ī amahraspandān, frāz madan ī zardušt ō hān handēmānīh, gāh ī-s hān gyāg ud čē hān ī awiš guftan ud čē hān ī awiš nimūdan. (DkM. 691. 1-7)

(5) "(In) seven sections, such as are called Spend, are the seven questionings, one questioning each time, and the bestowal of the other Nasks in these seven questionings, (was) through speaking out in each one of the places of conference.

(6) About the various questionings, the period of the sitting and rising on each occasion, the nature of the sitting of the Amahraspands, the coming forward of Zardušt to that audience, his position in that place, what there was to say to him and what there was to show to him." transl. based on West, SBE XXXVII, p. 32.

4. In WZ XXIII each of the encounters with the amahraspands is said to have occurred in a different place, all in Ērānwēz, but not all in Ādurbādagān (Azarbaijan). (For a discussion of that narrative, and references, see A.V.W. Jackson, op. cit., 40-51.) In such texts these place names are, as M. Boyce explains,

"a product of that mixture of piety and patriotism which led various Zoroastrian peoples to associate the prophet with their own homelands. The best known example of this is the action of the Magi, who ... transferred Avestan place-names and happenings wholesale to Median Azarbaijan", HZ I, 276

In §3 of PRDd. 47, the words u-s nazdist pad ērānwēz padīrift pad ādurbādagān padīrift suggest that the author is about to list each of the other places of encounter, as in WZ XXII; the texts are quite different, however, from this point. In PRDd. there is no mention of e.g. Mēdyōmāh, the prophet's first convert (see Yt. 13. 95) and only disciple for ten years (WZ XXIII. 2), or of karbs and kayags (Dk. VII. 4. 64 ff., WZ XXIII. 5-6). Conversely, the theme of Zoroaster's persecution by deception, and subsequent incarceration, in PRDd. 47. 5-6, does not occur in WZ or Dk. VII (though it does appear in ZN).

5. There is no treatment in PRDd. 47 of the events of these ten years, as in Dk. VII. 4. 1 ff. The opening section of Dk. VII. 4 gives a time sequence for the principal events of the chapter which has been misinterpreted by West and Molé. The text and translation of Dk. VII. 4 §1 are:

abar abdīh ī paydāgīhist az hampursagīh ī fradom frāz tā  
haftom hampursagīh sar ī būd andar dranāy ī dah sāl wābarīgānīh  
ī-s pad waxšwarīh andar gēhān padīruftan ī burzāwand kaywistāsp  
dēn čiyōn pas az dah sāl ī andar hampursagīh pad dō sāl.

"About the marvellousness which is manifested from the first conference onwards till the end of the seventh conference which occurred within the duration of ten years, also his pre-eminence in prophecy in the world, and the acceptance of the religion by the exalted Kay Wistāsp as happened two years after the ten years which had been in conference."

This transl. is based upon West's, SBE XLVII, p. 50; however, West terminated §1 after hampursagīh and read the words pad dō sāl as part of §2:

"and the acceptance of the religion by the exalted Kai Vistāsp, as happened after the ten years of conference. §2 In the first two years, one marvel is this ... " .

In the MS. the words PWN 2 ŠNT are encased before and after by full stops (••), but there is little doubt that they should be read as belonging to §1. According to PRDd. 47. 16 and WZ XXIV, Wistāsp was converted twelve years after the prophet's first meeting with Ohrmazd, not ten years as implied in West's transl. (Molé makes a similar mistake in his transl., Légende, 43). Moreover, it is a habit throughout Dk. VII to begin a new section with the words ēwag ēd ī paydāg kū, as in Dk. VII. 4. 2.

6. M. translates:

"And for (the period of the following) ten years he was in great suffering of captivity and imprisonment, which Ganāy Mēnōy brought on (him from the time of) his birth."

M. reads abar brēhēnīdan burd in the last phrase, treating brēhēnīdan as a substantive qualified by the antecedent enclitic -s. Molé, however, reads and renders the passage differently:

u-s andar hān 10 sāl was anāgīh band ud zēndān ī-s gannāg mēnōg  
abar brēhēnīd burd (Légende, 116, with changes in translit.),  
 and translates:

"Pendant ces dix années le Mauvais Esprit suscita contre lui de nombreuses persecutions, le fit enchaîner et jeter en prison."

According to Dk. VII, the demons had tried to prevent Zoroaster's conception, birth and development. The whirlwind demon Čēsmag (cyšmk'), mentioned also in Ind. Bd. XXVIII. 24 (SBE V, 110),

threatens in Dk. VII. 2. 44 man hān padīrēm murjēnīdan (DkM. 608. 11) "I undertake to destroy him", even before Zoroaster is conceived. (Interestingly, Čēšmag reappears in Dk. VII. 4. 61 as a karb who is driven away by Zoroaster's chanting the Ahunavar prayer (DkM. 636. 15 ff.) See also Dk. VII. 4. 36 ff.

7. As is understandable in the case of such offshoots from an oral tradition, texts differ as to the sequence of events before Wištāsp accepted the religion. In PRDd. there is no indication of who lays the plot to defame Zoroaster (except Gannāg Mēnōg), nor of how the prophet escapes (§6). Wištāsp is not mentioned in §§1-6 and there is no evidence that the events took place at his court, though this seems to be implied, and is stated as so in other texts (e.g. Dk., ZN). Where the text is interpolated (see textual note 13), M. suggests that a folio has been lost, and with it the text between §§6 and \*16 (see n. 14 below). The text may be read as continuous, however, and the departure from the pattern of Dk. VII. 4 may be explained thus: in PRDd. 47 the early life of the prophet is omitted or only alluded to; Wištāsp is suddenly introduced and is only ever a stereotyped figure; in Dk. VII and ZN, however, both Zoroaster and Wištāsp (Guštāsp) are more complex characters who are set in a quasi-historical/geographical context which is quite lacking in PRDd. In Dk. VII Zoroaster has suffered persecution from the kayags and karbs of Tūr ī Urvaitadeng ī Usixšan, and in other evil encounters. According to Dk. VII. 4. 65 (as PRDd.), Zoroaster goes to the court of Wištāsp (i.e. after ten years elsewhere):

pas-iz, aḡāhīh ī-š abar bōxtišn ī az-iš, paydāḡīh ī-š abdīh,  
ud gugāyīh ī abar waxšwarīh madan rāy; pas az hān ī abdom  
frašn ī dah sāl ī hampursagīh sazišn, pad hān ī ohrmazd handarz.  
ud framān, ēwtāḡ ō dar ī Wištāsp ud war ī hān sahmag razm  
franaft (DkM. 637. 13 ff.)

"Afterwards too, his knowledge about his preservation therefrom, the manifestation of his wondrousness, and the evidence concerning his attainment unto prophesying; also after the continuance of the last questioning of the ten years of conference, his departure alone, by the advice and command of Ohrmazd, to the residence of Wištāsp and the precinct of that terrible conflict" (West, SBE XLVII, p. 64).

There, according to Dk. VII. 4. 66, Wištāsp would have heard Zoroaster straightaway, but before that Zanāg and the kayags and karbs incriminate the prophet so that the king orders him to prison:

u-d pas-iz pēš kū-š saxwan ī zardust ašnūd ud čiyōnīh ī zardust  
šnāxt hēh, az sāzēnīdan ī zahāḡ ī purr marg ud abārīg ī awēšān  
kayagān ud karbān spazgišnīhā ud jādūḡ-kārihā wištāsp abar

zardušť be ... (?), ēg-iš zardušť ō hān band ud pādifrāh abespārd ... DkM. 637

"and then, too, before the words of Zardušť were heard by him and he could have understood the character of Zardušť, owing to the machinations of the deadly Zahāg and the other kayags and karbs with slander and sorcery ... to Wištāsp about Zardušť, then he consigned Zardušť to confinement and punishment ... " (based on West, op. cit., 65).

In Dk. VII there is a brief allusion to the miracle of the cure of Wištāsp's horse, whereby, in ZN, Zoroaster obtains release from prison and is free to convert Wištāsp. In ZN, however, the sequence of events is different: Zoroaster returns to earth after a conference with the amahraspand Amurđad, then vanquishes dēws and magicians by reciting the Avesta; he then "took his way towards Balkh to the court of Shāh Gushtāsp" (Eastwick, apud Wilson, op. cit., 498). At court he withstands the attacks of the king's wise-men in a contest, then announces his prophethood and recites the Avesta. While Gushtāsp himself reads the Avesta, the wise-men plot to defame Zoroaster, succeed in this and have him imprisoned for seven days. He escapes after performing the miracle of restoring the legs of the king's horse. The text of ZN is fanciful and, though elaborate, has no value as a chronological record; it cannot therefore resolve any of the ambiguities of time, event etc. in PRDd. Any search to obtain a sound relative chronology or factual geography from a comparison of the diverse traditions of Dk. WZ., PRDd. and ZN is a fruitless task.

8. M. reads: \*dēvastān, ka ēstāδ, an jāmay be duzēδ "O Dēvs, when he (i.e. Zartušť) stands, steal (his) spare garment". M. explains (p. 448, n. 4):

"The suffix -ist or -ast is the Soghd. plu. suff. -išt ... In dēvastān two plu. suffixes are pleonastically employed, as in kōfānīhā, see GIP. I a. 285."

Plausible though this may be, it is odd that such a plural should be used instead of the common form ŠDY'n'. Molé reads:

Dēn astaveh kad estāt an yamak be dožit. (u-s astaxvan i martoman andar o hamban nihāt i Zartuxšt) "Professe la Religion!" Lorsque cela eut lieu, il se confectionna un autre vêtement; (cependant (le Mauvais Esprit?) cacha des ossements humains dans le coffre de Zoroastre)", (Légende, 116-7).

The reading dwcyt as deriving from dōxtan "to sew" seems unlikely. Molé's transl. involves an abrupt change of subject from Zardušť to Gaunāg Mēnōg. The text is problematic and a third possible reading is given: dyn' hstn[l]'d "for the sake of harming the religion".

There are no parallel passages in Dk. VII, WZ or ZN with clues as to

the correct reading. Gannāg Mēnōg appears only once in Dk. VII (in a passage which is equivalent to Pahl. Vd. 19. 1):

DkM. 632 9-17

ēwag hān ī az dwāristan ī gannāg mēnōg ō kušišn ī zardušt paydāg  
čiyōn, čiyōn dēn gōwēd kū az abaxtar nēmag frāz dwārid gannāg  
mēnōg purr marg u-š edon dawist ōy ī dujdanāg gannāg mēnōg ī  
purr marg kū: "druz, abar dwārēd, murnjēnīdan ahlaw Zardušt  
druz ō ōy abar dwārīd hēnd būt dēw ud sēj ī nihān-rawišn ī frēftār  
(DkM. 632. 9-17)

"One (marvel) is that which is declared (regarding) the rushing of the Evil Spirit for the Slaughter of Zardušt, just as revelation mentions thus: "From the northern quarter forth rushed the deadly Evil Spirit, and thus shouted he, ignorant, the deadly Evil Spirit: "Rush on, O fiend! and destroy the righteous Zardušt." On to him they rushed, the fiend, the demon Būd and secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver" (based on West, SBE XLVII, p. 58).

9. Molé's explanation of this is based upon the notion that the prophet is accused of necromancy (see below, n. 12), cf. Culte, 375. In ZN there is a similar episode in which the wise-men (hakīmān) of Gustāsp enter Zoroaster's lodgings and there conceal impure objects:

885 be justand ān filsufān nihān, ze-čizī ke na pāktar dar jehān,  
ze xūn ū palīdī va nixr ū nasā, hamīdūn sar-ī gurba ū sag judā,  
hamān ustux<sup>w</sup>ānhā-ye kaz mardumān, bejā-ī ke dar yāftand ān  
kamān, be burdand yeksar sūy xān-i ču z-īngūna kardand darmān-i  
ū, nihān karddar bālīs ū kīshā, be kardand ze-īngūna talbīshā.

"These philosophers sought in secret for things which are impurest in the world, for blood and impurities and filth and carrion, also the severed heads of cat and dog, likewise human bones, in the place they found them at that time, they carried them at once to his house. When they made a remedy for him in this way, hidden in the pillows and bags, in this way they contrived the deception."

Cf. also a similar account in the Persian prose Kitāb ī Dabistān al muzāhib, in F. Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 94-5.

10. With this phrase cf. ZN 887, and also its alternative reading: hamān ustux<sup>w</sup>ānhā-ye kas murdagān ... "likewise bones of the dead".

M. translates Pahl. astuxān ī mardōmān "a skeleton of man". It is possible, however, that astuxān is simply "bones"; cf. ZN 916:

hamān nāxun ū mūy va ham ustux<sup>w</sup>ān, ke uftāda būd az tan ī  
murdagān "Likewise nails and hair and also bones, which had fallen from the bodies of the dead".

11. This is M.'s translation. Molé reads Zartuxšt ne eton čegon šmah kart estat "Zoroastre n'a pas agi comme vous". Cf. ZN 896:

nadānī tu ay šah ne īn mard kīst "You do not know, O King, who this man is", and also ZN 903: ke āgāh na-ī tū ze asrār-i ūy.

12. The text is somewhat obscure here. It seems that Zoroaster is



accused of being a corpse-bearer, but neither M. nor Molé interpret the text thus; M. translates: "because Zartušt ... carries the dead matter with him", and Molé translates: "c'est qu'il est nécromancien". However, in Vd. nasā-kēš is the common word for corpse-bearer (Av. nasu.kaša), e.g. Vd. 8. 11 ff., though the later usage nasā-sālār is more well known in the tradition. It is known from the tradition, and from present usage among Zoroastrians, that corpse-bearers use special garments, worn only for their work. It is perhaps for this reason that Zoroaster's enemies here assert that the prophet keeps a spare robe; in fact, as the text states, the robe is for yazišn, i.e. for sacred rites for which utter purity is demanded. Molé is perhaps led to his translation "nécromancien" by the narrative of ZN, where the "wise men" accuse Zoroaster of practising sorcery (jāduī, jādūparast) and put in his house not merely human bones, but also items associated with sorcery (xūn, palīdī, hixr, sar-i gurbag u sag). In ZN, Zoroaster is accused of being a treacherous subversive who will, by magic, overthrow the king, e.g. ll. 897-900:

hamī x<sup>w</sup>āhad īn mard-i jādūparast, ke ārad maḡar mar turā zīr-i dast/benērang va afsūn turā narm kard, dil-at-rā beguftār-i xud garm kard/hamē šab hamī jāduīhā kunad, be kūšad ke nām-i turā bēfigand/turā cūn haqīqat bedast āvarad, basī šūr va šarr dar jehān gōstarad

"This sorcerer wishes to bring you under his power, he has softened you with spells and incantations, he has warmed your heart with his words. All night he practises magic, he strives to overthrow your (good) name, when he shall succeed in bringing you under his power, he will spread much trouble and evil in the world".

There are none of these accusations in PRDd. 47, since the text is both more closely related to the ritual practices of the religion and less fantastical than ZN. That Zoroaster is accused of being a corpse-bearer by his opponents in PRDd. implies that his alleged offence is that of gross hypocrisy and duplicity, for the nasā-kēš, by his extreme impurity, is a social outcast and could not possibly be a prophet or celebrant of the yazišn.

13. Molé, reflecting on a difficult passage in WZ, which also mentions sīh ud sē band, sees a significance in the symbolism of the number thirty-three, which, in this context, amounts to

"une nouvelle formulation de la doctrine qui voit dans le Prophète l'incarnation de toute la religion, l'Homme Parfait et l'idéal à suivre par tout fidèle quelle que soit sa condition" (Culte, 374).

Molé admits that the Rivāyat seems to ignore this symbolism. The passage in WZ XXIV is given below in full, since its context corresponds to that of PRDd. 47:

pas az hān pad dō sāl, wištāsp \*kayagān ud karbān hamēstārānīh[a]  
sīh ud sē ānastag abar-iš guft az framān ī wištāsp hān sīh ud sē  
ānastag nimūdār būd, sīh ud sē dēn ī wattar ī ō hamēstārīh ī dēn  
ī yazdān mad paydāgīh ī az dēn hān sīh ud sē band daxšag ī  
bastanī sīh ud sē dād ī wattar pad sīh ud sē kirbag ī pašom  
 "two years later the kayags and karbs of Wistāsp inimically  
 accused him of thirty-three crimes on the orders of Wistāsp.  
 There was an inquisition of those thirty-three crimes, thirty-  
 three evil religions came in opposition to the religion of the  
Yazds. The revelation from the religion, those thirty-three  
 chains, (are) a symbol of the breaking of the thirty-three evil  
 ordinances by means of the thirty-three most excellent good deeds."

In spite of the clearly symbolic meaning of the thirty-three fetters in WZ, it is not clear how this is related to the person of Zoroaster. West is perhaps right (SBE XLVII, 164, n. 2) to see a reference in the above quoted passage to the sins and good works detailed in MX 36 and 37. However, the symbolism of the number thirty-three is so polygenous and unspecified, that Molé's interpretation of the sīh ud sē band appears exaggerated, if not fanciful.

14. As is indicated in the Textual Notes (ch. 46, n. 54, ch. 47, n. 13), a section of ch. 47 has been misplaced and occurs in ch. 46 in MSS. and also in D.'s edition. Molé's reading of ch. 47 here has been adopted for two reasons. First, the words u-s gursagīh ... ud ašnawišn ī-s be šud do not make good sense in the context of ch. 46. Second, in Dk. VII. 4, which deals with the conversion of Wistāsp, there is a passage which corresponds to the words Molé adds to ch. 47 §6: i.e. Dk. VII. 4. 67:

DkM. 6384:

ēg-iš zardušt ō hān band ud pādīfrāh abespārd ī ōiyōn pad  
gōwišn ī zardušt gōwēd kū-šān sē ānāst abar guft-om ud sīh;  
u-šān bast hōm man marān ī druwandān ī dēwestān pad sīh ud  
sē band (68) be man sūy ī dušwirāyīh hān ī pāy ōgārd zōr; be  
man sūy ī dušwirāyīh hān ī bāzā ōgārd ōz; be man sūy ī dušwirāyīh  
hān ī guš ōgārd ašnawišn; be man sūy ī dušwirāyīh hān ī časm  
ōgārd wēnišn; u-m be sēnag ō pušt abar abyōxt (kū-m pad pušt  
abāz ēstēd) az abar ēstišnīh ī hān ī dušwīr sūy ī purr marg  
 "then he committed Zardušt to that confinement and punishment,  
 just as is said in the words of Zardušt: "they spoke thirty-  
 three calumnies against me" (68). The hunger of ill-treatment  
 took away the strength of my feet; the hunger of ill-treatment  
 took away the power of my arms; the hunger of ill-treatment took  
 away the sight of my eyes; and my breast met my back (that is,  
 it went back to my back) because of the persistence of that  
 hunger of ill-treatment which (was) deathly." (based upon Molé's  
 translation, La légende, p. 55).

These words, therefore, seem to be suited to the context of PRDd. 47, §6 and complement the sense of the words u-šān pad sīh ud sē band bast. However, there is no explanation of how Zoroaster is freed from prison, and M. may thus be right in suggesting that one whole folio may have been lost, in which was contained such an explanation. Probably, however, it is no more than another neglected detail. In Dk. VII also there is no explicit account of how Zoroaster gained his freedom from prison; §§69-70 of DK. VII 4 allude to several miracles (abdīh) of the survival of his life (pattūdan ī-s zēndagīh) in such dire conditions, of the King's finding Zoroaster full of glory in prison (purr-xwarrah), and the miracle of Wištāsp's sorrel horse.

15. In Dk. VII Zoroaster invites Wištāsp to accept the religion, but the conversion is impeded by the plot of the King's "wise-men":

pēs kū-s saxwan ī Zardušt ašnūd ud čiyōnīh ī Zardušt snāxt hēh  
(DkM. 637. 22-638. 2)

"before he heard the words of Zardušt and knew the character of Zardušt"

After Zoroaster's release from prison it is said that he "proclaimed the triumphant words of the religion" (hān ī pērōzgar dēn gōwišn ... frāz guft - DkM. 639. 9-10). Later in the Dk. narrative, Wištāsp is instructed by the Fire of Ohrmazd (ātaxš ī Ohrmazd)

srāy ahunawar, srāy ahlāyīh ī pahlom, ud ayazišnīh gōw ō dēwān, čē-s kāmāg, tō rāy, Ohrmazd abar estišnīh ī ēn dēn, u-šān kāmāg amahraspandān, u-s kāmāg, tō rāy, abārīg yazdān ke weh \*dahāg ahlaw hēnd

"Chant the Ahunavar, praise perfect righteousness, utter curses (lit. "unworship") against the dēws, for Ohrmazd's will concerning you is for your abiding in this religion, and (it is) the will of the amahraspands and the other yazads concerning you who are beneficent (?) and righteous."

The latter part of this is similar to the words of Zoroaster in PRDd. 47 §\*16. In ZN Zoroaster recites the Avesta to Guštāsp (but, as in Dk., he is imprisoned before Guštāsp is converted to the religion). In PRDd. 47, however, there is no suggestion that Zoroaster explains or recites to Wištāsp the nature and content of the religion. This omission is typical of PRDd. 47, which, as stated in n. 1 above, is primarily didactic on the value of initiation into the religion.

16. §§18 and 19 are reminiscent of the following: In Yt. 5. 109 and 9. 30 Wištāspa asks that he may put to flight Tathryavant of bad religion, the daēva-worshipper Pašana, and the wicked Arəjat.aspa; in Yt. 17. 50 he asks that he may put to flight the Xyaona murderer Arəjat.aspa; in Yt. 9. 31 and 17. 51 he asks that he may slay the

Xyaonas

"in their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads";

the three persons named in Yt. 5. 109 and 9. 30 are, it seems, Wištāspa's princely neighbours. In Dk. VII 4. 83 Arjāsp (~ Av. Arəjat.aspa) is named in a passage that is perhaps parallel to PRDd. 47. 18, in that Wištāsp is reluctant to accept the religion because of the battles with the Xiyōns:

ēwag hān ī abāg wābarīhastan ī andar Wištāsp dēn pad-iz hān rasīn ī amahraspandān, pas-iz \*pādixšāy handēsišn ī-s az \*dagrxwadāyān pad xōn rēzišn ī az arjatasp ī xiyōn ud fšērišn ī-s tar ham \*wihan az dēn padiriftgarīh (DkM. 641. 18-22)

"Et voici: Bien que, lorsque les paroles des Amahraspand lui furent transmises, Wištāsp fut certain de la vérité de la Religion et bien qu'il eût ensuite obtenu le consentement des rois autonomes, il fut retenu d'accepter la religion par l'effusion du sang provoquée par Arjadasp le Hyonien"  
(Text, with standardised transcription, and translation by Molé, légende, 58-9).

In the last section of Dk. VII. 4 it is said that when Wištāsp had accepted the religion, the demon Xēsm ran to the country of the Xiyons and Arjāsp, and they came out for war and were defeated by Wištāsp and the "Aryans" (Dk. VII. 4. 88-90; see also Dk. VII. 5. 7, V. 3. 1 and WZ 25. 8). According to WZ, loc. cit., this occurs in the thirtieth year of the religion. Since, in the yašts referred to above, the Xiyōns are the hordes Wištāsp is allowed to slay, it may be assumed that in PRDd. Wištāsp, in referring to the thousands he slays, is actually speaking of future events, i.e. the consequence of his accepting the religion. The past tenses of the verb ōzad (§\*18) and būd hēnd, ōzad hēnd (§\*19) are anomalous in that they seem to refer not to actions completed, but to actions that will have been completed if a certain course is followed, i.e. if he accepts the religion. The narrative is so spare, that even the time sequence is strangely stylised; the author, perhaps deliverately, exchanges his own temporal perspective with Wištāsp.

17. The precise meaning of these words is unclear; M. translates:

"Accept the religion, because there is no better act (than to accept the religion) for the man who has killed many enemies, nor (is there any better act) for him who is etc. ..."

Molé's translation is somewhat similar, though different in construction:

"Accepte la Religion! Car ce n'est pas celui qui tue beaucoup

d'ennemis qui a accompli l'oeuvre la plus parfaite, ni celui qui ... " (légende, 119).

A third translation, given above, is quite different and groups the Pahl. words in different sequence. The passage should not be treated in isolation from what follows; the text as far as the end of §10 comprises a unit in that it is one argument for Wištāsp's conversion (so Wištāsp replies, negatively, only at the end of §10). Zoroaster here argues that each of these heroes was great in his own respect, but each, by reason of his refusal of the religion of Ohrmazd, met an unfortunate end. The argument is arranged in three sections:

- (1) §<sup>\*</sup>20 dēn padīr ... §<sup>\*</sup>21 purr ōz, in which it is stated that ancient heroes who have these certain qualities did not accept the religion;
- (2) §<sup>\*</sup>21 čē hōšang ... §7 tō-iz be suzē, in which the heroes are named in corresponding sequence; and (3) §8 wištāsp ī gēhān xwadāy ...

§10 ī paydāgtom which gives three examples of how the mighty are fallen, i.e. the most famous, Yim, Frēdōn and Krišāsp. As Molé states in his commentary on this passage:

"... Vištāsp est opposé aux rois et aux héros anciens et son oeuvre - s'il accepte la religion - sera supérieure à la leur, et plus parfaite" (légende, 239).

Wištāsp is regarded in the Avestan and the Pahlavi tradition as the perfect king, and this passage serves to remind the reader of his status above all other mortal heroes; on Wištāsp's supermacy and perfection see DkM. 193. 1-8 (Dk. III, ed. de Menasce, ch. 179) and DkM. 366. 19-368. 22 (Dk. III, ed. de Menasce, ch. 389); both passages are transcribed and translated by Molé, Culte, 58 ff. Molé compares the sequence of attributes and heroes in PRDd. with three other texts which contain similar lists of heroes: Afrīn ī paygāmbar zarduxšt (ZKA 181-4) Avestan and Pahlavi texts; Dd. purs. 36. 35 ff. (SBE XVIII p. 89 ff.; Dk. VII, 1.15 ff. (DkM. 594. 10 ff.)). He also gives a synoptic table of the various lists (légende, 243). Although the comparison of epithets is interesting, it is of only limited value in explaining the text of PRDd. The order of heroes is traditional, and more or less chronological (cf. Dk., loc. cit.).

18. Molé translates differently:

"ni celui qui, éloquent observait des bonnes actions et y adhérerait (c'est par elles qu'il faut adhérer à celui qui mérite d'être obéi; il faut le considérer comme chef)" (légende, 119).

M.'s interpretation of the passage is more likely, however. Srōš is the yazad associated with prayer; in Av. texts he is called

tanu. mathra "(having the) sacred word for body", and he has a close connection, in the tradition, with the "manthric" and liturgical function of priests. This is stated explicitly in the second pursišn of Dd., as part of the answer to the question "For what purpose is a righteous man created for the world, and in what manner is it necessary for him to exist in the world?". The text of Dd. purs. 2, Š14 is:

srōš mehmānīh ī pad gōwišn az hān ī agāh, ī rāst guftār hān ī anāgāh az rāst dastwarān niyōxsīdār būdan (Dd., purs. 2. 14)

"the presence of Srōš in words is (the result) of him who is aware (i.e. the priest?) being a true speaker and of him who is unaware (i.e. layman) being a listener to righteous priests - in - authority".

However, even though these words in PRDd. 47 \*20 can be so understood, nevertheless they are plainly a gloss which is ill-suited to the context.

19. This word is uncertain; the reading nigāhdār "protector" is in accord with Dk. VII. 1. 16:

ud pad any hangām mad ō waēgird ud hōšang ī pēšdād abar winnārdan ī andar gēhān dād ī dehganīh warzīdārīh ud dahibadīh gēhān pānagīh (DkM. 594. 14)

"At another time it (i.e. the xwarrah) came to Waēgird and Hōšang "the first appointed" for providing in the world, and of sovereignty or protection of the world" (translation based on West, SBE 47, p. 8).

It is stated in Yt. 5. 22, 15. 8, 19. 26, Dk. VII. 1. 18 (DkM. 594. 20-1), Dd., purs. 64. 5 (SBE XVIII, p. 200), MX XXVII, 19 (SBE XXIV, 58) that Hōšang is able to kill two-thirds of the giant demons (māzan-); in Yt. 9. 4 and 17. 25, he is said to be able to kill all of them.

20. In the Avesta Azi Dahāka has the epithet hazaṇra. yaoxštya- "(who has) a thousand perceptions" (see Gershevitch, AHM, 18; Y. 9. 25, Yt. 5. 34, 9. 14, 14. 40, 15. 24, 19. 37). As West noticed (SBE XXIV, p. 35, n. 3) this term is analogous to baēvarə. spasāna "having ten thousand spies". In Yt. 10. 82 Ahura Mazda makes Mithra hazaṇra. yaoxštya and baēvarə. spasāna. Molé has observed that the Pahl. rendering of the former term in the Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardušt is hazār wizōstār. Used of the demonic Dahāg, this epithet is neutral in spite of his "thousand perceptions" Dahāg is still dušāgāh dušxwadāy dahāg "the ill-informed evil ruler Dahāg" (Dk. VIII, 13. 8, DkM. 689. 2). In PRDd. 47, the inclusion of Dahāg in this list is curious; however he is mentioned in the list in Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardušt, and, even

more strangely, in MX 27. 34 ff., where, as Molé explained, for the author of MX

"le règne de Dahāk et celui de Frasyāk le Tourien constituent le moindre mal permettant d'éviter la domination directe de Xēsm" (Molé, légende, 246).

21. According to Ind. Bd., XXXI. 15, Karsēwazd was the brother of Frāsyāb and Agrērad; in Dk. VII. 1. 39 it is said that he was smitten by Kay Xusrow, along with his brother:

[xwarrah] mad ō kay xusrōw syāwaxšān pad-iš wānīd ud zad  
frangrasyāg tūr ī jādūg u-š hamwišūdag wakēragān karsēwazd ud  
any was gehān murnjēnīdar wattar (DkM. 598. 22-599. 1)

"[The xwarrah] came to Kay Xusrōw son of Syāwaxš with which he overcame and smote Frangrasyāg the Tūr, the wizard, and his fellow miscreation Karsēwazd of Wakēr and many other evil devastators of the world" (transl. based on West's, SBE XLVII, p. 14).

This is also in accordance with Yt. 19. 77, where it is said that Kavi Husravah put bonds on Frarasyan and Kərəsawazdah to avenge their murder of his father Syāvaršān (Pahl. Syāwaxš). Thus as is said in Dk. loc. cit., Karsēwazd is one of the evil devastators of the world, and his inclusion in this list of "heroes" is surprising. Several times in the Šāhnāma, Garsīwaz (the NP form of the name) displays a sinister eloquence, e.g. when by means of calumny and accusations of Siyāvus he persuades King Afrāsyab to condemn him to death (Vullers, 654 ff., Warner, vol. 2, 312 ff.); in another incident he persuades Bižan to give up his dagger and tricks him into captivity:

vafā kard bā ū besūgandhā, bexūbī bedād-iš basī pandhā//bepaymān  
judā kard zu xanjarā, be xūbī kešīd-iš beband andarā

"he made a promise and oaths with him, well did he give him many assurances//with the pact he sundered from him his dagger, well did he bring him in in chains".

See further Darmesteter, Études iraniennes, 98. II, 227, 228; Justi, Namenbuch, 162, "Keresawazdarīh", s.v.

22. M.'s reading purr dādār and translation "a giver" are unlikely; dādār is an epithet of Ohrmazd alone. According to Ind. Bd. XXXI. 3 ff. (= BTA 228. 8 ff.), Spēdūr was a brother of Yim, who, with Dahāg, cut up Yim (this is stated in Yt. 19. 46). Molé admits that he does not know to what his reading \*pur vēxtār and translation "bon archer" make allusion (légende, 247). However the explanation of the epithet lies, unnoticed by him, in Yt. 19, in the passage to which he gives reference. Spēdūr one of the evil beings who fired a dart at the Good Spirit in the struggle for the xwarrah after it had left Yima:

Yt. 19. 46

yahmi paiti par xwāithe spəntāsca mainyuš aərāsca aētahmi  
paiti at axwārəte aoāt aste frahharəcayət āsište katarascit  
spəntō mainyuš astəm frahharəcayət vohuca manō ašamca  
vahištəm ātarəmca ahurahe mazdā puthrəm aərō mainyuš astəm  
frāhharəcayət akəmca manō aēšəmca xruīdrum ašimca dahākəm  
spityurəmca yimō.kərəštəm

"For which the Good Spirit and the Evil One did struggle with one another: for that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized they flung each of them their darts most swift.

The Good Spirit flung a dart, and so did Vohu Manō, and Aska Vahišta and Atar, the son of Ahura Mazdā.

The Evil Spirit flung a dart, and so did Akəm Manō, and Aēšham of the wounding spear, and Aži Dahāka and Spityura, he who sawed Yima in twain" (transl. Darmesteter, SBE, 23, p. 297).

Spēdūr is here clearly included among the evil beings. He is thus another example, in PRDd. 47, of a being who, through disobedience and evil inclination, put to evil use an essentially good quality, i.e. marksmanship (like Dahāk's perception, Frasyāb's swiftness, and Karsēwazd's eloquence).

23. Urvāxšaya was one of the two sons of Thrīta, and brother of Kərəsāspa. In Y. 9. 10 he is described as tkāēšō ... dātō rāzō "a law-giver, ... confirming order"; cf. Pahl. Y. dādwar ... būd urwāxs kū-š wizīr ud dādwarīh kard ud dādārāstār kū-š dād ī frārōn be dānist. Cf. also Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardust, Av. hudah- vyaxana, Pahl. dānāg, hanjamanīg "having good understanding, speaking to the assembly". Thus his epithet in PRDd. is traditional. According to Yt. 15. 28 he was murdered by Hitaspa, and avenged by Kərəsāspa who killed "Hitaspa the golden-crowned" (cf. Yt. 19. 41). M. Boyce has noted:

"It has been suggested that his name should be interpreted as "King of Urvā", see Darmesteter, ZA II, 586, n. 18; Wikandar, Vayu, 58; Christensen, Le premier chapitre du Vd., 34; but if this is so, and the 'name' is anciently his, then the location of this Urvā would be quite unknown" (HZ I, 97, n. 85).

Perhaps a more easily explicable etymology of urvāxšaya is Av. urvan- "soul", i.e. "master of the soul" - a fitting name for a sage, lawgiver and grandson of Athwya, the second mortal to press haoma. He is one of the pre-Zoroastrian heroes, but his name would be in keeping with the oldest strain of Zoroastrian thought. In the Gāthās, the prophet Zarathuštra constantly refers to "the rule of good thinking" (xsathrō vohū mananhā / vanhəuš mananhō) which he announces to men (e.g. Y. 30. 7, 8, 33. 5; 44. 6; 46. 10; 51. 18; 51. 21). Zarathuštra makes it clear that this rule of good thinking demands the assent of man's will and affects the destiny of his soul, e.g.



Y. 284:

yē urvanēm mēn gairē vohū dadē hathrā manawhā ašiscā syaothananaṃ  
viduṣ mazdā ahurahyā yavaṭ iṣāi tavāca avaṭ xsāi aēšē ašahyā  
 "I who thoroughly bear in mind to uplift the soul with good  
 thinking, and who knowingly bear in mind the Wise Lord's rewards  
 for (our) actions, as long as I shall be able and be strong, so  
 long shall I look in quest of truth" (transl. based on Insler,  
Gāthās, p. 25).

Cf. also Y. 31. 4, transl. Insler, ibid., 37.

24. In Yt. 13. 131 and in the Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardust Aošnar has  
 the epithet pouru.jira "of great intelligence" (Pahl. purr-zīr). In  
Dd. purs. 36. 35 he is called purr-xrad. In SBE V, p. 130, n. 10,  
 West notes that Windischmann suggested that Narsīh, mentioned as one  
 of Yim's brothers in Ind. Bd. XXXVI. 3, may be Aošnara pouru.jira of  
Yt. 13. 131 etc. The fullest description of Ōšnar is in Dk. VII. 1.  
 36:

ud ham zamān (xwarrah) mad ō Ōšnar ī purr zīr būd, ī az hān ī  
yim xwarrah, ka būd andar mādar aškamb. u-š hammōxt pad gōwišn  
ī az mādar aškom was abdih ō mād, u-š pad zāyišn zad gannāg  
mēnōg pad passox guftārīh frašnān ī mar frajyā ī dēwēsn. ud  
mad ō framādārīh ī kayōs; būd pad hān ī ōy xwadāyīh ī haftkešwar  
rāyēnīdār. u-š āhuft hammōxt wimand gōwišnih any-z was mardōm  
sūd frahang. ud ērāxt hēnd anēr pad passox guftārīh; handarzenīd  
ēr deh pad hān ku frahixtom handarz (DkM. 598. 7-15)

"And at the same time [the xwarrah] went to Ōšnar who was full of  
 intelligence, owing to the xwarrah of Yim, when he was in his  
 mother's womb. And he taught many wonders to his mother through  
 speaking from his mother's womb. And at his birth he vanquished  
 the Evil Spirit by uttering answers to the questions of the  
 scoundrel Frajya the devil-worshipper. And he attained to the  
 chancellorship of Kayōs, and became administrator in his realm  
 of the seven regions. And he explained and taught the frontier  
 speech and much other learning of advantage to mankind. And  
 the non-Ērānians were defeated by (his) uttering replies; he  
 advised the land of Ērān with his most well-informed counsel"  
 (transl. based on West, SBE XLVII, 13-14).

See also Dhabhar, Os, p. x ff.

25. Kayōs is the Pahl. form of Av. Kavi Usan/Kavi Usadhan. In the  
 Avesta (Yt. 5. 45 ff.) Kavi Usan asks a boon of Arədvī Sūra Anāhita,  
 Apart from a brief reference to Kavi Usan's chariot being carried  
 aloft by the miraculous bird Vərənəgana, Yt. 14. 39, the remaining  
 legends of this hero are preserved solely in the Pahl. books and in  
 the Persian epic. As M. Boyce observes, "probably all this material  
 derives ultimately from the oral traditions of Vištāspa's own house".  
 On the miraculous events surrounding Kayōs in the later literature  
 see Dk. VII 2. 62-6 (DkM. 611. 12-612. 13), and WZA IV. 10-26, text  
 46-51, transl. LXXXII-LXXXIV (also West, SBE XLVII 135-8). See also

Ind. Bd. XXXIV 7. According to Ind. Bd. XXXI. 25 he was the grandson of Kavād (Av. Kavi Kavāta) and father of Syāvaxš. In Dk. VII 1. 35 (DkM. 598. 6-7) it is said of him:

abar grift xwadāyih ī haft kešwar būd was warzān ud purr xwarrah "he seized the kingdom of the seven regions, he was full of miraculous power and glory."

As Molé has stated, the epithet aš. varcah/:was|warz of the Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardušt occurs in PRDd. 47 as purr warz. There is no reason to doubt the reading purr warz (pace Molé, légende, 248). According to Dk. VII. 1. 35, Kayōs' miraculous power is the result of his receiving the xwarrah:

[xwarrah] pad any zamānag mad ō kayarš ud brādarān ī kawād \* nāf; būd hēnd padiš harwisp arwand ud tagīg pahrēz hēnd ud skeft kardār kay  
"Another time [the glory] came to Kayarš and his brothers, the descendants of Kawād; through it they have all been valiant and swift, diligent and wonder-working Kayanians."

What is not clear in PRDd., but which is explained in MX is that Kayōs, like Yim, Frēdōn (and Krisāsp) is an incomplete hero- because of his lack of the religion. The following two paras. from MX are valuable for an understanding of PRDd. 47:

MXA VIII 27-30, p. 47:

čē paydāg kū ohrmazd yim ud frēdōn ud kayōs ahōš dād hēnd ud ahreman ēdōn wardenīd čiyōn ašnawāg ud ahreman bēwarāsp ud frasiyāg ud alaksandar ēdōn sahist kū anōšag hēnd ud ohrmazd ō meh sūdih ēdōn wardenīd čiyōn hān ī paydāg

"For it is declared, that "the Yim and Fredon and Kayōs of Ohrmazd are created immortal, and Ahreman so altered them as is known. And Ahreman so contemplated that Bēwarasp and Frasiyāg and Alexander should be immortal, but Ohrmazd, for great advantage, so altered them as that which is declared.'" (West, SBE XXIV. 35, with changes in transcription).

MXA LVI 19-21, pp. 103-4:

ud harw mardōm kē az xrad bahrwarīh wēš eg-iš wahišt bahr abērtar (windēnd) ud wištāsp-iz ud zardust ud gayōmard ud abārīg awēšān kē az wahišt bahr abērtar (windād) wēš awišt madārīh ī xrad rāy. ud yim ud frēdōn ud kayōs ud abārīg awēšān xwadāyān kē az yazdān warz ud tagīgīh (wēš) windād čiyōn wištāsp ud abārīg xwadāyān kē az dēn bahrwarīh būd ud ne madan ī awēšān ō wahišt pad-iz hān ī ka andar xwēš xwadāy anespās būd hēnd kem awišt madārīh ī xrad rāy

"And as to every man whose participation in wisdom is much, his share of heaven is then much more. Even as to Wištāsp, Zardušt, Gayōmard, and those others whose share of heaven was much the more, it was on account of the much coming of wisdom unto them. And as to Yim, Frēdon, Kayōs, and those other rulers who obtained splendour and mightiness from the sacred beings - just as the participation of Wištāsp and other rulers in the religion occurred - and their not attaining to heaven (pace West) and also as to the times when they have become ungrateful unto their own lord,

it was on account of the little coming of wisdom unto them." (transl. based on West, op. cit., 102).

In the first passage it is said that three good beings created immortal are assailed by Ahreman, while the three beings created immortal by Ahreman are denied immortality by Ohrmazd. In the second passage, however, the attainments of Wištāsp, Zarduš, Gayōmard et al. are attributed to their own wisdom; conversely, the lack of such wisdom is the ruin of Yim, Frēdōn and Kayōs.

26. On Sāmān Krišāsp see above ch. 18.

27. Molé reads u-šān hamak hangezišn be bud \* i to-c be šace ... and translates: "or ils auraient tous dû être stimulés; que cela soit ton fait ... !" The word read as hangēzišn is problematic; it can equally be read husazišn (so M.); a similar ambiguity occurs in other texts, e.g. ŠGV VII, 18, 32; XVI 32. Of the two, M.'s reading seems preferable because it gives a clearer sense, and also because just after Zarduš mentions Wištāsp's title, of which the King must be worthy. A third possible reading is \*handāzišn, "for them all there was a judgement (at the Činwad Bridge), of which you may also be worthy, Wištāsp the world-ruler." The emendation to anespās is made in the light of the final sentence of the passage quoted above in n. 25 from MXA LVI:

Yim ud Frēdōn ud Kayōs ud abārīg awēšān xwadāyān ... andar xwēš xwadāy anespās būd hēnd ... "Yim, Frēdōn, Kayōs and those other rulers ... have become ungrateful to their own Lord ...".

28. The murder of Yim by Aži Dahāka and Spityūra is referred to in Yt. 19. 46, Ind. Bd. XXXI. 3 (West, SBE V. XXXI 5); see also Darmesteter ZA II, 62. a., n. 76. As stated in PRDd. 31a. 8-10, it seems that Yim's sin was falsely to have claimed that he had created the world.

29. In connection with §§8, 9, 10, Molé quotes Pahl. Y. 43. 11-12 and also a passage from the summary of the Varstmānsar Nask in Dk. (DkM. 851. 2-9) which is a commentary on Y. 43. 11. Molé, perhaps with justification, sees the passage of the Varstmānsar as having served as a model for this section of PRDd. (Molé, légende, 250). Cf. also de Menasce, Donum Natalicum Nyberg, 52 f. for an analogous passage preserved by Sahrastani (Molé's ref. ibid., loc. cit.). Molé also quotes DkM. 474. 11-17 to explain the meaning of tur menišnīh; perhaps more relevant to this ch. is the passage in Pahl. Y., 45. 11:

mih-išān dēwān ud pas mardōmān ī tarmēnišnīh kē-sān ēn tarmēnīd  
[ēn dām], any az ēn kē ēn bowandag mēnīd, ēn dēn ī sūdōmandān  
dastwar pad [xwadāy], hān ī abzōnīg dēn dōst ud brād ud pid  
Ohrmazd

"He who is opposed to those demons and men of contempt who despised him [this creature], i.e. (those) other than him who thought correctly towards him, he is a priest of the religion of the beneficial ones (i.e. the Sōsyants) for [the Lord], he is friend and brother and father of the bountiful religion, O Ohrmazd."

30. We follow Molé's interpretation of this passage, which requires no emendation of the text. It is, however, problematic, since, as Molé indicates, it is not clear to what the enclitic and personal pronouns of the last phrase refer. Moreover, the whole episode is unknown with which this section deals, although it appears to have been some once familiar part of the legend of Frēdōn.

An alternative reading of this section, with minor emendations, would suggest a correspondence, though not identity, with a passage in Dk. IX from the 20th fargard, Vohu Xsathram, of the Sūdgar Nask. The reading of PRDd. 47. 9 would be:

a-s zarman abar obast, u-s tan ī xwēs-iz pad kudēnag tuwān būd  
dāst ud az-iš sē \*zāxm, wiš perāmōn padīd \*hēnd  
 "then Zarmān fell upon him, and he was able to protect his own body with (his) mallet, and from the three wounds inflicted by him, poisons fell all around."

The passage of Dk. IX is:

ud abar wanīdan ī frēdōn dahāg margēnīdan rāy wazr abar frēg  
ud dil mastarg-iz zadan. ud nē murd[an] ī dahāg az hān zanišn  
ud pas pad šafšēr zadan ud pad fradom dudīgar sidīgar zanišn  
az tan ī dahāg was ēwēnag xrafstar waštan "And about the smiting by Frēdōn to kill Dahāg, striking his mace upon (his) neck, breast and skull, and Dahāg not dying from those blows, and then by smiting him with a sword and with the first second and third blows the production of many kinds of noxious creature from the body of Dahāg."

As is well known, and according to Dk. IX, Ohrmazd instructs Frēdōn not to slay Dahāg, because his death will pollute the earth, but to bind him in fetters in Mt. Damāvand until the end of time. Perhaps this passage in PRDd. is composed for this context (to emphasise how Frēdōn, because of his lack of faith in the religion, lost his immortality and was smitten by old age) and is modelled on the familiar legend of Dk. IX. According to the Šāhnāme, Farīdun died at peace of natural causes.

31. As Molé notes (légende, 251), in no other text is Krišāsp attacked by Akōman. Pace Molé, PRDd. does not state that Akōman

killed Krišāsp, but that he "smote" him. Molé links this episode with Rustam's ordeal against the demon Akvan in the Šāhnāme, and, given that the legends of Rustam and the house of Krišāsp are interwoven in that epic, this is possible. According to Ind. Bd. 29. 7, Krišāsp was wounded by the Turk Nohēn on the plain of Pēšansā and was overcome by Bušāsp, the demon of sloth, and lies there until the resurrection. In the same ch. it is stated that the site is "the most conspicuous upland" bālist ī paydāgtom (similarly in DkM. 805. 13-14, "the conspicuous upland" is identified as "the plain of Pēšnās" (bālist ī paydāgtom dašt ī pēšnās). MXA 60. 20 explains that the plain where "Sām's" body lies bears only corn and crops which men sow and reap and no trees or other plants. In Bd., loc. cit., it is stated that Krišāsp was wounded "because he despised the Mazdā-worshipping religion". The simplest explanation of the name Akōman "Evil Mind" of Krišāsp's assailant in PRDd. is that this has been chosen merely as a representative of the world of evil thinking; reference to the familiar legend increases the moral force of this episode. Thus in §§8-10, Astwihād, Zarmān and Akōman appear to be representatives of the forces of evil, serving an allegorical and moral purpose. M. translated the final words tentatively: "While he was in his divan (pad bālišn), which (fact) is very well-known (ī paydāgtom)".

32. In WZ XXIV. 7 the same three messengers are said to appear before Wistāsp. In Dk. VII. 4. 74 the three messengers are Wahman, Ašawahist and Ātaxš ī abzōnīg; see Molé, légende, 186 ff. (Molé makes a metrical reconstruction of an original Avestan text of Dk. VII. 4. 75 f., with the aid of the parallel passage of Vd. farg. 22. 7.)

33. With this section cf. Dk. VII. 4. 75-82 (see appended text); in PRDd. the speech of the heavenly messengers is briefer and simpler, though apparently based on the same source as Dk. VII. 4. 75 f. No mention is made of the awesome descent of the amahraspands as in Dk. and ZN.

34. §§81-2 of Dk. VII. 4 are parallel to these two sentences of this section.

35. These are the Pahl. forms of Av. Aši. Varəhvī "the good Aši" and Rasastāt. They are mentioned together in Yt. 17 (invocation and v. 72). According to the gloss in Pahl. Y. 60. 4, Aši. Varəhvī personifies

"riches that come from virtue" tuwānīgīh az frārōnīh. See further Darmesteter, ZA 598 ff. In Yt. 17. 49 Kavi Vištāspa asks a boon of Asī. Vahvī. On the rarely mentioned Rasastāt (perhaps "rectitude"), see Barth. Air. Wh. 1513; ZKA, 172. 18.

36. Pišyōtan is the son of Wištāsp who was granted physical immortality and who will prepare the world for the birth of the first Sōšyant, Ušēdar, Zoroaster's future son. See Darmesteter, ZA II, 666, n. 17, 638, n. 125; and see below ch. 49. 12-18; ZVYt. VII. 19-20 (BTA 60-1, 65/121-3; cf. also GBd. XXXIII. 28 (BTA 279)).

37. These alternatives are not as they first appear merely the promise of heaven and the threat of hell. They state the orthodox view of the result of life with and without religion. In Zoroastrian orthopraxy, bodies are consumed by vultures. However, Wištāsp, as a king, rightly expected not to be exposed at death but, as was apparently the royal custom, to be embalmed and laid in sepulchres. In Dk. the threat is simply a tō pad ulīh \* nē wāzēnēm "then we shall not raise you up" (VII. 4. 82).

38. In PRDd. Wištāsp is still unconvinced. However, in Dk. he is persuaded by the speech of the Fire of Ohrmazd, and so the visit of Nēryosang and the ensuing action, in which Wištāsp drinks from the spring of life (gyān čašm) so that he may look into the world of the spirits (pad abar wēnišnīh ī ō mēnōgan axwan), is commanded by Ohrmazd in order to confirm Wištāsp in his faith. In ZN, Wištāsp is wholly converted to the religion after the miracle for his horse, yet there follows a similar episode in which Guštāsp is transported to the spiritual world. Molé remarks:

"Le fait qu'il conserve le recit rituel est d'autant plus remarquable. Du point de vue purement littéraire cette conservation n'était pas indispensable, on a l'impression que le roi se convertit deux fois; la signification primitive du recit s'est quelque peu estompée" (Culte, 579).

39. §15 f. transcribed by Widengren, Numen, 2, 1955, 57.

40. This is similar to the episode in Dk. VII. 4. 85. Mang seems here to be a narcotic or hallucinogenic drug. As M. Boyce has pointed out, pace Henning, Zoroaster, 32, it seems impossible, on theological grounds, that mang should have been a deadly poison. Ohrmazd gives mang ī bēšāz "medicinal mang" to the Uniquely Created Bull before Ahreman assaulted it (GBd. IV. 20, BTA 51). If mang were a deadly poison, as suggested by Henning, loc. cit., and

Mackenzie, Pahl. Dictionary, "hen-bane", then Ohrmazd would have been responsible for the death of his own creatures, which is unthinkable in Zoroastrianism (see M. Boyce, HZ I. 231, n. 11, 280, n. 14). What is more, Wištāsp returns to life again after his stupor passes.

41. Compared with the fuller accounts in Dk. VII and ZN the text of PRDd. is again terse and apparently perfunctory in alluding to only bare essentials of a well-known story, i.e. the leitmotiv of the living man's momentous vision of the next world (cf. Ardāy Wirāz Nāmag). Wištāsp's conversion is effected neither by reason nor by persuasion, nor by threats of amahraspands, but only through a miraculous epiphany of the ultimate spiritual state (Garōdmān), through divine intervention. Won by such dramatic and numinous agency, Wištāsp's new-found faith is all the more inspiring testament of the power of the religion. If the narrative is, as Molé suggests, symbolic of the act of initiation (nawzod), then for the purposes of the priestly author the ascent to Garōdmān, and return to the physical world, by a living man, is clearly an allegory of the necessity for ritual death and rebirth in initiation to the religion. In texts where the author's purpose is not, as here, overtly pastoral, the climactic structure of PRDd. 47 is absent. In Dk., WZ and ZN, except when he is deceived by the Wise-men, Wištāsp does not refuse to accept the religion. In PRDd. he refuses repeatedly; the resultant effect is that each refusal has increased the importance of his subsequent acceptance.

42. As Zarathuštra implored Arədvī in Yt. 5. 105 to enable him to convert Vištāspa, so, in a parallel passage (Yt. 9. 26) he asks Drvaspa (and Asī Vəhvī, Yt. 17. 46) for the conversion of Hutaosa, Vištāspa's wife. See Darmesteter ZA II, 438, n. 27, and I, 323, n. 25. As Darmesteter points out (ZA I, 345, n. 19), in a passage in Dk. IX. 45. 5, it is stated:

abar stayišn ī hutōs pad rawāgīh ī dēn mazdēsna pad-iš  
būdan pad waxšišn ī ahlāyīh ud wanišn ī druž (DkM. 871. 4-6)  
"about the praise of Hutōs for the arising of the progress  
of the Mazdā-worshipping religion through her, by the growth  
of righteousness and smiting of the primeval fiend" (transl.  
West, SBE XXXVII, p. 300).

Although it is possible that Dk. and PRDd. here refer to an ancient tradition that it was through his wife Hutōs that Wištāsp was converted to Zoroaster's teachings (see M. Boyce, op. cit., 187 and n. 35), it is nowhere stated explicitly. Such a possibility is

entirely suppressed in the late ZN. Hutōs is there said to have received the religion after Guštāsp and through his influence, as was considered proper.

43. An obvious anachronism; this was the most senior ecclesiastical office in later Sasanian times.

44. M. translates: "who was of wolfish behaviour", which seems preferable to Molé's colourful "prit la forme d'un loup".

45. This was the date on which Zoroaster's memorial service was held annually after the second Sasanian calendar reform; see M. Boyce "On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts", 530-1.



Notes to Chapter 48

1. With this ch. cf. GBd. XXXIII and XXXIV (BTA, 273-293), DkM. 666. 14 ff. (Dk. VII. 8. 1 ff., ed. Sanjana, vol. XIV, transl. West, SBE XLVII, p. 1(5 ff.), Sd. Bd. XXXV, and ibid., xātem-i kitāb (pp. 173-178 in Dhabhar's ed.), Pahl. T. pp. 106-108. See also ZVYt. (ed. BTA) IX (West, SBE V, 230-5), and a Persian paraphrase of ZVYt. in Unv., Riv. II, 88-101 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 457 ff., esp. 477-481).

2. The name Huṣēdar is a Pahl. form of Av. ukhšyat.ərəta "he who makes righteousness grow", which occurs, with the names ukhšyat.namah (Pahl. Huṣēdarmāh) "he who makes reverence grow" and astvat.ərəta "he who embodies righteousness", in Yt. 13. 128. As M. Boyce says (HZ I. 284-5) "These names ... appear to have been added by a later tradition, whereby was evolved the myth of two earlier Saosyants, brothers of Astvat.ərəta." This latter name personifies a phrase in Y. 43. 16: astvat ašam hyāt "may righteousness be embodied", and translates a theme well attested in the Gāthās, i.e. that of the embodiment of Asa in a future saviour. On the subsequent elaboration of this religious idea and its fusion with heroic tales and scholasticism see M. Boyce op. cit., 282-293. PRDd. 48 is not a unified, coherent narrative, but a compilation of material from many different sources superimposed upon the basic pattern of the following:

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| §1-9                | Huṣēdar's mission in the world                |
| §§22-29             | Huṣēdarmāh's mission in the world             |
| §§37-38,<br>§§54-56 | Sōšyāns' mission, and his raising of the dead |
| §§70-72             | The ordeal of the molten metal                |
| §§94-95             | The vanquishing of evil.                      |

Into this, various strands of many different legends are woven, of primeval and prophetic events, which incorporate ancient heroes and demons of mythology into the drama of the future history of the world. The fundamental plan is sometimes obscured by these elaborations, and there are several inconsistencies and discrepancies. The main themes which are interpolated in ch. 48 are:

- |                          |                   |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| The <u>Malkūsān</u> rain | §§10-16 (§§18-21) |
| Yim's <u>Var</u>         | §§17              |
| Dahāg                    | §§30-36           |
| Kayxosrōy                | §§39-49           |

Krišāsp and Tus	8850-51
husbands and wives	8862-65
<u>Ahlomōgīh</u> (Heresy)	8873-85
Demons	8890-93
<u>Gāw ī ēwdād</u>	8890-93

Thus it is true of this chapter that, as M. Boyce has said,

"The creation of a detailed chronology appears to have encouraged the proliferation of persons and events to fill the empty millennia" (M. Boyce, HZ I, 291);

and as the same scholar goes on to conclude:

"The general impression which one receives is that the final exposition is the product of long transmission and much re-working in priestly schools, where the learned drew on ancient traditions, but fitted these into new moulds and modified them in the light of later events, and so gradually created a harmonious whole" (ibid., 292).

Our text does not mention actual contemporary persons, peoples and events as does ZVYt., and the events of sacred history of this chapter are apparently held apart from secular history. West attempted to put a date to the millennium of Hušēdar ("about A.D. 593-635 ... till ... about A.D. 1593-1635"), based on the details of ZVYt. (SBE V, 231, n. 1, cf. ibid., 228, n. 6, and ibid., 219, n. 1). If our text is an allegory of contemporary secular history, it is extremely cryptic. It appears rather to be a priestly creation which preaches pious optimism, in conformity with orthodoxy and its authority, in the face of present turmoil and also of the cataclysmic events which it prophesies.

3. The phrase bē ō hampursagīh ī ohrmazd occurs at the beginning of each section on the future sons of Zardušt. Zardušt first went into consultation with Ohrmazd, according to Dk., when Wahman asked Zardušt to come čiyōn ōy ... hampursēm kē tō dād hē, kē man dād hē (DkM. 625. 16) "that we may consult him who created you, him who created me". This and the subsequent meetings of Zardušt with Ohrmazd are called hampursagīh, the first seven of which occurred within ten years (see DkM. 626. 1 ff., transl. West, SBE XLVII, 50). The purpose of the consultations of the future sons of Zardušt is not explained in our text; however, GBd. XXXIII 29 (BTA 281) states:

hušēdar pad dēn nimūdār, ud rāst paygāmbār, az Ohrmazd āyēd; čiyōn Zardušt āwurd ōy-iz dēn āwarēd, ud rawāgēnēd  
 "Hušēdar ... the demonstrator by Revelation, and the true messenger, will come from Ohrmazd; he, too, will bring the Revelation just as Zardušt had brought, and promulgate it" (BTA loc. cit., with changes in transcription).

4. According to DkM. 666-7, Hušēdar, like his two younger half-brothers Hušēdarmāh and Sōsyans, is conceived thirty years before the end of the previous millennium, so that he is thirty years old in the first year of his own millennium. In ZVYt. the figure 1600 is given for his year of birth (West's reading, SBE V. 231 - BTA reads 1800), which West, loc. cit., n. 1 explains as meaning 1600 years after Zardust's millennium began, i.e. "in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, not at the beginning as (ZVYt. III.) §13 seems to imply". If the unreliability of Pahl. numerical orthography is taken into account, our text agrees with ZVYt. on this, i.e. that Hušēdar was born in the middle of his own millennium. However, it is implied in ZVYt., and stated clearly in our text, that Hušēdarmāh and Sōsyans will both be born at the end of the millennium which precedes their own reign. This perhaps represents a simplification of the chronology.

5. Our text does not explain why or how this is done - the event is taken as a miracle, which requires no explanation. Other texts are more explicit, but do not agree. According to ZVYt. (West III. 45, BTA IX. 2), Hušēdar orders the sun to stand still, after his meeting with Ohrmazd; then "the sun ... stands still ten days and nights; and when this happens all people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. Mihr ... cries to Hušēdar ... 'O Hušēdar ... cry to the sun ... "Move on!" for it is dark in the regions of Arzah ... etc. etc. ... and ... Xwanirah'" (West, loc. cit., 46f., with changes in transcription). In contrast, according to Dk. VII.

8. 58,

hān xwarsēd be ēstēd pad bālist ī asmān ... ud abar ō hān gāh  
hān abāz berasēd kū hān fradom pad frāz brēhēnišnīh frāz  
brēhēnīd ... harwisp kešwar abar fāzēd

"the sun stands still in the zenith of the sky ... and it arrives again at that place where it was first appointed by allotment ... and it shines over all the regions which are seven" (West, SBE XLVII, 106, §58).

As usual, the NP texts are more explicit still, and the stopping of the sun by Oshidar is seen as a proof of his authenticity as a prophet, e.g. Jāmāsp Nāma, Unv., Riv. II. 110, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 492:

"When the people of the world see his radiance and glory, they will submit, the more readily, to truth and will have no doubt about the religion. It is said that people will ask for miracles from him, and he will offer prayers and the sun will stand still in the midst of the sky for ten days and will raise up its head. When the people of the world will see this miracle they will be without any doubt as regards the religion. Then the sun will

revolve and a great rattling noise will arise at the place where there is the sun."

6. The normal processes of nature, which have been necessary during the period of "mixture" (gumēzišn) with the forces of death and decay since the assault of Ahreman (GBd. IV. 10-28, BTA, 49-53), are here temporarily halted. Though it is an event in the future, there is also a connection with the past, i.e. the state when the prototype plant suffered no decay, and it is for this connection that this is mentioned here and in §24. It is, however, only a minor motif, and serves only as another "sign of the times", for it is not mentioned in the millennium of Sōšyans; the author does not mention whether the arrest of the processes of decay is accompanied by an arrest of growth.

7. In Dd. purs. 36. 36 (West, SBE XVIII, xxxvii. 36, p. 91) Hušēdar has the epithet mānsarīg "liturgical", Hušēdarmāh the epithet dādīg "legal", and Sōšyans gāhānīg "relating to the Gāthās, spiritual". West notes that these terms are those applied to the three divisions of the twenty-one nasks (loc. cit.). Their application to the three saviours is just another instance of the multiplied parallelisms beloved of the scholastics.

8. By coalescing into one titanic demon, the wolf species appears to be a greater threat, but in fact it can be vanquished once and for all by the forces of good in a concerted effort. The concept of demonic creatures concentrating themselves into one form is an inversion of the Zoroastrian theme of original prototype creation: one man, one animal etc., became many when opposed by the forces of evil.

9. M. translates:

"first they will perform Yazišn, and they will not be able to keep (that wolf) back by the Yazišn".

The passage is parallel to §27, where the Mazdēsns successfully rout the serpent. The above translation is preferable, though M.'s is also grammatically possible, because the author, who is a priest, intends to emphasise the efficacy of ritual worship (yazišn) against the forces of evil. It is clear that this term refers to the yaṣṇa service. Cf. Yt. 3. 5, on the power of the mathra Airyāmā. išyō; this prayer will be spoken by the Sapsyants at Frašō.karēti (Westergaard, Fragment 4. 1, see Darmesteter, ZA III. 4-5 and further I, civ, and M. Boyce HZ I, 261). In particular cf. Yt. III. 8: "The brood of the snake fled away, the brood of the wolf fled away ... etc." (i.e. before

the Holy Word), Darmesteter, SBE XXXIII. 44. Cf. the Persian paraphrase of ZVYt., Unv., Riv., II:

"At that time the soldiers of the army of Oskedar go forth with the high priest to meet that wolf and strive (to kill it) but are overpowered by that wolf. When Oskedar is informed of this he reproaches his men. Oskedar with the radiance and glory of the Creator Ohrmazd and the ritual of the religion and with the Yasna service kills that wolf and (thus) the wolf is made powerless" (D., Pers. Riv., 477),

and also cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 35. 18 (D., op. cit., 528-9).

10. The quantity of evil in the world, though not necessarily diminished, is thus being concentrated, i.e. the forms in which it manifests itself are being reduced. Cf. §29 below, where the serpent-demon is annihilated, and the evil of that species moves into the demon of the two-legged race, i.e. the anthropomorphic forms of Ahlomōgīh, Xēsm, Āz, Dahāg, etc.

11. In two NP texts, the NP paraphrase of ZVYt. and Sd. Bd. 35. 21 ff. Malkūs comes "when three hundred years of the period of Oshēdar pass by"; this demonstrates that in our text pas az hān pad čahār-sad sāl wārān ī malkūsān bawēd means "After four-hundred years (lit. "After that by four-hundred years ... ") there will be the Malkūsān rains", and not as Mīrza translates: "After this, for four-hundred years there will be Malkōsān rain".

12. In our text malkūsān is left unexplained. The word occurs in the commentary of Pahl. Vd. II. 22 to explain Av. zima and Pahl. wadtar zamestān. J. Darmesteter connects malkūsān with Heb. malkōš "rain":

"this seems to be an attempt to identify the Iranian legend with the biblical tradition of the deluge" (SBE IV, 16, n. 1).

In Pahl. texts malkūs is personified; in GBd. XXXIII. 30 he is called malkūs ī sēj čīhr ī az tōxmāg ī tūr ī brādrēs "Malkūs of pestilential nature, of the race of Tūr ī Brādrēs" (BTA, 281, with changes in transliteration); in DkM. 668. 17 (Dk. VII. 9. 3), he is called ḡādūg malkūs "the sorcerer M.", and ibid., 668, 21-2 gišnag zāyišn malkūs "M. of scanty progeny" (see West, SBE XLVII, 108). Darmesteter's interpretation seems preferable to that of West, SBE XVIII, 109, n. 2, and ibid., 479, who notes that Malkōs has also been read Markūs and traced to Av. mahrkūša ("Destroyer"); see also Air. Wb., 1147, and Westergaard, Fragment VIII. 2, ZA, 334; Darmesteter, I II, 203-5. Cf. also M. Boyce, HZ I, 290, n. 4.

13. This whole passage, including the deliverance and release of

those within the var of Yim, is reminiscent of the flood narrative in Gen. 6 ff.; indeed in Gen. 6. 21 God tells Noah:

"For your part provide yourself with eatables of all kinds, and lay in a store of them, to serve as food for yourself and them."

On the connection between the story of Yim's var and the flood story in the epic of Gilgamesh, and other Mesopotamian legends, see E. Herzfeld, Zoroaster, I, 331-9 and M. Boyce, HZ, I, 94-5. In our text, with its repeated warnings to men to prepare for the deluge, the author has a pedagogic purpose; to show that in the time that leads up to the cataclysmic events of the Resurrection, men will be tested again and again for their faith, and for their obedience to the dēn burdārān "upholders of Religion" (§11), i.e. the priests; those who fail these tests, as in the last sentence of §§12-13, are doomed. After §15 there seems to be a gap in the text. GBd. and Sd. Bd., ch. 35. 21 ff. foretell a disaster with great loss of life, and the destruction of all plant and animal life; our text makes little mention of this (exc. §18) and does appear to use the whole episode "to fill the empty millennia" (see above n. 2).

14. i.e. seven full months, from the fifteenth day of the third month until the fifteenth day of the tenth month.

15. In DkM. 668. 22-669. 1 (Dk. VII. 9. 3, West SBE, XLVII, 108) Malkūs is killed in the fourth winter by Dahmān Āfrīn. In our text it is not clear whether the personification of the winters i.e. Malkūs, is cursed and killed by the Mazdā-worshippers. In the last sentence of §17 a demon is still at large. It seems that some part of the text is missing between §§15 and 16 of D.'s edition which would illuminate these obscurities.

16. The first sentence of §17 seems out of place in the text as it stands, perhaps the next sentence follows on from §16; the opening of the var of Yim does indeed follow the terrible winters in MX. (SBE XXIV. XXVII. 29-31) and in DkM. 669. 1 (SBE XLVII. 108). There is however a discrepancy in our text: In Vd. farg. 2. 27 Ahura Mazdā instructs Yima to bring to his vara

"the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best and finest on this earth" (Darmesteter, SBE IV, 17).

Thus when the var is opened, in theory there should be no shortage of gōspand in the world; indeed Dk. VII. 9. 5 (DkM. 669. 3-5) states that there is

"After those winters, the abundant and great increase in the

milk of cattle, ... the less distress of body in cattle, the fullness and prosperity of the world" (West, SBE XLVII, 108).

However, in our text there is a scarcity of gōspand; this discrepancy between §§17 and 18 indicates that the text is a compilation of different sources, and that accuracy of detail is sacrificed to the author's main purpose.

17. Cf. the corresponding text in Dk. VII. 9. 7, DkM. 669. 11 ff. Presumably, these animals who originate from Yim's var are not accustomed to human violence since it was not necessary in the var.

18. According to Vd. 2. 41 cattle, like humans, reproduce only every forty years in the var. For this reason, perhaps, our text foresees a diminution of them. (Dk. VII. 9. 7-11). Possibly the author of our text has misunderstood the Dk. passage.

19-20. Cf. Dk. VII. 9. 8 ff., DkM. 669. 18-670. 5. Asawahist, in this passage, instructs Mazda-worshippers not to kill gōspand except if one comes up to them saying man \*āz \*ī \*ōgarāg be jōyēd (DkM. 670. 2) "The devouring dragon will eat me". In these circumstances, as in our text, it is permissible to kill the gōspand, presumably because the Mazda-worshippers will kill the animal with sacrificial rites, so that the soul will be released and will reunite with Gāuš Urvan. Killing of animals without observation of prescribed rituals incurs the sin of būdyōzadīh "destroying existence" (see further M. Boyce, HZ, I, 150, and Henning Memorial Volume, 71, and below ch. 58. 81-2. Possibly āz ī ōgarāg is a reference to the snake-species which is now inhabited by the demon of the wolf species (see §9 above). In GBd. XXXIII. 32 the snake species which Huṣēdarmāh will destroy is:

hān ī āz tōxmagdrūj ... kū mār abāg xrafstarān

"the drūj of the race of the dragon ... that is ... the serpents with the noxious creatures" (BTA, 281).

21. Each of the saošyants thus teaches a new way of propagating righteousness. Also, in this way the future sons of Zardust, who are otherwise rather similar, are made distinguishable one from the other.

22. i.e. double the dimensions of the wolf-demon in §5 above; the figure 833 is rounded up one digit to accommodate the Zoroastrian fondness for the number 33.

23. See above n. 8.

24. It is unlikely that this means that Dahāg seizes domination from Huṣēdarmāh. The latter, like his brothers Huṣēdar and Sōšyans, is the

epitome of priestly virtue, not of political/military authority; only secondarily are the three invested with temporal authority (see below §49, Kayxosrōy is xwadāy, Sōšyans is mōbadān-mōbad). With §30 cf. ZVYt. IX. 13 ff. (BTA ed.) where Dahāg, aroused from his fetters by Ahlomōg "Heresy", devours him, and then one-third of all men, cattle and gōspand etc. He also smites water, fire and plant. In the Persian paraphrase of ZVYt. it is said that Zohāk will reign for one-and-a-half days in the world. Unv., Riv., II. 86-101; Dhabhar notes:

"According to Jamaspi and Aogemadaechā Zohāk ruled after Jamsted for 1,000 years less 1 days, and as his period of sovereignty was destined to be 1,000 years complete, he will complete his reign of 1 days left over, at the resurrection" (D., Pers. Riv., 472, n. 8).

25. Nyb. reads:

ud dahāg hān and zamān kunēd čand gōspand ī andar ērānšahr čahār ēwag-ēw be jōyēd (Man. Pahl. I. 99)

"and Dahāg will spend that much time as he eats of the gōspand which (are) in Erānšahr".

26. M. translates as:

"Who are you, whose soul was the far pervading atmosphere, and you turned into the shape of a camel?"

According to Dk. IX. 22nd Fargard, DkM. 817 f., Kayxosrōy met Vāy of the Long Dominion, transformed him into the form of a camel, sat upon him and rode upon him to see the places of the immortal heroes (see West, SBE XXXXII, 223-6).

27. See above n. 26; the same passage in Dk. describes a meeting of Sōšyans and Kayxosrōy; §§39-45 are apparently derived from this passage of Dk., or both texts might have had some other common source.

28. See Dk. IX., loc. cit., DkM. 818; see also MX. II. 95:

"If Kayxosrōy should not have extirpated the image-temples which were on the lake of Čēčist ... the adversary would have become so much more violent, that it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence" (based on West, SBE XXIV, 15, with changes in transcription).

29. M. translates (similarly §47):

"... had you not done it, it (i.e. the idol) would have been a hand (of the Dēv) during the whole (period of the final) Revolution (of the earth), which is (the time of) the production of the Good Fraškard".

The difficulty in this § is the word written gwb'y which Mirza translates gaw Av. gava (Air. Wb. 505). Nyb. reads duzd (GNB') but translates this as an adverb: "hardly, scarcely" (Man. Pahl. II. 69).



30. On the smiting of "Frangrasiyāb" (Av. Frangrasyan) see Yt. 19. 77, 93 (Darmesteter, SBE XXIII, 304, 307).

31. Cf. DkM. 818. 9:

stāyistan ī kayxosrōy dēn mazdēsn

"The glorifying of the Mazdā-worshipping religion by Kayxosrōy".

Kayxosrōy had lived before Zoroaster had brought the religion, so here he is being "updated" and included (anachronistically) in the Zoroastrian fold. By contrast, in the next §, the title mōbadān mōbad is a title first attested in the 5th cent. A.D.

32. Cf. Dk. IX, loc. cit. In the Persian paraphrase of ZVYt., Sām (Krišāsp) makes a similar threat to Zohāk:

"Accept the good religion; if not I will separate your life from the body with this heavy club." (D., Pers. Riv., 473).

In PRDd. 48 Tūs takes Sām Krišāsp's place, because the latter has been demoted to somewhat doubtful status (see above ch. 18).

33. M. translates: "will raise them (in the new body made from) the dead body", however ēstēnd is an intrans. vb. "to stand, be" and must be emended to a causative form to give this sense. The above emendation may be radical, but appears justifiable. It is assumed that YK'YMWNd is the result of a mistaken reading of hngycynd as ēstēnd ('wstynd); these two verbs are elsewhere confused, e.g. §31 hangēzēn, §56 hangēzēnēd.

34. Cf. GBd. XXXIV. 5 (BTA 285) and Sd. Bd. Xātem-i kitāb 11-14 (D., Pers. Riv., 576). Bailey translates the GBd. text in Zor. Prob., 93-4.

35. ēwēnag here is synonymous with kirb "form", pace BTA, 287, who translates (GBd. XXXIV. 8) ēwēnag be dahēnd "they will give (them) their protoplasm"; Bailey translates this phrase, and also PRDd. XLVIII 55, in Zor. Prob., 97, and states:

"This is clearly not the advēnak which interprets the Aristotelian εἶδος. The whole moves in a sphere of mythology."

36. Cf. GBd. XXXIV. 9:

ud ēn hān ī man ast kadār-iz-ēw hān ī nazdīk paywandtar

"and this is any-whatsoever of my very near relatives" (BTA 287).

M. notes:

"Perhaps this explains Aw. xšnuta: xvēšavand, see FO. ch. 5, WZKM. XIV. 197 (n. 10)."

Unlike GBd. XXXIV. 6, no mention is made of the belief that Gayōmard will be resurrected first.

37. This has the appeal of a popular text, i.e. that the luxury of sensual pleasures is emphasised. Other texts, e.g. GBd., Sd. Bd., Xātem-i kitāb, do not mention the enjoyment of food in the resurrected world; Pahl. T. 107 states:

mardōm amarg ud azarmān be bawēnd  
ka pas az hān xwarišn nē abāyēd  
ud ka gōšt xward ēstēd pad dād ī čehel sālag abar hangēzēnd  
ud ka gōšt nē xward ēstēd pad dād ī pānzdah sālag ul hangēzēnd  
 "men will be deathless and ageless  
 when after that food is not needed  
 and if meat is eaten they will be raised at the age of forty  
 and if meat is not eaten they will be raised up at the age of  
 fifteen".

Cf. Sd. Bd. (ed. D. 177), Xātem-i kitāb §43:

va hamīse sīr bāšand na nāu bekār bāyad  
va na āb va na hīč ke xorand  
va hame kas sīr va bī tars va bī bīm va bī anduh  
va šādmān va bī niyāz bāšand  
 "They become satisfied for ever. They are not in want  
 of bread nor of water, nor of eatables,  
 and all become satiated, fearless, without dread, without grief,  
 happy and without want" (D., Pers. Riv., 578).

It is significant perhaps that our text has so much to say on the supply and variety of food in the resurrected body, whereas, compared to other Pahl. and NP texts, it says little of the pain, shame and torment of souls, righteous and wicked, when they see their own and others' deeds (cf. e.g. GBd. XXXIV. 14-15, BTA 287-9, Sd. Bd. (ed. D., 174-5) Xātem-i kitāb §§20-25).

38. M. translates:

"He who will desire will eat, he who will not desire will not eat."

39. M. reads:

avēšan kā-šān yam karrenīd uō \*reš uō \*vizand uō \*zanišn \*han ī  
\*dist-ē be kard  
 "all those who slayed Yam, and those who inflicted wound, calamity,  
 and a cut of one dist".

Nyb. reads (with Yt. XIX. 46, Dk. IX. 21. 2-4 etc. in mind):

ud ka rist ul \*hangēzēd awēšan kā-šān yim kirrēnīd ud rašn-čin  
ī vivanghānān yašt-ēw be kunēnd (awēšan hamāg be mirēnd se rōz  
murd nibayēnd.)

See Man. Pahl. II. 168, 217. The text is corrupt here; the above emendations, like those of M. and Nyb., are conjectural.

40. M. translates:

"And then these dead (persons) will be raised, also every dead (person) of those other margārzān sinners will be raised, except those whose (crime) is (that of causing) injury, and also others (who are not margārzān sinners)."

41. Spandarmad is the personification of devotion and obedience, and as such punishes those guilty of acts of gross impiety and disobedience to natural and divine law, such as are named in §§66 and 67. Also, as the guardian of earth, most long-suffering and humiliated by evil in the world, she at last takes vengeance on her violators.

42. Šahrewar is protector of the sky and metals. In GBd. XXXIV. 18-19 (BTA 289) fire and Airyaman melt the metal in the hills and mountains. (Cf. Sd. Bd., Xātem-i kitāb §5 (ed. D., 173):

"these metals which are melted flow into that place i.e. fill in the places of hell until this earth becomes one plain" (D., Pers. Riv., 575).

In our text, as in others of the post-Sasanian tradition, all men will finally be purged of their sins and pass to Paradise. On the original doctrine of the ordeal see Boyce, HZ I, 242-3.

43. §73 returns to the basic pattern of the chapter.

44. The demon Heresy, as a personification, may be the druz ī dō zang of §29. The personification of Heresy as the quintessence of all druzīh which the Mazdā-worshippers fight in battle (§73, §79 f.), is patently the conception of priestly minds deeply suspicious of heterodoxy. This term may also have embraced apostasy, and so have special force in the Islamic period.

45. By this admission the author defines Heresy as the shameless work of the devil himself, repulsive even to the earth (§77).

46. This simile is reminiscent of GBd. XXXIV. 17 (BTA 289).

47. As in §6 (see n. 9) M. translates:

"and it will not be possible to keep them back by means of the Yazīšn";

this does not fit the context - for in the next section the two are defeated.

48. Gōčīhr and Ahlomōgih, "Heresy" thus escape to hell. In GBd. XXXIV. 28 (BTA, 292) all the other demons are destroyed first, then Gannāg Mēnōg goes down to Hell and metal is poured down onto him (cf. ZVYt., ed. BTA, VII, pp. 67, 124).

49. By this method Sōsyans destroys all the demons (hamāg drūz), yet in §90 f. the demons devise their own method of mutual annihilation. This example of duplication further discloses the redactor's use of different sources. Cf. also Pahl. T. 106. 4 ff.

ahreman abāg dēwān, ud druzān, ud hunuṣakān, ud sastārān, ud  
kayakān ud karbān, akār be bawēd u-šan dēwān ud druzān rāy hamāg  
be xwarēd

"Ahreman will become impotent with the dēws, and druzs, and little devils, and tyrants, and hostile rulers and priests, and he will eat all those dēws and druzs."

50. xwardrōš is the Pahl. form of Av. xrwidruš-, epithet of Aēšma in Yt. 19. 92-96. In GBd. XXXIV. 27, Srōš seizes Xēsm (BTA 291).

51. In GBd. XXXIV. 28 (BTA, 291) two demons remain: Ahreman and Āz.

52. So GBd. XXXIV. 29 (BTA, 291).

53. Cf. Pahl. T. 107. 5-6:

ud garōdmān az hān gyāg \*kū ast  
abāz ō starpayāg āyēd

ud hamāg gyāg garōdmān be bawēd

"and Garōdmān will come down from the place where it is (now) to the star-station, and everywhere will be Garōdmān."

54. For this translation see Y. Yamamoto, 'The Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire in Archaeology and Literature, II', Orient XVII 1981, p.99 & ch.5

55. Once again, the motif of the unification of creations is probably a late scholastic device to explain the process of Frašegird and to link the future with the past by re-enacting, in reverse order, the process of creation (bundahišn).

56. "Forty" seems odd, as it is odd by the Zoroastrian concept of the age of physical perfection.

57. i.e. for the yazads. M. reads pad xVaδāy, but translates "(to do) for oneself".

58. M. translates: "everyone will be different from the other just as a woman (is different from a man)."

59. This seems to be a cryptic reference to the spiritual yasna mentioned in GBd. XXXIV. 23 (BTA, 289-91), WZ XXXV. 15-16 (ed. BTA, 153-4, CXXIV-V; transl. Molé, Culte, 93). Perhaps the phrase gāw tan pad mēnōg be kunēd in our text is a euphemism for "will sacrifice the bull". The last sentence of §104 seems to refer to the rite whereby all men will partake of the zaothra of the bull Hadhayāns and the parahaoma, after which they will become immortal. So GBd. XXXIV 23, BTA, 289-91:

ud yazišn ī pad wirāyisnīh Sōšyans abāg hayyārān kunēd ud gāw  
ī hadayāns pad hān yazišn kušēd az pih ī hān gāw ud hōm ī  
spēd anōš wirāyēnd ud ō harwisp mardōm dahēnd. ud harwisp mardōm

ahōš bawēnd tā hamē ud hamē rawiṣnīh

"And Sōšyans with his associates will-perform the rite for the restoration of the dead; and they will slay the Hadhayāns gāw for that rite; out of the fat of the gāw and the white hōm they-will-prepare the-immortal-beverage, and give it to all men; and all men will-become immortal up to eternity and eternal progress" (BTA, 289-91, with changes in transcription).

Thus in our text there is a conflation of ideas in ŠŠ103-4: in Š103 the spirits of the gōspand are said to merge with gāw ī ēwdād; in GBd. III. 14, however, it is said that the spirits of the gōspand are absorbed into Gōšurwān "the Soul of the Bull"; in our text the latter is replaced by gāw ī ēwdād because it suits the purposes of our author to make an actual connection with the primeval bull gāw ī ēwdād, and thus a return to the original state of bundahišn; but the price of such scholastic tidiness is the loss of the multiplicity of animal life in the world after frašegird (see M. Boyce, HZ I, 246 and n. 74). In GBd. IV. a. 2, BTA, 53, Gōšurwān is identified with gāw ī ēwdād.

A further idea in these ŠŠ is that through this rite, i.e. the tasting of the zaothra and parahaoma, men will no longer desire to eat meat.

60. M. reads:

ud pas gāv-tan ī mardōmān abāz āvēδ. tan-ōmand paδ gētīy bavēδ  
"then (afterwards) there will be the ox-body of mankind, and it will be in the material form in the world".

M. interprets this as "an idea of Minotaur of Gōpatsāh", n. 19.

However, this seems an unlikely explanation; the above small emendation of the text gives a much better sense, i.e. that the body of the bull (incorporating all animal life), having been created in the spiritual world by the act of sacrifice (Š104 and see n. 57 above) is also present in the material world of the new creation.

Notes to Chapter 49

1. Syāwax̥ (Av. Syāvarsān), the son of Kayus (Av. Kavi Usan), and father of Kayxosraw (Av. Kavi Haosravah), was put to death by Frāsiyāb (Av. Frāsrasyan) and avenged by Kayxosraw (Yt. 9. 18, 22; Yt. 17. 42; Yt. 19. 77; GBd. XXXIII. 10-11, BTA, 274-5). Syāwax̥ has the epithet bāmīg "splendid, glorious", like Pišyōtan (e.g. ZVYt., ed. BTA, VII. 19 ff., Dd., purs. 89. 5); in Yt. 23. 3 (the Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardust) he is called "beautiful of body and without fault". Syāwax̥ is traditionally the builder of Kangdiz, "the fortress of Kang": according to GBd. XXXII (BTA 269) Kangdiz was one of several mān "mansions" erected by the Kayanians "with glory, which they call marvels and wonders" (pad xwarrah, kē abdīhā ud skeftīh[ā] gōwēnd). The purpose of his building this stronghold is explained in Dk. VII. 1. 38:

ud madan ō kaysyāwax̥ ī bāmīg; padīš dēsīd kangdiz ī abd kard  
pad andardārišnīh ud pānagīh ī was warz ud xwarrah ud rāz ī  
dēn, ī az-īš wirayīšn ī awām ud abāz ārastārīh ī ērān xwadāyīh,  
ud abāz paywandišnīh ī hamāwandīh ud pērozgarīh ō hān ī ohrmazd  
dēn paydāg (DkM. 598. 15-20)

"And its (the Glory's) coming to Kay Syāwax̥ the illustrious; though he built wondrous formed Kangdiz for the retention and protection of the much power and glory and mystery of the religion, through which is manifest the ordering of time and restoration of the sovereignty of Erān, and the restitution of power and triumph to the religion of Ohrmazd".

See also M. Molé, La légende de Zoroastre ... p. 11.

In the Avesta, Kangdiz is not referred to, but there is an allusion to the land "Kang" or "Kanha" in Yt. 5. 54:

upa dvareṃ xšathrō. sukam, apanō. tamam kanhaya bərəzaintaya  
ašavanaya "at the pass Xšathrō. suka, the highest in lofty,  
 righteous Kanha".

(Antara. Kanha is listed among other mountains in Yt. 19. 4.) In GBd. Kangdiz is a "region" (kišwar) among thos other than Xwanirah (XXIX. 5, BTA 252-3) and situated in the east:

pad kustag ī xwarāsān, azabar ī zreh ī fraxwkard, ō hān kustag  
pad was frasang "In the direction of the east, above the  
 ocean Fraxwkard, at many frasangs (distance) in that  
 direction" (GBd. XXIX. 10, BTA 254-5).

See also MX. LXII. 13, and, on the building of Kangdiz, ZVYt., ed. BTA, loc. cit.; MX. XXVII. 57, AJ, ed. Messina, VII. 2, Šāhnāme, transl. Warner, III, p. 6; 7, IX, p. 2927, l. 325. M. refers to discussions of Kangdiz in Barth., Air. Wb., 437; Herzfeld, AMI. II. 56 ff.; Markwart, Provincial Capitals of Ērānsahr, 26 f., 34; Tav. OLZ, 1926, 883 (M.,

p. 456, n. 1).

2. With this passage cf. the sentence in GBd. XXXII. 12:

kangdiz rāy gōwēd kū: 'dastōmand ud pāyomand ud wēnāg ud rawāg, hamēšag wahār pad kamāl ī dēwān bud' "Of Kangdiz He (i.e. Ohrmazd) says 'Possessing hands, possessing feet, seeing and moving, forever spring-time, it was (borne up) on the heads of demons'."

3. This "coming" refers either to the immediate succession of Kayxosraw to Syāwaxš and his act of vengeance for his father, or, more likely, to the coming of Kayxosraw in the millennium of Hušēdarmāh, when he helps the Sōšyans in producing the resurrection (see Dk. VII. 9. 10, SBE XLVII, Dk. VII. 10.10); he becomes Lord of the seven climes (kišwar) while the Sōšyans is established as Mōbadān Mōbad (see ch. 48. 48 below). Kayxosraw is immortal and his food is spiritual (D., Pers. Riv., 434). Also, see Dk. IX. 16, 19; MX XXVII 59-63, Dd. XXXVI. 3. According to Dd. XXXV. 3 Kayxosraw was made to pass away by Wāy of the Long Dominion. In the Šāhnāme he disappears mysteriously and does not return (transl. Warner, IV. 308).

4. M. reads gund and compares with DkM. 628. 10, where Tūr is called stapṛ gund, and with ZKA 161. 9 ff.

5. As M. notes (p. 458, n. 6) this passage suggests that Syāwaškard is the historical name of Kangdiz; Markwart quotes Mas'ūdī's statement "Another (fire-)temple called Kangdih was built by Siyāvakhsh the hero", and M. suggests that Syāwaškard here "may be the same as 'Siyāvuš-ābād' of Ath-Tha'ālibī, quoted by Markwart, op. cit., 27", and,

"If Kangdiz is the same as Soghdiana, as proposed by Markwart, then all these names would represent one and the same place".

6. According to Dd. purs. 89. 5, Kang is moveable, kang raftār, like the realm var of Yima/Yim. In GBd. it is said that

"Kayxosraw set it onto the ground and its seven walls are of gold, silver, steel, bronze, iron, crystal and lapis lazuli"  
kayxosraw be ō zamīg nišāst, u-š haft frasp ast zarrēn, asēmēn, polāwadēn, brinjēn, ahanēn, ābgenagēn ud kāskēnēn  
(GBd., BTA XXXII. 12).

7. Cf. GBd. IX. 3 sēzdah kōf ī andar kangdiz "thirteen mountains in Kangdiz"; also Paz. T. 34. 13.

8. On this Š see B. Geiger, WZKM XLII. 120. Cf. the three-legged ass of Y. 41. 28; also xar ī sē pāy of GBd. XXIV. d, BTA 196-7, especially the words:

ud ka andar zrēh mēzēd hamāg āb ī zrēh yōy dahr be bawēd kē pad haft kišwar "and when it stales in the sea all the water of the sea which is in the seven regions becomes purified."

9. Cf. GBd. XXXII. 12:

u-š haft sad frasang ī rāstagān mayān u-š pānzdah dar padīš, ke az dar ō dar pad asp ī rah-ē rōz ī wahar-ē pad pānzdah rōz šāyēd sudan "Within it are seven hundred frasangs of roads; there are fifteen gates into it, from which one can go from gate to gate with a chariot horse in days of spring in fifteen days".

10. With this cf. a similar image in Šāhnāme applied to Gangdiz:

"A wall above one hundred cubits high and eight and thirty broad; the hold outranged / both shaft and catapult ... "  
(transl. Warner, II, p. 281, ll. 25-7).

11. Cf. the description of Gangdiz in Šāhnāme as a paradise on earth (text p. 618, l. 1720 ff., transl. Warner, p. 280 ff.).

12. With this § cf. Dk. IX. 16. 15 (DkM. 805. 8 ff.):

ud pišyōtan ī wištāspān pad kangdiz ī stendag, ud drafš kē andar hān bēwar, hān ī \*burzišnīgān, kē syā samōr dārēnd, ī dēn niyōxsīdār ī ahlaw az pasih ī pišyōtan ī wištāspān  
"And Pišyōtan son of Wištāsp is in Kangdiz the erect, wherein there are myriad banners, those of the exalted who wear black sables, who are righteous hearers of the religion of the following of Pišyōtan son of Wištāsp".

Cf. also ZVYt. VII. 24

frāz rawēd pišyōtan ī bāmīg abāg sad ud panjāh mard, kē syā samōr dārēnd "forth goes Pišyōtan the illustrious, with one hundred and fifty men, who wear black sables."

and also ibid., VIII. 7, ed. BTA, 72/125-6.

13. Cf. Dd., purs. 89. 3-6; according to Dk. IX. 41. 6 there are two major triumphs of the sacred beings (yazads) over the demons:

- (1) when Zardušt converted Wištāsp (85)
- (2) (86) "second when the power and triumph of renewed sovereignty are again connected with the religion, and mankind, on that account return to the good religion; and this will be when the approach of Hušedar son of Zardušt, when the righteous \*čihir-mayān arrives  
dudīgar ka hamāwandīh ud perōzgarīh ī xwadāyīh nōg abāz ō dēn paywandīhēd, ud mardōm hān rāy abāz ō wehdēn rasēnd ud ēn bawēd pad nazd rasišnīh ī zardušt hušēdar ka \*čhir-mayān. ī ahlaw rasēd.

Herzfeld, AMI II, 25, 57 proposed emending MSS čihir ī mayān / ctr ZY mdy'n to \*čihrō-mēnōg, a variant spelling of which is ctrwm'n. Čihrō-mēnōg is one of the epithets of Pišyōtan: on his miraculous attributes see e.g. PRDd. 47. 13 below; Dk. VII. 4. 81, 5. 12.



Notes to Chapter 50

1. This chapter could perhaps furnish an example of Pahlavi scholasticism at one of its low points, in its irrevocably woolly definition. Ch. 50 was partly translated by West, SBE XXIV, 58, n. 1, and also by Christensen, Pr.Hom. I, 54. Christensen (ibid., 53-4) discusses the association of Mt. Frəzūra (of Yt. 19. 2) with the mountain at the entrance to Hell first mentioned in Vd. III. 7 and Vd. XIX. 45. In the Yt. the mountain is created by Ahura Mazdā; in Vd., it is demonic. Christensen supposes that in the Sasanian period the legend of this mountain gave rise to a legend of the son of Ahreman, Arzūr; according to MX. XXVII. 15, Gayōmard killed this Arzūr (on this and later, NP and Arabic versions, see Darmesteter ZA. II. 35, n. 11; Christensen, loc. cit.; and S.S.Hartman, Gayōmart, 31 f., 72 ff., 116; Markwart, Modi Mem. Vol., 747, 757; Reitzenstein, Studien z. antiken Synkretismus I., p. 18, n. 1. Argzūr is, as Christensen notes, the counterpart of Harā bərəzaiti, the mountain of the gods, but more particularly it opposes its peak the Čagād ī dāidīg, the "lawful summit", i.e. the peak of Harā, on which is the Činwad Bridge on the ascent to Heaven.

2. M. suggests grīwag might be the crater of a volcano, and that grīwag corresponds to surāx of PRDd. XLVIII. §86. In Vd. farg. 3. 17, it is described:

yaṭ arəzūrahe grīvaya ... yaṭ ahmya daēva handvarənti druṣō  
hača gərəḍaḍa

"It is the neck of Arəzūra, whereon the hosts of demons rush forth from the burrow of the Druṣ".

The exact nature of this evil place was unknown even to the Pahl. commentator of Vd., viz.:

dušox azēr, zamīg az azabar, abar āsmān; u-š dar ul ō zamīg:  
ēn kū abar ... bēron ī āsmān ast ayāb nē, a-m nē rōšn

"Hell is underneath, the earth above, on high the sky: and its gate is up on the earth: as to whether it is outside the sky or not, this is not clear to me" (Pahl. Vd. farg. III. 7).

The fullest description of Argzūr, the gateway to hell, is in Dd. purs. XXXII. Dd.A., p. 69:

(§6) ēd sē gyāg pad hangīrdīg dušox xwānīhēd; ast abāxtarīg, ud  
nigūnīg, ud azērīg ī ēn zamīg, ud tā-z abardom nigūnīh ī  
asāmān, u-š dar pad zamīg, az abaxtar nēmag gyāg-ēw, ast  
arzur grīwag xwānīhēd, kōf-ēw pad ham kōf ī aruzūr ('lwzwl)  
nām, kē andar\*iz \*nibēg, kōfān ī pad dēwān meh nām andar  
dēn guft estēd. dēwān andar gētīg hamdwārišnīh ud hanjāman  
pad sar ī hān kōf, čiyōn hān ī arzur kamāl xwānīhēd

"These three places summarily are called hell; it is northerly, and descending, and underneath this earth, even to the utmost limitless depth, and its gate is in the earth, a place of the northern quarter, and is called the Arzūr ridge, a mountain which [is] of the same name as mount Aruzūr, which is also in the scriptures, mountains which are said in the Religion [to have] a great fame with the dēws. The rushing together and assembly of dēws in the world are on the summit of that mountain, [or] as it is called 'the evil head of Arzur' " (cf. Pahl. Vd. XIX.45 abar ō hān ī arzūr kamāl).

3. So MR<sub>1</sub>, J; M. takes BK, K35 hnblyt' as 'wblyt, i.e. "ōbarēδ: fill up, pour ..., from avabara" (p. 466, n. 2), comparing hmb'lynd in Pahl. T. 107. 4; most likely, however, the same verb is required in PRDd. i.e. MR<sub>1</sub>, J's hnb'lyt'.

Notes to Chapter 51

1. With this sentence cf. Ind. Bd., XV. 22-3, GBd. XIV. 31 (TDA 105):

az awešān pad nō mäh yuxt-ēw zan ud mard az širēnīh fraxand ēwag  
mādar juđ ēwag pidar ud pas Ohrmazd širēnīh ī frazandān az  
mēnišn āwurdāran be kard and čand parvarišn ī frazandān rāy padīš  
be hišt hēnd

"from them were born in nine months a pair, woman and man. By reason of the sweetness of the children the mother ate one and the father ate one. Then Ohrmazd removed the sweetness of the children from the mind of parents (lit. "producers"). So much he left as much as is enough for the rearing of children".

West translates the first part of this chapter in a note to the above text (SBE V. 57, n. 2) and Christensen reproduces his transl. in Pr. Hom. I. 57, n. 2. See also Bartholomae WZKM XXIX. 37 (Al-Bīrūnī records a similar legend from Abū 'Alī Muḥ. b. Aḥmad Al-Balkhī:

wa wulida lihimā fa'akalāhu ḥirṣan thumma alqā allāhu fī  
qulubihuma ra'fatan (ed. Sachau, Lpz., 1878, p. 100. ll. 8-9)

"A child was born unto them, but they devoured it from sheer ravenousness. But then God inspired their hearts with mildness" (transl. Sachau, 1879, p. 108).

West offers two possible translations of širēnīh ī farzandān in the Bd. passage "tenderness for offspring", or "deliciousness of children". In PRDd. dōsāramīh lends support to the former, but fa'akalāhu ḥirṣan of Al-Bīrūnī favours the latter. Bailey's transl. "sweetness" retains the ambiguity of the original word (GBd. 105); Zaehner's interpretation of these passages and his conclusion that

"The conduct of the first human couple should therefore probably be ascribed to a perverted recrudescence of their concupiscence" (ZZ 179)

seems to be founded on a basic misconception. His conclusion, ibid., 178, that their drinking of milk was sinful, in GBd. 102. 1 ff., Ind. Bd. XV. 11, ignores the fact that Mašya's speech was dro-gōwišnīh, i.e. the milk had not harmed his body, and that it was then the demons, not Ohrmazd, who removed from them the taste of food; so, in fact, their abstention from food was their sin and punishment. Zaehner gives an equally alien, Manichaean interpretation for the couple's sexual relations. Their barrenness is, however, a punishment for their ingratitude and demonolatry (aspāsīh ... dēw-yazagīh). Zaehner's conclusion is that

"Mašyē obviously did wrong in uniting with Mašyānē to prolong the life of the species",

and thus he finds in their supposed guilt a motive for their devouring their first offspring. It is clear, however, that this cannot be so,

since the texts make no mention of guilt, but rather state that they were moved by an excess of śīrēnīh/dōṣāramīh.

2. Though this may be theologically acceptable, the sentence is platitudinous and does not resolve the perversity of this uncomfortable myth.

Notes to Chapter 52

1. This chapter resembles closely a passage in GBd. XXXIV, BTA (cited by H.W. Bailey in Zor. Prob., 93-4). The order of the twelve creations is set out in similar fashion, as follows:

<u>PRDd.</u>	<u>GBd.</u>
1. <u>asmān winnārd</u>	<u>asmān abēstān dād</u>
2. <u>zamīg winnārd</u>	<u>zamīg dād</u>
3. <u>xwarsēd pad rawišn dād</u>	<u>xwarsēd ...</u>
4. <u>māh pad hamrawišn dād</u>	<u>māh ...</u>
5. <u>star pad hamrawišn dād</u>	<u>stārag andar andarwāy ... wasīd</u> <u>hēnd</u>
6. <u>ĵōrdā hōšāg ... be rust</u>	<u>ĵōrdā dād</u>
7. <u>andar urwarīhā gōnag,</u> <u>bōy ud mizag tom tom dād</u>	<u>andar urwar rang dād</u> <u>gōnag gōnag</u>
8. <u>andar urwar ātaxš be dād</u> <u>ud be nē sōzēd</u>	<u>andar urwarān ud abārīg čiš</u> <u>ātaxš dād pad asōzišnīh</u>
9. <u>andar askamb ī mādarān</u> <u>pus winnārd</u>	<u>andar burdār ī mād pus dād</u>
10. <u>murw pad wād dād</u>	<u>ō āb pāy dād kū be tāzēd</u>
11. <u>āb pad rawišn dād</u>	<u>abr dād mēnōgīg kē hān ī</u> <u>gētīg ab bārēd</u>
12. <u>abr (dād) kē-s tan mēnōg</u> <u>hān ī gētīg āb bārēd</u>	<u>wāy dād kē časm-dīd pad</u> <u>wād nērōg azēr</u>

Unlike PRDd., however, GBd. gives a reason why the raising of the dead is easier for Ohrmazd than his first creating:

ēwag ēwag az awēšan-ka-m dād, padīš dušxwārtar būd kū ristāxēzišnīh,  
čē-m andar ristāxēz hayyārīh ī čiyōn awēšan ast ī, ka-m awēšan  
kard bawēd, nē būd. abar nigēr kū ka hān ī nē būd ēg-im be kard ud  
hān ī būd čim abāz nē sāyēd kardan čē pad hān hangām az mēnōg ī  
zamīg ast az āb xōn, az urwar mōy, ud az wād gyan, čiyōn-išān pad  
bundahišn padīrift xwāhēm.

"When I created these one by one, it was more difficult than the raising of the dead, in that in the raising of the dead I have the help of such as, when I made them, were not. Consider that, when I made what was not, why cannot I make again what has been, since at that time I shall ask from the mēnōg of the earth bones, from water blood, from plants hair, from wind the ĵān, as they received them in the primal creation" (transl. Bailey, Zor. Prob., 94;

cf. also Dd. purs. XXXVI. 3, WZ XXXIV. 6, cited by Bailey, ibid., 94-5, and Sd. Bd., کتاب, ed. D., 173ff).

Notes to Chapter 53

1. In the Persian Rivāyats the conditions are given under which patēt may be performed on another's behalf (Unv., Riv., I. 36-37, D., Pers. Riv., 23-32). The Rivāyats also describe the five forms of marriage, including padixšāy and čagar: Unv., Riv., I. 180 ff., D., Pers. Riv., 195-203; on čagar see also Tavadia, ŠnŠ., p. 137, n. 4; and Kotwal, Supp. ŠnŠ., ch. XII, n. 16. As M. remarks, in PRDd. LII, čagar is applied to the father, not, as is usual, the mother.

2. M. reads mard nē sāyēd, and translates "(other) man would not do".

3. M. reads \*šavīh ī man rāy paō patīt bavēh and translates "For my passing away recite the Patīt". But saw "go" is more likely, in the light of the following:

kasī be kasī guyad ke pas guzašta-ye man az jāda-ye man piš i dastūr šū va az gunāh-i man patēt kun (Unv., Riv., I. 37. 6)

"A person says to another: 'After my death go to the Dastūr for my sake and repent of my sins.'" (D., Pers. Riv., 33)

(patēt should be performed in the presence of a Dastūr, according to the same text, loc. cit.).

4. i.e. "recite the patēt!". On patēt "confession", see above, ch. XV. c, d, e, esp. XV. e.4, which are also translated and discussed by Asmussen, op. cit., 68 ff. See J.P. Asmussen, Xuāstvānīft, p. 48, who translates this passage of PRDd. 53, and discusses the subject matter in the course of a general study of the significance of patēt in the religio-historical development of Zoroastrianism. Asmussen explains that in this passage new elements of doctrine adduced in the Pahlavi commentary to Vd. 7. 72 are extended and that PRDd. 53 is a key to the understanding of Vd. 7. 72,

"the addition of which is only logical and natural when pad patīt and patītīh are interpreted as some kind of compensation, penance".

Notes to Chapter 54

1. The list of heroes seems queer and does not appear to have any theological significance. It is probably merely a further variation on the theme of the lists of helpers of the Saošyant in Yt. 19. 95, Dd. purs. 35, etc., but it does not seem to have the symmetrical correspondence with the six kešvars around Khvaniratha which Darmesteter noticed in Dd., loc. cit. (Et. ir., II, 206-8, and see M. Boyce HZ I, 284). In a Persian Rivāyat a series of such heroes is linked with Ohrmazd and the six amahraspands, and they are said to be "the immortal rulers of the region of glory, Xwanirah" (Unv., Riv., II, 49. 1-10, transl. D., Pers. Riv., 424).

2. This is another name for the wan ī was tokmag "Tree of Many Seeds", mentioned above and in GBd. VI. d. 5 (BTA, 79), etc., also known as wan ī hamāg bēšazišnīh (GBd. XXIV. 8, BTA, 195), which grew in the sea Vourukaša. It is called jud-bēš "an antidote", lit. "opposing harm" (pace Mackenzie "harmless", and it is valued, presumably not because it simply grows there in safety, but because from it every year Tīr/Tištīrya takes its seeds to "rain them upon the world with the rain" MX LXII. 42, see M. Boyce HZ I, 138; as M. Boyce has observed (ibid., loc. cit.) there is some confusion in the mythology between this tree and the nearby Gōkarn tree. Indeed they are identified completely in PRDd. 54, for it is rather the latter tree which is a "producer of Frašegird": the Gōkarn is said to produce the "White Hōm" plant which will confer immortality upon the resurrected bodies of the dead at Frašegird. Cf. MXA 167. 9 ff. (SBE XXIV, ch. 62. 37-42).

3. Cf. MXA 167 (SBE XXIV, ch. 62. 31-6); Unv., Riv., II. 70. 13-17; D., Pers. Riv., 435-6; see also H.W. Bailey, BSOS VI, 1932, 950-3.

4. Wēw/Gēv/Gīw is not only a very well known figure in Šāhnāme, but also a historical Parthian prince, father of "Go<sup>h</sup>larzes". In Šāhnāme Gīw and Tūs both are with Kai Khusrau when he disappears.

5. Krišāsp is said to have no soul, yet he is a producer of Frašegird. Again, then he is the most contradictory of heroes - virtually soul-less and a saošyant at the same time. He is included here presumably because of his great role in killing Aži Dahāka; his "soul-lessness" is presumably an allusion to his reputed sinfulness against fire, whence he, as it were, lost his soul (i.e. righteousness) in hell; his body is said to be preserved on the plain of Pēsānsā

(see above, ch. 18) and his soul is in Hammistagān?(see above, ch.18.f.31).



Notes to Chapter 55

1. The shadow of certain birds - mountain kite, vulture, black crow, eagle - destroys the demon Nasrust; see Pahl. Vd. VII. 2; ŠnŠ. II. 5; Unv., Riv., I. 111, D., Pers. Riv., 113. These texts deal passim with nasā, hixr and other forms of pollution.

2. These two sentences seem out of place and may be an interpolation, perhaps from ch. 53 supra. As is explained in Sd.N., ch. 42, the hamēmāl sin is very grave, and unlike most sins:

īn gunāh ba-kār i kerfa našavad tā xašm rā xušnūd nakunand (§6)  
"this sin does not depart through the act of good deeds so long  
as they do not appease the antagonist."

3. The corpse-bearers' task of conveying the extremely polluting nasā to the dakhma is the subject of detailed discussion in Vd. and the Persian Rivāyats. This matter, however, concerning the bridge is not mentioned elsewhere. Perhaps it is concerned with the necessity of maintaining the paywand, the tie ritually connecting the corpse-bearers. The point here seems to refer to other people standing still or moving and is perhaps linked with the idea that when a corpse is jolted the Druj Nasuš has a chance to spring out.

4. This subject is treated of in the Persian Rivāyats; esp. Unv., Riv. I. 83. 7 f., transl. D., Pers. Riv., 79, concerning skin, flesh, etc., dropped in corn-fields. §3 is a general statement. The extent of "sin" would presumably vary with what the hixr/nasā came into contact with.

5. M. reads kē ōstār ī hixr-ōmand "those who are polluted, who are full of defilement". Another possible emendation is MNW \*'ndk-c hyl ZY hyhl'wmnd "who have even a little piece of dirt ...".

Notes to Chapter 56

1. With this chapter cf. K.J. Jamasp Asa, DHNV 201 ff. ( = Paz.T. 68-70), see app.; see also PRDd. 9, and also M., ch. 58. For a detailed discussion of the drōn service, see M. Boyce and F. Kotwal "Zoroastrian bāj and drōn", pts. I and II, BSOAS XXXIV, pts. 1 and 2, 1971; Modi, Ceremonies, ch. XV; Haug, Essays 407-9.

2. In this chapter Pahl. drōn is a technical term for the unleavened bread of the yašt ī keh "lesser service"; for an explanation of the restriction of the term drōn ( < Av. draonah "portion") to bread alone, see Boyce-Kotwal, art. cit. I, 63. As Modi explains (op. cit., 368-9):

"The Darun fruit, flowers, wine, milk, etc., which are offered, and over which prayers are recited, are all jointly known as myazda."

but he adds (370):

" ... but, latterly, the world Darun has often been mentioned separately; for example in the Afrīn (Darun yashtahom, niyazd hamirāyēnim)".

In this chapter, each of the items of myazd are discussed as to their value and function in the yašt ī keh. The latter part of the chapter describes the form of propriety in the myazd ceremony. The liturgy of the drōn service is a slightly modified form of hā III-VIII of the yasna liturgy: as yašt ī keh it is part of the preparation for the yašt ī meh, "greater service", i.e. the yasna ceremony. It is performed for three main purposes: first, as a service of thanksgiving to a particular divine being and his associates; second as srōš bāj, with a snuman, "dedication", to Ohrmazd and also to Srōš to be said in all fire gāhs on all three days after a death; thirdly, as a regular thanksgiving, the yašt ī keh is said as a form of bāj ī nān xwardan "grace for eating food", i.e. as an initial bāj said before meals (on these three uses of yašt ī drōn see art. cit., I, 64 ff.). The present chapter appears to be addressed both to priesthood and laity. In its non-liturgical form, i.e. as bāj ī nān, as Boyce-Kotwal explain, it was practised widely by all adult Zoroastrians:

" ... the drōn yašt, which nowadays ... is used only by priests in the fire temples, was formerly celebrated much more generally, by the laity as well as priests, by women as well as men; in fact by any Zoroastrian who wore sudra and kustī, and by whom worship had been performed (yašt kard ēstēd), anyone, that is, who had reached maturity and had entered fully into the religious life of the community."

3. With this § cf. DHMH 201, 11. 1-9; cf. also Unv., Riv., II, 17, 11-12 (transl. D., Pers. Riv. 403):

ma' nī-ye drōn īnast: dar dīn drōn andāza-ye gēhān, hamārā kanāre-ye kūh ī alburz ke pērāmun-ī gēhān ast guzdā dar miyān-ī drōn andāze-ye čakāt-ī daitī dar miyān-ī gēhān

"the symbolism of the drōn is this: in the religion the drōn is like the world, its edge (is like) Mount Alburz which is around the world. The gōšodāg in the middle of the drōn (is) like the Lawful Summit in the middle of the world."

4. abzāyišn "increase", the clear reading of three MSS, is a synonym for abzōnišn, which occurs in J here, and also in PRDd. 58. 4. M. reads apzunišn and translates "the rolling (of the middle part of the drōn)". M. refers to PRDd. LVIII. 4 as a similar context; in fact that passage is difficult to interpret:

drōn kanārag ul kunišn ud frasast nē kunišn ud harw dō be abzōnišn ud drōn ud frasast ēdōn abzōnišn kū sūrāg pad kust ī did be nē bawēd

"The edge of the drōn should be lifted up and that of the frasast should not be lifted up, and both should be raised, and drōn and frasast should be raised (to ensure) that the holes are not through to the other side".

Cf. Mirza's transl., p. 320.

This instruction appears to correspond to a detail of an explanation of the drōn-ī Hōm/drōn-ī zabān from instruction by a present-day Irani Zoroastrian priest, Dastur Khodadad Shahriyar Neryosangi of Sharifabad, described in M. Boyce, "Haoma, Priest of the Sacrifice", 74:

"Directly before him (i.e. the zōt, the officiating priest), on a round tray, are two round "breads", called in Iran luwok. These are placed together and slightly overlapping, the left of the right hand one, ritually called the drōn, being over the right edge of the other one (the frasast)."

According to Steingass, afzuni-ī nān is "the fermentation or rising of bread" (82); however, since traditionally drōn is properly unleavened bread, the "rising" must be shaped not leavened. This is the opposite sense of Mirza's transl. of 58. 4, i.e. that

"the corner of the drōn cake should be made higher than the middle portion, and that of the frasast should not be made (higher) ... " (M., 320).

In PRDd. 56. 1 M. does not explain how "the rolling of the middle (part) of the drōn" could represent men, stars and plants. It is more likely that these creations should be represented by the abzāyišn/abzōnišn, "increase, rising", of the middle, especially considering that Av. spānta is rendered by Pahl. abzōnīg. DHMH 201. 6 has abzō[n]išn, Paz.T. afzūišn.

5. On gōšodāg see PRDd. LVIII 15, 16, 32, 33, 67-74.

6. In the yašt ī drōn half of the sacred breads are drōn, half are frasast. According to Modi drōn is "named" (Parsi Guj. nām-pādelā), frasast is "unnamed" (Parsi Guj. vagar-nāmnā); this naming is done by cutting nine marks in the drōn, in three rows, while thrice muttering Av. humata huxta hvaršta "good thoughts, good words, good deeds" (Ceremonies, 279-80). (See Pavry, Future Life, 103, n. 243; Kotwal, Supp. ŠnŠ., frasast, 142, s.v., on how Haug, West, et al. have confused drōn and frasast.) In the Persian rivāyat of Kaus Kamdin it is said:

dar īnjā na-ba-nōk-i kārta na-mīzanīm (Unv., Riv., II. 17. 11);

Dhabhar translates:

"Here (i.e. in Persia) we do not mark (the Darun) with the tip of a knife" (D., Pers. Riv., 402-3.

Dhabhar adds, in a note:

"Half the number of Daruns are marked with nine cuts in India, while being prepared ...".

Dhabhar understands the text as meaning that no such cuts were made in Iran. It is perhaps significant that while these "nine cuts" are always mentioned in modern descriptions of drōn, they are not referred to in PRDd. LVI, DHNV 201 f., or PazT 68ff. Perhaps, then, here is an example of a difference in the ritual practice of the Parthian (orth-eastern) and Persian (outh-western) traditions. In PRDd. LVIII. 58 the only reference to "cut" is in §2:

... 'Ps [XN<sup>①</sup> bwlk' BYN kwšn' 'Ps<sup>②</sup> PWN p'ty'p slyššn<sup>③</sup> 'YT'  
MNW 'ytwn' YMRWNyt \*'YK<sup>④</sup> bwlk yh<sup>⑤</sup> L' kwšn MH gl

①. M. emends to \*3. ②. These five words lacking in MR<sub>1</sub>, J. ③. M. omits 'Ps PWN p'ty'p slyššn'. ④. M. reads ēḡ. ⑤. M. emends to buray-ē. ⑥. MSS TYN'.

(In a parallel passage, Nir.S. 4Or. 6, u-s ... pad pādyāb srēššn appears in MS TD, but is lacking in DH.) This passage may be translated:

"and [this hold should be made in it and it is] to be] kneaded purely; there is one who says that a hole should not be made (in it) for (the drōn is) a \*mountain".

Where I read gār "mountain" M. supposes an original dl/dar "hole", "which has been wrongly read here gl:gil: clay, and replaced by the ideogram TYN'" (M., 477, n. 7). The statements in PRDd. 56. 1 (drōn ... kanārag kōf ī harburz; ... gōšodāg čagād ī daidīg pad mayān ī drōn nihādan ... etc.) suggest that gar "mountain" would give a reasonable sense here; as M. notes (loc. cit.), in Dd.A. p. 108. 10, TYN' y hwšd'st'l should be read gar ī hōš-dāštār.

7. The yašt ī drōn is dedicated first to Ohrmazd, then to the yazd of the day. When it is dedicated with the šnūman of Srōš, three drōn and three frasast are consecrated, instead of the usual two and two. Also, as Modi says, in the Srōš Bāj:

"the officiating priest makes the chashni (i.e. partakes of the offered sacred bread, etc.) seven times instead of five as in other Bajs" (*ibid.*, 363).

In PRDd. 56, §§2 and 3 appear to be contradictory:

§2 ohrmazd pad judāgīh ī amahraspandān ud yazdān abāyēd yašt

§3 abārīg abāg ohrmazd yazišn; in fact, however, the meaning is clear: although (§2) Ohrmazd is to be worshipped separately through the special consecration of the frasast, the rites are standard for Ohrmazd and all the other yazds (§3), except for Srōš. The protection of Srōš is required at death, and at other times of danger, for the removal of pollution - both major and minor - e.g. before and after barašnom, investiture of kustī, cutting of fingernails, upon going to sleep and awaking (Avestā-i dast-u-ruy-šōyīn, the "Avesta for washing hands and face", see Boyce-Kotwal, *art. cit.*, II, 311 and n. 99).

8. It is not clear to what frasast kanārag nē kardan refers. M. translates "making the border of the frasast (higher than the middle part)"; this sense is not explicit in the text. A similar phrase occurs in PRDd. 58. 4:

drōn kanārag ul kunišn ud frasast nē kunišn (see above, n. 4).

It appears that in PRDd. LVIL, 56. 1, DHMHV 201, 5-6, and Paz.T. 68, the edge of the drōn is likened to Mount Harburz in the way it encircles the earth (u-š kanārag ī pērāmōn čiyōn kōf ī harburz), not in its being raised. There is no other reference to the edge of the drōn and frasast. In DHMHV 201 ff. and Paz.T. 68 ff. the sense of PRDd. §§3 and 4 is conflated:

ud frasast hemēnīh ī ohrmazd xwadāy ud pad judāgīh az drōn nihādan čim ēn kū ohrmazd akanārag

"and the frasast is the unity of the Lord Ohrmazd, and the reason for putting it separate from the drōn is this that Ohrmazd is limitless."

In the Persian rivāyat of Kama Bohra the shape of the drōn is described for the yašt ī drōn with the šnūman of Sīrūze:

sī va se luvak nihādan yek drōn yek parsast yek drōn pad panj guše dārad čun xursīd yek mäh ruy ke ān čun mäh bašad (Unv., Riv., I, 155, 6-7)

"33 luvaks should be placed. (There should be) one lot of daruns (i.e. sacred cakes with names) and the other lot of farsast

(cakes without names). One darun should have five corners like the sun, and one called the māh-rui which is like the moon" (D., Pers. Riv., 169).

Cf. also the following passages from Unv., Riv.:

bebāyad yeki kard xursīd-ruy, bebāyad yeki dīgari māh-ruy  
 "One must be made "sun-faced", one other must be "moon-faced"  
 (I, 169, 8-9)

drōnī yekī panj gūše konand, z-i har gūna-yē mīve bar vei nihand  
yekī māhrui-ye ba-mānandar māh, ba āteš drōn yaştan ān jāigāh  
 "one five-cornered drōn should be made, all sorts of fruits should be placed on it.

one moon-faced drōn resembling the moon before the fire of the place of the celebration of the drōn"  
 (I, 169, 19);

see also Unv., Riv., II, 17, 9:

xursīd-rūy andāza-ye xursīd, māh-rūy andāza-ye māh  
 "The sun-faced (drōn) represents the sun, the moon-faced (drōn) represents the moon";

this passage is followed by a diagram of drōn, frasast, māh-rūy and xursīd-rūy (see app. II).

9. M. reads this Š differently and translates:

"The wine which is with the drōn represents the water of the sea, and (the goblet of wine) should be (completely) filled, because on account of its not being full, it should have given the evidence that the water of the sea has no tide, the water goblet is (like) the forest in the sea."

M. explains that purr "complete" is a play on words with pūr "tide" (n. 4, p. 472-3), a word whose existence is not supported by the passage he quotes, i.e. GBd. XXI. 7. M. also interprets MSS 'pysl as āfyīr "water goblet" (though this properly requires an emendation); he does not explain how "the water-goblet" could represent "the forest in the sea". ābgīr is a rare word in Pahl;

the more common words for goblet are jām(ag), paygāl, ābdān.

M. reads MSS 'pysl similarly as āfvīr in PRDd. LVIII, 19

'pysl MN kwst ZY dsn' BR' XNXTWNSn āfyīr az kustī dašn be nihišn.

ābgīr does not mean "goblet" in NP; according to Steingass it is

"any hollow place where water collects and stagnates; a pool, pond, ditch; etc."

It is possible to interpret the phrase as referring to the crown of froth on the surface of the wine, as in the ghazal of Hāfiz (entitled

bar sar ī bāzār jānbāzān mimādā mīzanad):

duxtar ī raz čand rūzī šud ke as mā gom šudast ...

jāme-ī dārad zi la'1 ū nīm tājī az ḥabāb

"The daughter of the vine, how many days is it since she was lost from me!"

She is clothed in ruby and has a diadem of bubbles"

(On the forest in the sea, see PRDd. 46. 14; cf. also Pahl. Vd. V. 19.

With this § cf. also Unv., Riv., II, 17. 14:

āb va urvar va mīva andāza ye pīša va zirīh

"The water and plants and fruits represent the forest and sea".)

A sentence in the text abar čim ī drōn (OHMV 201. 10-14, Paz.T. 68 ff.) confirms the reading:

čim ēn, kū ohrmazd akanārag, ud hw'pk pad āb ī zreh homānag,  
purr abāyēd kardan, čē zreh purr āb, ud ka nē purr, nē abāyēd,  
ud nē homānag abesar (Paz. nāvśr) ud wīdarag ud asprahm ō wēšag  
ī zreh homānag, abesar ī mēnōg

"The matter is, that Ohrmazd is limitless and the ? is like the water of the sea, it must be kept full, for the sea is full of water, and if it is not full, it is not lawful, and it is not like the crown and the path, and the herb is like the forest in the sea, the crown of the spirit."

On wine in the yašt ī drōn, see PRDd. 58. 18-19.

10. Again it appears that the text abar čim ī drōn has conflated two paras. of PRDd. 56: the words ud asprahm ō wēšag ī zrēh homānag abesar ī mēnōg conflate the sense of §§5 and 6 in PRDd. M. translates §6 "The flower is (like) an amulet for the Amahraspands". There is an obvious symbolic connection between the plant/herb which brings relief to physical sickness and the holy (afsōn) which bring spiritual well-being into the world. An example of this link is found in the cult of Frēdōn (Thraētaona), as Dhabhar explains:

"According to Vd. 20, Thrita, generally identified with Faridun, was the first person in this world who invented remedies from plants for various diseases; hence latterly many nirangs and afsuns (i.e. charms) with the intermixture of certain Avesta texts are composed in the name of Faridun, to ward off fever, sickness, plague and the various evils man is heir to."  
(Pers. Riv., 279)

A definitive statement of this symbolism occurs in Pahl. Vd. farg. VII. 44:

ka was bēšāzēnīdār ō ham rasēnd, Spītamān Zardušt, kē pad kārđ  
bēšāzēnēd ... kē pad urwar bēšāzēnēd (kē dārūg dahēd) kē pad  
mānsarspand bēšāzēnēd (kū afsōn kunēd) t m athra hanjasanti yat  
mathr m sp nt m baēsaz m ōy ēdār ō ham rasēnd kē pad mānsarspand  
bēšāzēnēd, čē hān ast ī az bēšāzēnīdārān bēšāzēnīdartom kē pad  
mānsarspand bēšāzēnīdār ī weh nē kunēd, kē mard ī ašō az uruspar  
bēšāzēnēd (kū afsōn kunēd)

"If many healers come together, Spitama Zardušt, he who heals with the knife ... he who heals with herbs (who gives medicine), he who heals with the holy word (who makes incantations) "hither do they come to him who heals with the holy word (repeated in Pahl.), for he is of healers the most healing who heals with the holy word, who does not do good, who does not do evil either, the righteous, man who heals from his essence (i.e. who makes incantations)".

On the symbolism of the herbs (sprahm), and their assignation to various yazads see Modi, op. cit., 396 ff.

11. čāšnīg, the "ritual tasting" of the consecrated bread, water, gōšodāg etc. is allowed only after bāj is taken, but as Boyce-Kotwal explain:

"the yašt ī drōn has, exceptionally, no opening bāj; but ... there is internally an important initial bāj to the rite of čāšnī to which most of the liturgy forms an introduction. The čāšnī comes, however, almost at the end of the service, and is followed by only a few Avestan sentences, after which there is an elaborate closing bāj to defend the rite" (art. cit., I, 64).

čāšnīg (čāšnī) of yašt ī drōn as bāj ī nān xwardan, which is now practised only by priests, is described in detail in Boyce-Kotwal, art. cit., I, 67-8; see also PRDd. 58 . 62-4; Modi, op. cit., 298-9, 324-5; Darmesteter, ZA, I, 75. In this § it appears that the yašt ī drōn is recommended as a bāj ī nān xwardan for all - priests and laity. With this § cf. Jamasp Asa, DHMHV 202. 1-6.

12. M. reads:

kē andar myazd vāḍrang pāray-ē x<sup>u</sup>areδ, ē-s vāḍ ī \*niyāzay ī paδ galūy nē bavēδ

"If a person tastes a piece of orange he shall not have the inflammation of necessity in the throat".

The reading of the emended word is difficult, but doubtless the sense of the § is that the eating of the fruit prevents dyspeptic wind in the throat. M. sees "a play upon the words vāḍ and vāḍrang" in §9.

13. On the myazd ceremony see Modi, op. cit., 392-4; M. Boyce, HZ I, 148-9. Like drōn, the term myazd has come to designate, in popular usage, the ceremony of offering consecrated food as well as that food itself. F. Kotwal, Supp. ŠnŠ., 157, defines myazd as:

"fruits offered up during the stum, āfrīnagān and bāj (drōn) ceremonies; hence, one of these ceremonies itself".

As in ŠnŠ. 13.25 the term myazd is used of the bāj ceremony; so also in ibid., 12. 19 it "appears to be used for a meal solemnly eaten in connection with a religious festival" (F. Kotwal, op. cit., 99, n. 19).

14. On the rite of purification, see Modi, op. cit., 94 ff. With this § cf. PRDd. 58. 8, where the necessity for purification is explained:

nē-z kāmāgīh ī mard rāy be nērang ī drōn rāy

"(it is) not just for men's wishes, i.e. because men want it, but for the sake of the ritual efficacy of the drōn (service)".

See also DHMHV, 202. 6-8

15. i.e. when yašt ī drōn is said as a bāj ī nān xwardan (see above, n. 11). This form of wāz (bāj) is referred to in Sd. Bd. 59 (ed. D.,



p. 131 f.; transl. D., Pers. Riv., 547).

16. M. emends to sayīdan "to sweep" by analogy with robišn "sweep" in PRDd. 58. 8.

17. M. reads:

... āpgīr andar dast ī mard ast  
 "the water-goblet in the hand of the man is - - - - -"

The meaning is doubtful, but it is possible, however, that the preceding tan is the subject of ast and the symbolic meaning is that man, as viceregent of Ohrmazd in the gētīg world, holds sovereignty in his body as a king has it in his crown.

18. With this § cf. Pahl. T. 122. 3-10:

drayān-īōyišn ōwōn skeft kū ka hān ī drayān g'vōwišn mardōm hamāg xwarēd ud hamāg drayēd 1,000 dēw pad nērōg ō abustan bawēd bēwar dēw pad nērōg ī ōy be zāyēd ud damišn ī az zofr ud gundagīh ī ōy be ō garōdmān ō pēs ī ohrmazd šawēd ud mizag ī čāšnīg ī hān xwarišn be ō ahreman ud dewān rasēd ud hordad ud amurdad abar tan ī ōy nifrīn kunēnd kū tō az hordād ud amurdād wēs drayān ma xwarād  
 "[the sin of] chattering while eating [is] so serious that if the chattering person keeps eating and he keeps chattering, a thousand demons are conceived in the womb by his power, ten thousand demons are born by his power, and the breath from the depths and its stench goes before Ohrmazd in Garōdmān and the savour of the tasting of the food reaches Ahreman and the demons, and Hordad and Amurdad pronounce curses over his body (saying):

'You, chattering so much against Hordād and Amurdād, do not eat!'

Cf. also MXA I. 33-4, Dd., purs. 78. 8 (SBE XVIII, ch. 79. 8), Paz.T.

140. 21 f. According to Sd.N., the reason for maintaining silence while eating is that chattering drives away Hordād and Amurdād:

§2 ... čun mezd, va āfrīnagān x'wāhand kardan bāyad ke hame kas bāz girand  
če dar mezd ke nišaste bāšand harr mardī rā ferešte bar dast-i rāst istāde bāšad, va mōbadān rā dō ferešte

§4 va čun darāyān xorand va hadōs konand fereštaḡān az-an be-savand va be-jā-yi ferešte dīvī be-istad

... §11 be har loqma ke be-xorand čun bāḡ bāšad xordād va murdad amešasfand āfrīn be-guyand va agar bī bāḡ xorad čun dīvān ānjā hāzer bāšand guyand ke zahr-i mār xordī (ch. 21, ed. D., p.19f.)

§2 ... "When they wish to perform myazd and āfrīnagān everyone must take the bāḡ

§3 For those who are seated at the myazd, for every man an angel is stood at his right hand, and for the priests two angels.

§4 and when they eat chatteringly and converse the angels go away from there and in place of the angel a demon stands.

§11 With every mouthful they eat when it is the bāḡ, the ameša spēntas Hordād and Amurdād give blessings, and if one eats without bāḡ, since the demons are present there, they say: 'you might have eaten the poison of a snake'."

Hordād and Amurdād are vitally connected with eating and drinking, as is explained in Dk. III.

ud āz az \*čārīh ī abar čīhr pad anābišn ī čīhr: u-š abāz dāstār hordad ud amurdad - xwarišn ud xwārišn - az čīhr bandīhēd čīhr hayyār āz hamēstār; ud ka hordad amurdad xwarišn ud xwārišn az čīhr bandīhēd čīhr pad anhayyārīh az āz čīhr anābīhīd ud gyān pad tan winnirdan nē šāyēd az dō winnārišnīh ī gyān pad tan ošōmandīh bawēd ī tan (DkM. 316. 11ff.);

De Menasce translates:

"Le moyen pour Āz d'agir sur la nature est de faire dépérer la nature: en retenant de la nature Hordat et Amurdad - nourriture et boisson - est retranché l'adjuvant de la nature et l'adversaire d'Āz; et quand Hordat et Amurdad - nourriture et boisson - sont retranchés de la nature, la nature dépérit, n'étant plus aidée du fait de la présence d'Āz en elle. La vie ne peut s'établir dans le corps, la mortalité du corps s'en suit" (IIIème Livre du Dk., p. 301).

19. As F. Kotwal has noted (op. cit., 110, n. 2), this passage (SS13-16) is very similar to ŠnŠ. XVIII, 1-4.

20. On xwēdōdāh see above, ch. 8.

21. On the crime of stealing from the Gāhāmbar see Unv., Riv.,

427. 16-17:

va čun kasī čīzī az gāhānbar beduzdīd gāhānbar tabāh šavad va kerfa na bovad

"and if one steals anything from the Gāhāmbar-festival (that celebration of) the Gāhāmbar is vitiated and there is no merit in it".

22. M. does not translate the last nine words of Š16.

Notes to Chapter 57

1. The ithā āaṭ yazamaidē is a daily prayer of thankfulness and blessing on the creation. The zand of ithā āaṭ yazamaidē (Y. 37. 1) is here followed by that of the ašəm vohū. Dhabhar appears not to have noticed this, to judge from his note, PRDd., 170, n. 5:

"the Zand of Yatha and Ashem is not given in the MSS".

However, the closing words znd ZY ithā W ašəm vohū are resumptive of this chapter, not prefatory to a lost which followed. The Pahl. translation of ithā here is almost identical to Pahl. Y. 37. 1, 5. 1 and ZKA, ed. D., p. 2 (zand ī nān bun), except for the omission here of the gloss bun ud bar ("root and fruit": see D.'s note in ZKA, transl. p. 100-101, n. 23). The Av. text of Y. 37. 1 is

ithā āaṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām yā gaṃcā ašəmcā dāt apascā  
dāt urvarāasca vanuhiš raocāscā dāt būmimca vispācā vohū

In this form the mathra is used together with the ašəm vohū especially as a bāṭ (Pahl. wāz) taken before eating meals (see Pahl. Vd., farg. 16. 7; Dd. purs. 78; West SBE XVIII, 233, n. 1; Tavadia, ŠnŠ. V). D. notes in ZKA, transl., p. 3, that part of this text is reminiscent of phrases in Y. 12. 1, the beginning of the Fravarānē:

... ahurāi mazdāi vanhawē vohumaitē ... yā.zī cīcā vahistā  
venhē gāuš venhe ašəm venhē raocā venhē raocābiš roithwan x<sup>v</sup>āthra.

The Pahl. transl. is

... ō ohrmazd weh ... kē čigām-iz-ēw pahlomīh ōy dād, kē ōy  
gōspand, kē ōy ahlāyīh, kē ōy rōšnīh, kē ō rōšnīh gumext.

On the Fravarānē, see further M. Boyce, HZ I, 253 ff. Further comparison may be made with Š7 of the Fravarānē, which mentions the creations in the order of their creation: water, plant, beneficent cow, righteous man, etc.

Closest to the text of the ithā āaṭ yazamaidē, however, is GBd. XIV. 12 (BTA, 129), which records the first words of Mašya and Mašyānag (their last before their thinking was defiled by the onslaught of Ahreman "the assailant"/petyārag):

ōhrmazd dād āb ud zamīg ud urwar ud gōspand, star ud mäh ud  
xwaršēd ud harwisp abādīh kē az ahlāyīh paydāgīh gōwēd bun  
ud bar

"Ohrmazd has created water and earth and plants and cattle, stars and moon and all prosperity, which is called the revelation of truth, root and fruit".

The second part of our ch. 57, a Pahl. version of the ašəm vohū interspersed with perhaps corrupt Pahl. glosses, is different from the standard Pahl. translation of, e.g., ZKA:

ahlāyīh abādīh ī pahlom ast, nēk ast [ahlāyīh , nēk ōy kē  
ahlāyēnīdār ī hān ī pahlom ahlāyīh (ed. D., 1)

"Righteousness is the best prosperity, [righteousness] is good, good is he who is the sanctifier of the best righteousness".

For the full zand of the ašam vohū see Av. and Pahl. Y. 20, and Dk. IX. 48 (DkM. 876 f., SBE XXXVII. 308), and for a NP commentary see Sd. Bd. ch. 45, 1-2 (transl. D., Pers. Riv., 537).

2. This emendation is made in the light of Nir. f. 194 R. 7, cited by Dhabhar, ZKA, transl., 1. n. 2). This "store" links up with ābādīh in the sense of prosperity (barns full of corn, etc.). M. reads evbār and translates as "once".

3. M. translates both ahlāyīh and frārōnīh as "righteousness" frārōnīh is better distinguished as "honesty"; cf. Sd. Bd., ch. 45. 1-2:

az har nīkī ke mardom kunand beh az rāstī kardan va rāstī  
guftan hīč kerfe-ye nīkī nīst va rāstī az jumlat-e čīz  
behtar ast ... gah-i ū kunad kar kerfe ke nīk ast rāst guftan  
nīk ast ānkas ke rāst-gūy bāšad čē rāst guftan va rāstī kardan  
az hame kār behtar ast va bedānad ke īn dar fasl-i rāst guftan ast  
"There is no merit of a virtue better than speaking the truth and practising the truth from out of all the virtues which men practise; and truthfulness is the best of all things ... He who does duties and good works is good i.e. speaking the truth (is good); happy is that person who is a speaker of truth because speaking the truth and practising the truth is better than other works; and it should be known that this is on the subject of speaking the truth" (D.'s translation, with slight alteration, Pers. Riv., 537).

Also, in the above passage it appears that nīkī/nīk is better rendered by "goodness/good" than "happiness/happy", as in Pahl. (pace D. and M.).

Notes to Chapter 59

1. As M. Boyce observes, Manuscihr, writing of zōhr ī xar ud xūg, states:

hān gōšt pad pākīh wizīrēnīd pad be dādan ō gāhānbār  
 "that meat is to be adjudged clean for giving at the  
gāhānbār" (Ep. Man. I VIII, 3, ed. D., 38, cited in M. Boyce,  
 'Atas-zōhr and Ab-zōhr', JRAS, 1966, 104).

Presumably Manuscihr had Muslim dietary laws in mind. All creatures of Wahman are held to be clean and here it is stated that all gōspand, both wild (kōfīg) and domesticated (kadīg) are alike; presumably this means that they are all fit for sacrifice as zōhr and as gōšodāg. See also art. cit., 103, n. 5.

2. M. reads varray varray "a ram a ram", without indicating emendation; but wlk'/KNN' "ram, lamb" does not in fact appear in the MSS, which have p'cyn' p'cyn'. pāzen "ibex" is a wild animal whose domestic counterpart is the goat, buz, ideog. 'Z. This ideog. may have been misunderstood and "corrected" by a copyist to p'cyn'. In GBd. XIII. 12, TDA 95. 8, (BTA 120), the species of goat is said to be of five kinds: xarbuzz gōspand ud pāzen warrag ud buz "ass-goat, cattle, wild-goat, lamb, goat".

3. M. reads

[uo] āhūy harv sarday; hunī nē rōšanay ku im sarday kaḏār  
 "and a gazelle all kinds (of wild gazelle); as regards hunī it is not clear to which kind it belongs".

Both reading and translation seem unlikely: ahu "gazelle" is not mentioned as one of the species (sardag) of gōspand in GBd. XIII, whereas all the other animals named in PRDd. 59 are principal creatures in that description of the species. In GBd. XIII the gōspand are divided into three, five and two hundred and sixty-two species successively. The classification into three species was probably the best known:

- (1) čārag-arzānīg "fit for grazing" (goat, sheep, camel, pig horse, ass)
- (2) gairišag ... ud wāyēndag ... nē dast-āmōg "mountain-dwellers ... and birds ... not tamed by the hand"
- (3) ābīg ud ūnīg "those of the waters and of burrows"

(GBd. XIII. 9, BTA 118;  
TDA 94. 11 ff.).

Possibly this classification underlies this Š of PRDd. 59. The pair ābīg ud ūnīg is sufficiently rare to have been unclear to the copyist (the punctuation of K35 here with full stops between each word (°°) )

indicates that the copyist does not understand this part of the text). MSS hunī written in Av. script is hwny in Pahl. script, and identical to 'wny[k]. H.W. Bailey (GBd. 94. 15, n.) says that ūnīg

"is a learned word from Av. unā- "hole", Pahl. Comm. ūnak explained as sūrāk. ūnīk transl. Av. upasma- "under the earth". Ind.B., 29. 7 xuni ...".

See also Bart. Air. Wb., 396-7, 401.

The pair ābīg ud ūnīg occur in Y. 71. 9 (Av. upāpa- upasma, Pahl. ābīg ūnīg); see further D., Pahl. Y., Glossary 52, s.v. ūnīk; ūnag-mānist "living in burrows" occurs in GBd. XIII. 19, TDA 96. 11. Cf. also Unv., Riv., 255. 19 for a NP transl. of GBd., loc. cit.:

panjom ziākī hast xarges panj sarde dō viābānī sarde yek xū manist yek više manist "fifthly that having the form of a hare is of five kinds:- two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow, one dwelling in the forest" (D., Pers. Riv., 258).

Birds are not mentioned in our text, presumably because they have a somewhat ambiguous status. They are considered, with the exception of owls, as gōspand; hens, as domesticated birds, are sacrificed, but birds are generally unacceptable to the yazads as offerings, perhaps because they are eaters of carrion. The dog is also excluded, as it is virtually sacred.

4. The reason for this dedication of different parts is, M. Boyce has suggested, that thereby the animal sacrificed is wholly given to the yazads. The yazads require only the spiritual part of the animal and all the odours of sacrifice, which are offered by cooking the meat; the celebrant priest ritually consumes some of the physical parts of the animal (see M. Boyce, art. cit., 103-4). For a detailed treatment of this rite see M. Boyce, 'Haoma, Priest of the Sacrifice', W.B. Henning Memorial Volume, esp. p. 74 ff.

5. Cf. Y. 11. 4, the source of this statement; as F. Kotwal notes, there is no scriptural authority for the dedications that follow (Supp. ŠnŠ., 96, nl 7).

6. In ŠnŠ. XI, Wištāsp and Jāmāsp exchange places.

7. In ŠnŠ. only the fatty entrails are dedicated to Ardā Fraward; the pahlūg is given to the mēnōgān "the spiritual beings". In PRDd. the distinction between the dedication for the Ardā Fraward for females and that for males stems, probably, from a wish to explain mēnōgān.

8. As F. Kotwal notes, in Supp. ŠnŠ. XI. 4, the epithets of Šahrewar

are used for (i.e. instead of) the yazad himself: āmurzišn ud srāyišn ī driyōšān "compassion and care for the poor".

9. It is noteworthy that amahraspandān is here used as a general term equivalent to yazdān.

10. The last phrase seems to be part of an incomplete sentence and may be compared with ŠnŠ. XI. 5:

būd hēnd kē pad pānāgīh, ud būd kē pad gōšodāg guft. kē pad pānāgīh guft, ēdōn čiyōn guft, xub; ud kē pad gōšodāg guft.  
\*harwiz nāmcištīg nē guft ēstēd

"There have been (some) who have spoken about protection, and there have been (some) who have spoken about gōšodāg. Those who have spoken about protection, even as they have spoken, (it is) good; and those who have spoken about gōšodāg, they have not indeed said everything specifically " (transl. F. Kotwal, Supp. ŠnŠ., p. 24 f.).

Notes to Chapter 60

1. This zand is similar to other Pahlavi interpretations of the Ahuna Vairya, in Pahl. Y. 19. 13-14, Pahl. Vd., farg. 8. 19 (transl. by BTA, and by West, SBE XVIII, 442), and ZKA, ed. D., 1 ff., transl. D., 1 ff. In the summary of the lost Avestan Varštmanšar Nask I in Dk. IX. XXIV (DkM. 820 f., transl. West, SBE XXXVII, 227 f.), Zardust is said to have been ordained spiritual chief (rad) at birth by Ohrmazd himself; in farg. II, entitled yathā ahū vairyō, according to Dk. IX. XXV, Ohrmazd addressed Zardust, prophet high-priest and epitome of all Zoroastrian priests, in what appears to be a commentary on the Ahuna Vairya. It is doubtless this tradition which lies behind the zand of this mathra in Pahlavi texts. See also Y. 27; Y. 19; ZKA, ed. D., 8, transl. D., 12; Sd. Bd., ch. 45. 3. For a recent interpretation (and review of studies) of the Ahuna Vairya prayer see S. Insler, "The Ahuna Vairya prayer", Mon. H.S. Nyberg, Acta Iranica 4, 1975, 409-21.
2. M. translates kāmag here as "absolute" in both phrases, but does not explain. For kāmag as a translation of Av. vairyō see Bart., Air. Wb., 1373, Pahl. Y., Glossary, 145 f.
3. rad is glossed by dastwar in Pahl. Y., 33. 1, radīhā by dastwarīhā in Pahl. Vd., farg. 8. 19; but cf. the gloss frārōnīhā in some mss of ZKA, ed. D., 1 (and see D.'s transl., 2, n. 4).
4. Pahl. Vd., loc. cit., and ZKA, loc. cit., instead have čiyōn ohrmazd kāmag "as (is) the will of Ohrmazd".
5. The gloss kū hān mizd ud pādāšn ... etc., in PRDd., Pahl. Vd., and ZKA, appears to represent a substantial misunderstanding of the Avestan; Dhabhar (ZKA, transl., 3, nn. 6, 7) compares this with the Pahl. gloss of Y. 31. 21 and notes that neither has ō or pad before wahman.
6. M. follows Bartholomae (Mir. Mund., II. 16 ff.) in emending MR<sub>1</sub>, J whššn to wehīgān "better things" and translates as "amenities (of life)". M. notes that Barth. has shown that vāstārəm in the Ahunvar and vahyō in Y. 53. 9.c were connected by the Pahl. translators (vāstār m is the last word in the holiest of prayers, vahyō is the last word in the holiest of all texts i.e. the Gāthās, and the last phrase of both is faintly parallel, viz. Ahunvar: drigubyō ... vāstārəm Y. 53. 9: drigaovē vahyō). Thus the two words were both rendered by this word, variously corrupted in the extant texts as nyy'yšn, whšn',



bhšn'. wehīgān Barth. took as the pl. of wehīg (an adj. formed from weh) meaning "res (fortunae) meliores". Barth. points out that Pahl. Y. 60. 4 renders Av. vaṇhaṇham by ŠPYLyk'n/wehīgān ~ Skt. transl. uttamānam uttama "most excellent, best"

7. On this theme see further Dk. IX. 25, Varštmansar Nask II, entitled:

abar arzānīgih ī pad gētīgīg ud mēnōgīg nekīh pad xwadāy ud  
dastwarihārih (dstwblyh'lyh) dādan (DkM. 822. 10 ff.)

Notes to Chapter 61

1. The idea that animals can be guilty of offences, even capital sins, is orthodox in Zoroastrianism, e.g. Pahl. Vd. 13. 31 explains how to treat a mad dog and that it may have to atone for wilful murder. As Darmesteter pointed out in a note to Vd., farg. 13. 31 (SBE IV, 159, n. 3), there is no essential difference made between man and animal in these matters and the latter must answer for its guilt. (Similarly a gōspand can be defiled by nasā and must not be allowed to provide milk or meat for zōhr for one year after the pollution (see Vd., farg. 7. 77). §§2-5 of this chapter reflect the sense of ch. 14. 3-6 above.

2. M. reads mytkww "small fish", and discusses it in his notes to ch. 58 (p. 487, n. 51), since PRDd. 58. 72 has:

mytwk weh kū xar ud xūg ud mādag

M. translates: "small fish are better than an ass or a hog or a domestic female (animal)" (p. 335).

As M. notes, a similar word appears in Nir. 113 v. 3 mytwk; GBd., ed. TDA, p. 95. 7 nmtwk or nmytwk, Pahl. T., 145. 18 mtwkck. M. deduces the meaning "small fish" from the GBd. passage, reading mytwk, and noting that "māhiy ī kūcay replaces mytwk in parallel texts", viz. PRDd., 14. 6 (D., p. 4, 2 ff.) q.v. supra. BTA reads GBd., loc. cit. as:

panjom ēwēnag hān ī ābiḡ kē az awēšān kār māhiḡ meh [pāyag] ud nīdom namatū (p. 120, with adjustment to transcription)  
"the fifth genus is that of those dwelling in water, of which the kār fish is of the greatest [rank] and the smallest is 'namatū'".

3. This passage is obscure and appears only to be loosely connected with the foregoing. M. acknowledges that his readings and explanations are all conjectural. M. explains MSS awake, in Av. script, as a corrupted form of Paz. awaxš (Paz.T., 778. 4), which seems satisfactory, and adds:

"repentance by feet might mean kneeling, particularly for the sin committed by the feet, cf. Pahl. T., 46. 5 winah ī andar dast ud pāy" (M. 494, n. 3).

4. M. reads avaina \*hun-ē bavēδ "avaina will be (explained) a pig", referring to PRDd., 59. 2 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭 hunī (D., p. 190. 1), which, he says, "can be read avaina as a Pahl. word (p. 494-5, n. 4). This last statement, however, is incorrect.

5. M. says rāz is "out of the questions", but again M.'s explanation varāz, written [w]l'p ~ wz'p vizv) is hardly satisfactory.
6. M. explains kēhō as a corrupt form of Pahl. k'swk. More likely it represents Pahl. kšwk' "tortoise".
7. See above, ch. 13, n. 1.
8. M. explains a connection between warzāg and az (his reading) in gāw ī warzāg "the labouring ox" (e.g. GBd., ed. TDA, p. 40. 7 f.) and gāw ī az "a cow three years old" (e.g. Pahl. Y. 46. 19, see D., Pahl. Y., Glossary, p. 19), and gives references for these phrases.

Notes to Chapter 62

1. Although there are no positive grounds for doubting that this collection of religious handarz does in fact issue from Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, here called Mānsarspandān, and his teacher, Mihr Ohrmazd, it is quite possible that it derives from other sources. M. Boyce has pointed out that of the series of handarz which constitute Dk. VI, "the first and longest set of these probably derives from the MP translation of the Bariš Nask" ("Middle Persian Literature", Iranistik, 1968, p. 52). It is with this set of handarz, in fact, that there is the greatest correspondence in PRDd. 62 (see further below). A second possibility is that these handarz may be late gnomic sayings attributed pseudepigraphically to the Sasanian sages, as S. Shaked suggests (WSS xviii). Even then, however, such compositions may originally have been inspired by a much older, Avestan tradition. Shaked says further:

"As far as one can see, the usual attributions of andarz compositions are quite consistent in the various, seemingly independent, sources. This fact strengthens the impression that on the whole the attribution of individual pieces of andarz can be trusted as reflecting a sound tradition" (loc. cit.).

In the case of PRDd. 62, however, although several of the wāzag correspond to passages in Dk. VI, and many are similar in thought and expression, in fact none of the handarz which are elsewhere attributed specifically to Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān appear in this chapter; and, conversely, none of the wāzag in this chapter are attributed specifically to Ādurbād elsewhere. This fact strengthens the impression that PRDd. 62 is a compilation of handarz drawn from the tradition of which Dk. VI is the most complete extant record.

As High Priest of Šāpuhr II (A.D. 309-379), Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān is a key figure in Zoroastrian history. According to Ind. Bd., XXXIII. 3 he was twenty-third in line from Manuščihr and was born in the "steel period" (Dk. IX. 8. 4). As R.C. Zaehner has observed, the Pahlavi books look back to him as to the very embodiment of orthodoxy (Dawn, 187), who with his austere views "ranked among the dualists as the very corner-stone of their orthodoxy" (ibid., 301). Zaehner also cites DkM. 216. 9-17 = de M., Dk. III, 199 §9, p. 208 f., which gives the ten counsels of Ādurbād (loc. cit.). In Dk. this is followed by a striking passage which narrates the twelve counsels of Mānī declared in contradiction of those of Ādurbād (DkM., 216, transl. de M.,

p. 209). Ādurbād is said to have been the hero of an ordeal by molten metal to prove the truth of his religious beliefs:

"(during his controversy with all manner of sectarians and heretics.) He triumphed over the greatest of the heretics among them, who were also called 'fatalists'" ŠGV 10, 70-1, transl. Zaehner, op. cit., 187).

This episode is also referred to in one of the Persian Rivāyats, Sōgand nāme, as having occurred "in the time of Šāpuhr Ardešir (D., Pers. Riv., 46, Unv., Riv., 50). In the shorter version of the Sōgand nāme Ādurbād's esteem is such that his name is mentioned in an oath after that of Zarathuštra and before the souls of the pious (Unv., Riv., I. 45, D., Pers. Riv., 40).

In contrast to the foregoing traditional picture of Ādurbād as "the very corner-stone of orthodoxy", M. Boyce has said of this sage:

"it may be safely assumed that he was a Zurvanite, like the Sasanian kings and other Persian high priests of their era" (Zoroastrians, 118).

If this is correct, then the "fatalists" ( awayastaga ) over whom he triumphed obviously preached a heresy that went too far in its fatalism for Ādurbād. Moreover, unless the whole episode is apocalyptic, political and sectarian differences probably lay behind such a theological dispute.

Since, however, there is no suggestion of either Zurvanism or asceticism in PRDd. 62, it is unnecessary here to enter into the debate referred to by S. Shaked concerning the importance of either in the Zoroastrianism of the Pahlavi books (WSS, introduction XXIV). This text is undoubtedly popular in form, and thus, while there are certain correspondences with Dk. VI, Shaked may well be correct in singling out the latter text thus:

"Within the fairly large group of andarz books of religious character, Dēnkard VI forms quite clearly a category by itself. All other andarz compositions, whether religious or secular, can be said to possess popular character. They are all meant for instruction on a fairly elementary level ... Dēnkard VI, in contrast, is evidently addressed to an audience on a higher intellectual level."

For the parallels with Dk. VI see notes below. This text is quite free of the recondite allusions of Dk. VI (see Shaked, "Esoteric Trends in Zoroastrianism", The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, proceedings, vol. III, 199, n. 64, and op. cit., xxiii-xxiv). Also, it may be noted that after the twenty-two precepts of the frahang ī nāmčistīg, Ādurbād concludes in Š27 with an admonition that is virtually identical to his simple frahang in Š3. This

demonstrates here (as Shaked has tried at length to show with regard to Dk. VI), that, in spite of an element of sophistication, scholastic moralizing and allegorising, such handarz represent not a departure from orthodoxy but another means of persuading and urging the laity to belief in and action upon the fundamentals of the faith.

2. Šnāyišn ī dādār ohrmazd is a Pahl. rendering of Av. xšnaothra ahurahe mazdā "by propitiation of A.M."; thus M.'s translation of the opening words "propitiation of the Creator Ohrmazd" is literal, but it is unidiomatic English. Shaked's translation of a similar opening phrase in Dk. VI (DkM. 473. 1) is preferable, WSS p. 3.

3. M. translates as "pupil". On the terms ērbad and hāwišt see S. Shaked, art. cit., App. B; DkM. 511. 22-512. 5 has this to say on the importance of the hāwišt:

u-šān ēn-iz ōwōn dāšt, kū pad dēn wāzag čahār ī abēr mādayān, ēn-iz ēdōn, hān ī wināhgār pad wināh nē awēnīdan, ud hān ī druwand-iz dādestān mard xwadāyih ud xwāstag rāy nē burzīdan kirbag pādašn az mēnōgān xwāstan ud hāwištīh kardan mādagwar hāwištīh kardan čē hān-iz harw pad hāwištīh kardan be šnāsīhed  
 "And this also they held, that in religion there are four sayings which are very essential, and these (are) thus, that not praising a man of wicked character for the sake of power and riches, asking the spirits for the rewards of good deeds, and being a disciple. The chief (of these) is to practise discipleship, for all those (others) too are known through practising discipleship."

4. frahang has many shades of meaning according to context. R.C. Zaehner's translation (ToM, 101) of frahang in handarz ī ādurbād ī māhraspanān 81 as "civilised behaviour" is inappropriate here. In Dk. VI. 68, DkM. 484. 21, Shaked translates frahang as "education" and explains that it should be understood in the sense of "chastisement, discipline" (68. 2, p. 247), which again is far from the meaning required here.

5. In Dk. VI (Shaked, op. cit., C 49), DkM. 562. 5 ff., it is said that starting from frahang ī nēk, through good xrad, xōg, xēm, and kunišn ī frārōn, man can drive the demons out of the world; conversely frahang ī wad ultimately leads to their multiplication in the world.

6. "Certainty"/"freedom from doubt" is considered a cardinal virtue, cf. Dk. VI, 167 (DkM. 509):

... pad dēn wāzag ēw abēr mādayān ēn-iz ēdōn: abēgumānīh ī pad dēn ī yazdān ... agar bazag pad bazag be brinēnd ēg-iz az xīr ī yazdān be nē ēstēnd

"In this religion one word has much substance, it is even thus:

being free from doubt concerning the religion of the gods ... those who, come what may (?) do not turn away from the things of the gods." (WSS, p. 67.)

Cf. also Dk. VI. 98.

7. For an explanation of this counsel of perfection see DkM. 524. 12-525. 6 = Shaked, WSS §236, transl. p. 93.

8. DkM. 546. 18 gives an extra significance to this simple benediction:

u-sān ēn-iz ōwōn dāst kū ne hērbad bawēd [hān] ī ka mord xwēs tan be awiš dahēd ēg pad gētīg ahlaw nē kunēd

"They held this too: that man is not an ērbād who, when a person surrenders himself to him, does not make him righteous in the material world" (WSS, §325, p. 131).

In a well-known passage, DkM. 568. 3 ff. (Shaked§D1a), Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān lists righteousness as deriving "mostly by action" (abērtar pad kunišn), rather than by fate, habit, etc.

9. In §3 M. translates ahlaw bawēh as an optative, but here as a future indicative.

10. The virtue of "worthiness" is also crucial in DkM. 512. 17 f.:

farrox hān ī arzānīg ... cē harw dō dēn xwēs hēnd mēnōg ud gētīg

"a worthy man is happy ... for both religions are his, the spiritual one and the material one" (transl. Shaked, op. cit., p. 73).

Cf. also DkM. 573. 6 ff. (= WSS §D7a).

11. The first five named in this series occur in DkM. 477. 11 f. (WSS §23). The omissions from this list are noteworthy. There is no direct mention of any of the qualities represented by the amahraspands; there is no correspondence with the list of fifteen characteristics of a Hērbad in Unv., Riv., I, 485. 12-19 (D., Pers. Riv. 330). Above all, there is no reference to purity.

12. M. reads astānayih "missionary work" and refers to Salemann, MSt. I, 130 f. astxwahih occurs in Dk. VI thrice: DkM. 497. 20, 576. 16 and 589. 14 (= WSS §§114, E11, E45h), and also in Pahl.T. 92, §66 (astihxwahih).

13. M. translates "cooperation", see n. 27, below.

14. M. translates these last three "modesty, humility, unassuming disposition".

15. M. translates "comprehension".

16. M. translates "dispensation".

17. M. translates "uniqueness".

18. On §8 see Bartholomae, M.Mund. II. 8. Cf. DkM. 477. 14-18

rādīh ēd pahlom: kē dāšn ō kas kunēd kē az ōy kē pad-iš kunēd  
pad gētīg čis-iz pādāšn nē ēmēd kū-š awiš rasēd, u-š ēn-iz andar  
nēst, kū, ōy kē pad-iš kunēd wēšīgān pad spās ud āzādīh dārēd  
 "This generosity is best: one who makes a present to a person  
 from whom he has no hope of receiving anything in reward in this  
 world, and he has not even this (hope), namely, that the recipient  
 of his gift should hold him abundantly in gratitude and praise."  
 (WSS §23, p. 11).

19. Cf. DkM. 477. 12-14

rāstīh ēd pahlom: kē andar dām ī ohrmazd hān kunēd ī ōy pad-iš  
kunēd ōwōn sūdōmandtar ka-š pad-iš kunēd (DkM. 477, p. 11)  
 "This truthfulness is best: one who acts (in such a manner) to  
 the creatures of Ohrmazd that the recipient of his action has so  
 much more benefit when he acts like that to him." (WSS §23).

20. §10 is virtually a verbatim equivalent to DkM. 477. 18-20:

hunarōmandīh ēn pahlom \*kē abāg druž ī mēnōg kō[x]sēd kadām-iz  
druž nāmčīst ēn panj druž andar ō tan nē hilēd az arešk waran  
xešm nang.

In a note to this passage (WSS §23, n. 6, p. 237 f.) Shaked  
 observes that lists of demons are fairly common in Pahlavi literature,  
 and that there are three types of such lists: one type comprises  
 "enumerations of demonized vices" (e.g. Dk. VI., loc. cit., Pahl.T., 89  
 etc.), a second type of list

"consists of names of demonic persons the origins of which are  
 not necessarily associated with the vices personified",

The third type mentioned by Shaked "consists of archetypal 'sinners'"  
 (see Dd., purs. 76).

The allegorical manner of interpretation of the first type is,  
 according to Shaked, precisely what differentiates the theological  
 conceptions from the mythological, popular trends of the religion  
 "in that it regarded the deities (and demons, it must be said) as  
 abstractions of qualities" (Shaked, art. cit., 198). Needless to say,  
PRDd. 62. 10 belongs to the first type.

21. Cf. DkM. 477. 20 ff.:

huxšāgīh ēd pahlom: kē kār ī abar ēstēd pad kardan ōwōn  
kard ēstēd kū harw gāh tan ī xwēs abēgumān kū: agar pad hām  
zamān be mīrēd ēg čis čis-iz judtar nē abāyēd kardan kū hān  
i-š kard ēstēd.

"This diligence is best: one who does the work which he is  
 engaged in doing in such a manner that at every moment he has  
 certainty in himself with regard to the following: were he to



die at that hour it would not be necessary to do anything whatsoever in a way different from that in which he is doing it" (WSS, §23, p. 13);

cf. also DkM. 216. 10-13 (Dk. III. 199) cited by Shaked, *op. cit.*, §291, n. 1, p. 278.

22. This and the next § teach that the apogee of the virtue recommended is in the application of it to one's own soul; interestingly DkM. 478. 1-5, which corresponds to this §, does not mention this:

Īādag-gōwīh ēd pahlom: kē ōy kas rāy saxwan gōwēd ī a-gōwand, u-š must ud gilag ī xwēš guftan nē tuwān; hān kas ēwāz ī ruwān ī xwēš ud hān ī driyōš weh kas mardōm ī gētīg ud ēn šaš amahraspand rāy gōwēd.

"That advocacy is best: one who speaks for a person who is inarticulate, who cannot speak his own misery and complaint; that person speaks out the voice of his own soul and that of the poor and good person to the people of this world and these six amahraspands" (WSS, §23, p. 13).

On §12 see Bartholomae, *ibid.*, II. 20.

23. On §13 see Bartholomae, *ibid.*, II. 3. In Zoroastrianism the primordial contract between Ohrmazd and the fravašis of men is never forgotten (see GBd. III. 23-4). For a Zoroastrian, to exist is therefore already to have entered willingly into a contract with Ohrmazd. It is certain that this idea underlies the sense of §13.

24. dād ī yazdān is written clearly in K35. However, this § is difficult to translate.

25. Probably rāh ī astīh denotes simply an inward disposition appropriate to the development of the soul, and through it the world. Čīdag handarz ī pōryōtkēsān, §54, has:

ēg harw kas pad wahman astīh mehēnišn. R.C. Zaehner translates:

"then (i.e. at the end of this millennium) everyone must add to his [inner] peace through [the power of] Vahuman" (ToM, 27).

26. In DkM. 569. 4-5 the same word is defined thus:

dādestān hān bawēd kē abar dēn ī ohrmazd ēstēd

"That is the law: A man who stands by the religion of Ohrmazd" (WSS, §D1C, p. 177).

27. hamīh is named as one of the three most important things in religion in Dk. VI. 43. M.'s "cooperation" translates Pahl. hamkārīh not hamīh. The inclusion of a handarz on hamīh "union" is significant. Shaked noticed that it seems to be a key term in Dk. VI, as it designates a relationship of close identification between the righteous man and the gods (yazads) (see Shaked, *art. cit.*, 196-8, with citations

from and references to Dk. VI). Whereas such "union" is not commonly broached or discussed in Pahlavi books (which appear to be concerned more with ritual, purificatory, dogmatic and similar areas of religion), indeed this idea may be traced back to the Gāthās and need not be thought of as the result of a borrowing from Christian or Islamic doctrine.

28. M.'s translation makes little sense (and the reading is unlikely):  
 "because that thing which has moderation and no wisdom is proper and a good deed".

The above translation is partly corroborated by DkM. 480. 10:

makist paymān kirbag

"the greatest (keeping of) the measure is the virtuous deed (WSS, §40, p. 17).

29. §§19-21 extol virtues not usually emphasised in texts outside the genre of handarz. §29 is found in nearly identical form in Dk. 481. 22-24 (= WSS §49). On hamāl see Bartholomae, M.Mund. I. 5, 28 ff. and ibid., III. 30 for Barth.'s translation.

30. Part of this § is cited and translated by Shaked in op. cit., p. 269 (§173, n. 2). Shaked finds a NP definition of nihan:  
 'āqilāne va hušyārāne va bā-tadbīr in Farhang-i Nafīsī, and an Arabic translation of Pahl.T. nihanih ud aštīh-xwāhīh by al-waqār "gravity, staidness, dignity".

31. On the general sense of this cf. DkM. 474. 1 ff. (= WSS, §2), and DkM. 584. 13-15 (= WSS, §E36).

32. Cf. DkM. 549. 13-15 (= WSS, §B11).

33. This word occurs in DkM. 479. 3. gl'n ōbar occurs in DkM. 579. 20, which Shaked emends to \*gilag obār "(a person who) suppresses complaint" (WSS, §E30a).

34. Cf. DkM. 563. 23, where Shaked translates bowandagīh as "satisfaction" (WSS, §C59).

35. This § is similar to DkM. 541. 1 ff. (= WSS, §305). Shaked points out that in Dk. VI

"there is a sense in which suffering in this world is beneficial from the religious point of view. Any unpleasantness borne by a person in this world is deducted from the punishment due to him in the world to come" (WSS, xxxvi f.).

§§81, 106, A5 and D7b are adduced to make this point. It must be said that the sentiments expressed in the remaining §§ of this ch. are

typical of Dk. VI, rather than of the rest of PRDd. They also suggest an attitude of stoical resignation and a mood of finale, both of the chapter and of the rivāyat preceding the Dd.

36. This sentence is reminiscent of Pahl.T. 58 f.

harw čē pad to nē nēk tō-iz pad any kas ma kunēd;

cf. also DkM. 588. 22-589. 2 (= WSS, SE45e).

37. As M. notes hučašmīh is not to be found in Š7 above. M. suggests that there may originally have been more than twenty-two precepts (M., n. 10, p. 499).

38. This is a stylish form of a rhetorical device used twice before in this ch., i.e. whereby the exception cited is seen to be more important than the rule it proves: in Š17, it is said that one should lay down arms, but never before Ahreman; parallel to this, Š18 recommends moderation in all things, except in knowledge, love and merit. With the general sense of Š26, cf. DkM. 515. 1-2

u-šān ēn-iz ōwōn dāšt kū hunsand-xīrān ana-hunsand xrad ud dānišn

"They held this too: those who are content with possessions are discontented with wisdom and knowledge" (WSS, Š197, p. 77),

and see Shaked's note, Š197. 1, p. 270.

39. Cf. DkM. 510. 9 ff. (= WSS, Š172), and DkM. 473. 14-20 (WSS, Š10).

40. As M. notes (p. 500, n. 11), the title Hērbad Xwadāy was used to address the High Priests (see Barth., M.Mund., III. 32).

Notes to Chapter 63

1. This Avestan spell is incomprehensible. Presumably it has been endlessly repeated from some originally coherent formula till it has become mutilated thus. Eight nirangs are given in Unv., Riv., II.

272-8. D. does not translate them, but notes (op. cit. 589) that other nirangs are found in E.K. Antia (ed), Pazend Texts, 174-201. Also, see below here, nn. 8,9.

2. Because the preceding section is obscure there is no clue as to the meaning in context. Thus: If a woman (mād ud duxt used generically for women) suffers a wound (perhaps on childbirth, etc., perhaps a still-birth is meant) the visitation (rasīdan, i.e. of the priest) is on three successive days. The Pahlavi is so terse and capable of such varied interpretations that this is only one of several tentative suggested readings. However, the problem of still-birth is given long treatment in the Persian Rivayats, The first three days were considered critical, in which no drinking water was allowed the woman; she was administered pādyāb, consecrated bull's urine, "so that she may cleanse therewith her heart and her inside" (tā dil-i ū va andarōn-i ū pak bekonad Unv. Riv., I, 228.6, and generally ibid. I 223-236 transl. D., Pers. Riv., 224-238, on care and ritual purity concerning childbirth). It is possible that the pādyāb was administered by a priest on the three days after birth.

3. tāb ī čahārom probably means "the fever on the fourth /day/". Cf. the usage by which the ceremonies of the fourth day after death are called simply cahārom, not cahārom rōz (see M. Boyce, Stronghold, 153, n.31, and D., Pers. Riv. 168, with n.3).

4. i.e. the text recommends that if the usual sacred rites do not suffice to purify the patient, the amulet may be used.

5. With this retyping the knotted straw round the arm, one can compare Anquetil du Perron, Le Zend-Avesta, Vol..II, 136-40 for various 'tavīd' (= NP ta'vīz "charm, amulet , phylactery") or nīrang to be attached to the left arm of the person on whose behalf it has been uttered. In a Persian Rivāyat (not included in Unv. op.cit., but given in Persian and English in D., Pers. Riv. 342f. and 342 n.1) in Antids MSS, see D., op.cit., it is said that to commemorate the return of rain after a drought, on the day Tīr of the Month Tīr the Dasturs of

Iran write a nīrang and tie it on the hands of the faithful and then throw it into the sea (six) on the day Goād (presumably Goš, the next day) "so that all calamities may sink into the sea". By the 18th century the text was evidently written on parchment or paper and itself attached to the person concerned.

6. The verb dam- is perhaps a way of saying to 'recite noiselessly', i.e. parallel to \*māwag, cf. PRDd. 39.13, and Boyce-Kotwal, Zoroastrian Bāj and Dron I, 71-2. A pazand nīrang would be recited noiselessly thus after the Avestan wāz.

7. wāz az ardwašīst grift is a technical expression meaning "the bāj of Ardwašīst is taken". Ardwašīst is concerned with healing, being linked with Airyaman; and his bāj is therefore taken (or, in other instances, his yašt recited). Cf. Anquetil du Perron, op.cit., 136, a tavid for a sick child "on recite le Vadj d'Ardibehescht" (which is, Anquetil du Perron explains, the two xšnumans of this Amešaspañd); so also p. 137, for one tormented by dēws: "le Destour écrit ce [tavid] après avoir recite le Vadj, le Daroun et l'Iesch d'Ardibehescht.

8. There are various instructions with the nīrang in Anquetil du Perron op.cit. for the number of times they are to be recited. On p. 139, one is to be said seven times, another is to be said three, another five times, no higher numbers are given. In such usages, the number of repetitions is always odd, not even.

9. cf. ADH. Bivar, 'A Parthian Amulet', BSOAS XXX, 3, 1967, 520-24 which deals with the side of an amulet which appears to show Frēdōn (Farēdōn), with mace, subjugating a demon, presumably of sickness. Most of Anquetil du Perron's nīrang (pp. 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142) invoke Thraētaona /Frēdōn against sickness and other troubles. In the Persian Rivāyats of Shapur, Bharuchi Univ., Riv I 284 it is said bāz dāštan margirā yašt-i hān konand be-nām-i farēdōn "In order to avoid pestilence, the Yasna of Hom should be performed in the name of Farēdōn"; similarly, bīmārī-ra yašt-i ardafravahr be-nām-i farēdōn, (Unv., op.cit., I, 285.1). "for (avoiding) sickness, the yašt of Ardā fravahr (should be performed) in the name of Farēdōn".

10. The latter part of this § is obscure. Interpreted as in the translation, this may be a borrowing from the legend of Zardušt's curing the black horse of Wištāsp, but this is a mere guess. MSS 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 may be TWR gāw, and the following word, 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 maybe something quite unknown.

11. The last word is written in Av. characters (𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌). This can also be read as Pahl. hudaḥag "good" (𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮), i.e. as a valediction.

Notes to Chapter 64

1. This chapter was the subject of an article by P. de Menasce in Anthropos (1942-1945), 180-186. He refers to the study of lapidary texts brought together by Bidez and Cumont, Les Mages Hellenisés (see esp. Frgs. 053-075, and in the Introduction, 128-130 and 193-198), and also to K.W. Wirbelauer's monograph Antike Lapidarien, Würzburg, 1937. de Menasce mentions also a comparable text from a Turkish "runique" ms. found at Turfan published by V. Thomsen, in the Sitzungsberichte of the Academy of Berlin, 1910, 296-306; de Menasce says of it:

C'est celui qui ressemble le plus à notre lapidaire pehlevi: les pierres sont désignées par leur couleur du reflet qu'on obtient en les polissant: le titre parle des sept planètes et des cinq gemmes et pierres et des vertus qui leur appartiennent. Il est malheureusement fort court. Certains mots sont obscurs d'autres suggèrent qu'il peut s'agir d'une traduction du persan" (art.cit., 180).

Another text which resembles PRDd. is noticed by de Menasce, from the Textes Sogdiens, ed. and transl. by E. Benveniste, 1940, no. 3; de Menasce describes it thus:

"Il est plus étendu, mais il est d'une extrême difficulté: il nous a cependant permis d'intéressants rapprochements linguistiques. Étant donné son origine bouddhique on peut se demander si, quant à la tradition magique, il ne se rattache pas plutôt aux lapidaires indiens" (art. cit., 180).

In this chapter one can only speculate as to the reasons for attributing different potencies to different coloured stones. Having enumerated the stones under the order of their first mention (brillante, noire, jaune, rouge, verdâtre, bleu-ciel), de Menasce finds that he cannot explain the irregularities of the order, and the intrusive "phrases où il est question du 'poli', ou reflet de la pierre frotté". This difficulty arises because he has misapprehended the arrangement of the stones (see art. cit., 181). The correct arrangement is quite logical:

§2 <u>sabz</u>	§3 <u>syā + sāyišn</u>	§4 <u>zard</u>	§5 <u>suxr</u>	§6 <u>xašēn</u>	§7 <u>asmān-gōn</u>
§8 <u>sabz</u>	§9 <u>zard + sāyišn</u>	§10 <u>syā</u>	§11 <u>suxr</u>	§12 <u>xašēn</u>	§13 <u>asmān-gōn</u>
§14 <u>sabz</u>	§15 <u>suxr + sāyišn</u>	§16 <u>syā</u>	§17 <u>zard</u>	§18 <u>xašēn</u>	§19 <u>asmān-gōn</u>
§20 <u>sabz</u>	§21 <u>xašēn + sāyišn</u>	§22 <u>syā</u>	§23 <u>zard</u>	§24 <u>suxr</u>	-----
§25 <u>sabz</u>	§26 <u>asmān-gōn + sāyišn</u>				
	§27 <u>syā + sāyišn</u>	§28 <u>zard</u>	§29a <u>suxr</u>	§29b <u>xašēn</u>	§30 <u>sabz</u>

The seven colours, mentioned in §31, are treated in this way, the seventh, i.e. that of the polished stone always occurs second in the cycle of six; with the exception of sabz, every colour in turn occupies the second position then moves to the position of the colour which replaces it next in the second position. When the five colours have each done this (i.e. by §26), the order is repeated beginning again with syā + sāyīšn as in §3. The last mentioned colour is sabz; it occurs where asmān-gōn is in the first whole cycle (§7); hence in §30 it has characteristics reminiscent of the latter colour in s7. Sabz is clearly intended in both sentences of §30 (pace de Menasce, who inserts [asmān-gōn], see below n.12). Presumably, the writer wished to end as he had begun.

2. de Menasce translates : "signalement des pierres, qui à l'oeuvre sont le couteau du bon médecin qui rend le ciel...etc.". i.e. de Menasce reads MSS k'lt, but this is surely dārēd, parallel to dārēd in §2.

3. de Menasce reads MSS spz as spez "brillante" ( lectio difficilior, considering Pahl. sabz "green"). de Menasce compares spez to Ps. Phl. 131.17 sfcn'n and Man.MP., the derivatives of 'spyz, Henning, Verbum, 178 (art. cit., 184, n.2). de Menasce translates xašen as "verdâtre".

4. These readings are very tentative suggestions. de Menasce reads bandend zargōn \*bar \*has vēh apārēt: "en liant les légumes, on recolte du beau fruit précocement".

5. de Menasce reads nē visōfēt: "ne sera pas vaincu".

6. de Menasce reads pad har hamēmāl patkār buxtēt and translates as "sortira sauf de tout contestation".

7. de Menasce reads sān pāsān, and translates "tout \*succes et \*profit" ("conjecturalement en rapprochant de asan 'aise, facile'", art. cit., 185 n. 14). See above, textual note 54 to this ch. de Menasce reads cē xvēsēt nēvak āyāfēt, "ce qu'il saisira il le possèdera bien", but notes "tous les passages de notre texte où ce mot apparut autorisent la traduction 'penser'" (art. cit., 185, n.16).

8. See above textual note 54 to this ch.

9. See above textual note 29 to this ch.

10. Another expression for Frašegird.



11. See above textual note 50 to this ch.

12. de Menasce reconstructs the beginning of this § (subdivided from D.'s §30) thus: hān kē /āsmān-gōn/ dārēt "La pierre couleur de ciel; celui qui la porte". The insertion is unnecessary, since hān may be taken as a demonstrative pronoun referring to the /muhrag I/ sabz of the previous sentence, and as object rather than subject of dārēt:. Other sections in this ch. begin with kē as subject (29a,b, 30).

Notes to Chapter 65

1. The final chapter is a resumé of several important themes in the Rivāyat, expressed in cosmological terms which contain elements of great antiquity in Zoroastrianism. The cosmology is very simply drawn, compared with the astrological and cosmological chapters of e.g. GBd., and it is written in a style entirely typical of the Rivāyat preceding the Dd. It seems to have been derived from GBd. or some similarly old Zoroastrian source. As often in PRDd., the author's intention seems to be to convey a message of pastoral, religious import (not merely a scheme of cosmology). It is again an exhortation to righteousness, here in terms of the levels of Heaven for the frawahr ī ašōwān, woven in with cosmological information on the nature and movement of the luminaries. It must not be forgotten, however, that in the Zoroastrian context even the physical luminaries (rōšnān) have significance as gētīg counterparts of spiritual beings who are 'worthy of worship' (yazad). The sun, moon, stars and heavenly phenomena are 'visible and inapprehensible' (wēnāg ud agriftār); these are signs and 'markers', so to speak, of the 'invisible and apprehensible (i.e. attainable)' (awēnāg ud griftār) realities of heavenly existence. Both these visible and invisible things mediate between the seven 'invisible and inapprehensible' beings, Ohrmazd and the amāhraspands, and the seven 'visible and apprehensible' creations of this physical world (such is the conception of GBd. XXVII.17 f., BTA 250, ed. TDA 194.7ff.). According to Zoroastrian thought, before the attack of the Evil Spirit the sun, moon and stars stood perfectly still (GBd. II.17, BTA 34, ed. TDA 29.12 ff.) as they will do again at the time of the Resurrection (e.g. GBd. XXXIII.34, BTA 282, ed. TDA 220.2f). The movement of the sun, moon and stars is explained as combat with the forces of evil. Zoroastrian eschatological hope is epitomised in the figure of Mihr, who every night defeats the forces of Ahreman. It is significant that in PRDd. 48.99 it is said that the spiritual and heavenly beings, and mankind, will coalesce:

"in the form of a man, who is strong, and they  
will all be in the form of a man and they will  
come to the earth".

As is shown below (n.10) there is again a connection made between the eschatological and ritual dimensions of the religion, for it appears that Mihr is also represented as the Spirit of the Drōn (service), mēnōg ī drōn.

2. The distance between each of the stations of heaven is given in ch. 46.7

above as 34,000 frasangs.

3. As H.W. Bailey has said, the explanation of the disappearance (and reappearance) of the luminaries as through 'windows' is set out in most detail in PRDd. 65 (Zor. Prob., 138). Prof. Bailey gives a transcription of 889,5,3, and cites an older occurrence of such an account in GBd. Vb.3 (BTA 64, ed. TDA 55.6f.), which in turn is, as he observes, an explanation of Yt. 12.25. Prof. Bailey compares this with the account of celestial portals and windows in which the sun, moon and stars rise and set in the Book of Enoch (ibid., 139). One detail in GBd., loc.cit., is not mentioned in PRDd.: the windows are located in Harborz (pace Bailey, 'in the crystal firmament', op. cit., 138):

čē sad ud haštād rōzan ast pad xwarāsān sad ud haštād  
pad xwarwārān pad harborz, harw roz pad rōzan-e andar  
āyēd pad rōzan-e be šawēd

"for there are one hundred and eighty windows in the east and one hundred and eighty in the west in Harborz, every day it comes in through one window, goes out through one window",

i.e. the sun comes in through a 'window' in the east and goes out through a 'window' in the west. The 360 'windows' of the sun correspond to the days of the solar year, minus five days, which are explained in GBd. Vb.6 (BTA 64, ed. TDA 56.6-9):

ud hān panj rōz ī gāhānīg pad hān rōzan be āyēd ud be  
šawēd; rōzan nē guft ēstēd, čē agar be guft hē dēwān  
rāz be dānist hē ud wizēnd handāxt hē

"and on the five Gāthā days it comes and goes through the same window(s); the window is not mentioned, for if it were mentioned the dēws would know the secret and would plot harm".

The number of 'windows' for the moon (270) and stars (180) does not correspond to their appearances in the year. Presumably they are arrived at through mythological or scholastic sense of proportion (of 360). The same numbers are given in GBd.

4. The same dimensions for stars, moon and sun are given in GBd. II.16 (BTA 34, ed. TDA 29.7-12).

5. According to GBd. VII.2 (BTA 86, ed. TDA 72.4ff) some of the stars (axtarān) have the seed of water (e.g. Tištrya), some have that of earth (e.g. Haftō-ring), others of plants.

6. This is Wahišt 'Paradise', as it is usually known.

7. I.e. it is not, as we say, reflected light. As in many cultures, the

light of the moon was thought to be a subtle power; in GBd. the word xwarrah is used of its light:

māh xwarrah baxtarīh ī gēhān pānzdah abzāyēd  
pānzdah nirfsed"the moon (in) distribution of  
xwarrah to the world waxes fifteen(days), wanes  
 fifteen(days)" ;

cf. H.W. Bailey, op. cit., 42, 60 f.).

8. xwarsēd pāyag seems to be a mistake for māh pāyag, and is probably a gloss (cf. §4 above and § 13 below).

9. The narrative is interrupted by this §, which exhorts the laity to pay the price of righteousness.

10. In Gbd. XXVI.67 ff. it is said that it is the radiance of the yazad Xwar which purifies the world after the nocturnal pollution of all the forces of evil:

harw šab, buš ī asp homānāg nasrušt pad zamīg ud āb ud dam  
dam-iz ī ašowan be dward, ud ka xwarsēd ul ayed hamag  
zamīg dewan be zaned ud yōjdahr be kuned

"every night like the mane of a horse pollution comes to the earth and water and righteous creations also, and when the sun rises it smites the dēws all over the and purifies it (i.e. the world)"

(BTA 222, ed. TDA 171.9ff.).

In PRDd. 65 Xwar yazad is not mentioned; however, in identical imagery (pad\*marag čiyōn buš ī asp), in PRDd. 9.2 the nightly battle with the dews is done by the Mēnōg ī Drōn. Here Mihr performs the same action every night, and it is reasonable to suppose that they are the same spiritual being (see above ch. 9, n.3).





purr wextār	[pwl wyhtʰl]	47.46.21
purr wizōstār	[pwl wewstʰl]	47.46.21
raxtagīh	[lʰhtkyh]	42.11
rāz	[lʰc]	61.6
sag-/karb/unag	[KLBʰ-/klp/nk]	21.a.12
sār ī gar	[sʰl ZY gl/]	46.27
sās	[sʰs]	21.a.17
spastēn	[spstyn]	48.95
srōd gāhān	[slwt gʰsʰn]	21.a.10, 12 etc.
stōš	[stwš]	15.a.2, 5, 15
stūr-škenišnīh	[stwl-škynšnyh]	41
surahī vīśra amnaō karōšī vašā ahras ahras	[Av.] 63.1	

tarunagīh	[tlngyh]	29.1
taštawār	[tšthwʰl]	21.a.8
tōg	[twk]	55.3
unīg	[A. ]	59.2
vizv	[Av.]	61.6
wardag	[wltkʰ]	17.d.10; 23.28
warr	[LBWŠYʰ]	21.a.3; 24.c.2; 37.a.7
warzāg	[wʰlcʰk]	61.6
way-agenīh	[wʰd ʰkynyh]	8.a.9
wāyendag (?)	[wʰdndkʰ]	61.6
wazīd	[wʰcyt]	23.28
wirāzēnd	[wlʰcynd]	18.d.11
wirōzag	[wlwck]	16.b.9
xarbandagān	[hlbndkʰnʰ]	18.e.16, 37.b.13
xwāsēnišn	[hwʰsynšn]	13.a.9
zan-tačā	[zn-tcʰ]	8.e.9

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀  
𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀  
𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀  
𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀  
𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀

Bibliography

- Anklesaria, B.T., (BTA) The Pahlavi Rivāyat of Āturfarnbag and Farnbag-sroš, Bombay, 1969, vol. I text and transcription; vol. II translation.
- Anklesaria, B.T., Pahlavi Vendidad, Bombay, 1949, ed D.N. Kapadia.
- Anklesaria, B.T., Vichitakiha-i Zadsparam, Pt. I, text with Intro., Bombay, 1964.
- Anklesaria, B.T., Zand-Ākāsīh, Iranian or Greater Bundahišn, English transl. Bombay, 1956.
- Anklesaria, B.T., Zand-ī Vohuman Yasn, Bombay, 1957. (ZVYt.).
- Anklesaria, T.D., (TDA) The Bundahishn, Bombay, 1908, text with intro.
- Anklesaria, T.D., Dānāk-u Mainyo-i Khard, Bombay, 1913 (MXA).
- Anklesaria, T.D., Dātistān-ī Dīnīk, Pt. I, text, no date. (Dd.A.).
- Anquetil du Perron, H., Zend-Avesta Ouvrage de Zoroastre, 3 parts, 2 vols., Paris, 1771, vol. II.
- Antia, E.K., 'The Legend of Keresāspa', Spiegel Memorial Volume, ed. J.J. Modi, Bombay, 1908.
- Antia, E.K. Pazend Texts, Bombay, 1909 (Paz.T.).
- Asmussen, Jes P., Xʷastvānīft Studies in Manichaeism, Copenhagen, 1965.
- Bailey, H.W., 'Dvara Matinam', BSOAS XX, 1957.
- Bailey, H.W., The Greater Bundahišn, unpublished Oxford DPhil. Thesis, 1933, consulted in the copy of M. Boyce.
- Bailey, H.W., 'Iranica II', JRAS, 1934, 505-518.
- Bailey, H.W., Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books, O.U.P., Oxford, 1943, repr. 1971 (Zor. Prob.).
- Barr, K., 'Avest. drayu-, driyu-', Studia Orientalia, Ioanni Pedersen, 21-40.
- Bartholomae, C., Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg, 1904. (AIr.Wb.).
- Bartholomae, C., Beiträge Zur Kenntniss der mittelliranischer Mundarten, 1-6 Heidelberg, 1916-25 (Mir.Mund.).
- Bartholomae, C., 'Mitteliranische Studien', WZKM XXIX, (1913) 1-47.
- Bartholomae, C., Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch. Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten, Strassburg, 1906.
- Bartholomae, C., 'Zum Sassanidischen Recht', I-V, Sb. Heidelberger AW., 1918-1923 (zSR).
- Benveniste, E., 'Les classes sociales dans la tradition avestique', JA CCXXI 1932, 117-138.
- Benveniste, E., 'Le Mémorial de Zarēr', JA CCXX, 1932, 245ff.
- Benveniste, E., The Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts, Paris, 1929.
- Benveniste, E., 'Le témoignage de Theodore bar Khonay sur le Zoroastrisme', MO XXVI/XXVII, 1932, 170-215.
- Benveniste, E., Textes sogdiens, Paris, 1940.



- Bivar, A.D.H., 'A Parthian Amulet', BSOAS XXX.3.
- Bidez, J., & Fr. Cumont Les mages Hellenisés, Paris, 1938.
- Black, M., & Rowley, H.H. (eds.) Peake's Commentary on the Bible, London 1962.
- Boyce, M., 'Ātaš-zōhr and Āb-zōhr', JRAS (1966), 100-18.
- Boyce, M., Chapters 259 & 419 of Dk. III in J. de Menasce, Troisième livre du Denkart (see below).
- Boyce, M., 'The fire-temples of Kerman', AO XXX (1966), 51-72.
- Boyce, M., 'Haoma, priest of the sacrifice', W.B. Henning Memorial Volume, ed. M. Boyce & I. Gershevitch, London, 1970, 62-80.
- Boyce, M., A History of Zoroastrianism (Handbuch der Orientalistik, ed. E. Spuler, i.8.I.2) vol. I. (HZ).
- Boyce, M., 'Iconoclasm among the Zoroastrians', Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman cults, Studies for Morton Smith at sixty, ed. J. Neusner, vol. 4, Leiden 1975, 93-111.
- Boyce, M., 'Mihragan among the Irani Zoroastrians', Mithraic Studies, ed. J.R. Hinnells, vol. I, Manchester, 1975, 106-18.
- Boyce, M., 'On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts', BSOAS XXXIII, XXXIII.3, 1970, 513-39.
- Boyce, M., 'On the sacred fires of the Zoroastrians', BSOAS XXXI.1 (1968), 52-68.
- Boyce, M., 'On the Zoroastrian temple-cult of fire', JAOS XCV.3 (1975) 454-65.
- Boyce, M., 'Rapithwīn, Nō Rūz, and the feast of Sāde' Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies presented to F.B.J. Kuiper, ed. J.C. Heesterman et al., The Hague, 1969, 201-15.
- Boyce, M., A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971. (Stronghold).
- Boyce, M., 'Toleranz und Intoleranz in Zoroastrismus', Saeculum XXI, 4, 1970.
- Boyce, M., 'Zoroaster the Priest', BSOAS XXXIII.1 (1970), 22-38.
- Boyce, M., Zoroastrians, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Boyce, M., & Kotwal, F., 'Zoroastrian bāj and drōn', I, BSOAS XXIV.1 (1971), 58; XXIV.2 (1971), 298-315.
- Bulsara, S.J., Aērpatastān and Nīrangastān, English transl. with notes, Bombay, 1915 (NirS.).
- Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 3(2) The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods. ed. Ehsan Yarshater.
- Christensen, A., Essai sur la démonologie iranienne, Kopenhagen, 1941.
- Christensen, A., Les Kayanides, Kopenhagen, 1932.
- Christensen, A., Ms. K35 facsimile edition Codices Avestici et Pahlavici, vol. III, First part, 1934.

- Christensen, A., Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens, 2 vols., Stockholm, 1917 (Pr.Hom.).
- Darmesteter, J., 'Le Dieu Hadhish' Études iraniennes II, Paris, 1883.
- Darmesteter, J., Le Zend-Avesta, Annales du Musée Guimet, 3 vols., Paris 1892-1893, repr. 1960.
- Darmesteter, J., The Zend-Avesta, part I, SBE IV.
- Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1918 (DHMY).
- Dhabhar, B.N., (ed.), Andarj-i Aōshnar-i Dānāk, Bombay, 1930 (Pahlavi Text Series 4).
- Dhabhar, B.N., The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādistan i Dinik, Bombay, 1913 (PRDd).
- Dhabhar, B.N., Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad, Bombay, 1949 (Pahl.Y.).
- Dhabhar, B.N., The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz, English transl. with notes, Bombay, 1932 (Pers.Riv.).
- Dhabhar, B.N., Saddar Naqr and Saddar Bundahesh, text with intro., Bombay, 1909.
- Dhabhar, B.N., Zand-i Khurtak Avistak, text Bombay, 1927, English transl. Bombay, 1963.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J., La religion de l'Iran ancien, Paris, 1962.
- Geldner, K.F., Avesta, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1896.
- Gershevitch, I., The Avestan Hymn to Mithra, Cambridge, 1959, repr. 1967 (AHM).
- Gershevitch, I., A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian, London, 1954.
- Geiger, B., Die Amēša Spēntas, Vienna, 1916.
- Geiger, B., 'Mittelpersische Wörter und Sachen', WZKM XLII.
- Geiger, W., & Kuhn, E., Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, 2 vols., Strassburg, 1895-1904. (GIP).
- Ph. Gignoux, 'L'enfer et le paradis d'après les sources pehlevies' JA (1968).
- Gray, L.H., 'The foundations of the Iranian religions', JCOI XV, (1929), 1-228.
- Hartman, S.S., Gayomart, Uppsala, 1953.
- Hang, M., Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsis, 3rd ed., ed. and enlarged by E.W. West, London, 1884, repr. 1971 (Essays).
- Henning, W.B., 'Ein unbeachtetes Wort im Awesta', Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig, 1954, 289-92.
- Henning, W.B., 'A List of MP and Pth. words', BSOS IX, 79-92.
- Henning, W.B., 'Two Manichaean Magical Texts', BSOAS XII (1947-8), 39-66.
- Herzfeld, E., Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (AMI).
- Herzfeld, E., Zoroaster and his world, 2 vols., Princeton, 1943 (Zoroaster).
- Hinz, W., The Lost World of Elam, London, 1972.
- Hübschmann, H., Armenische Grammatik I, Leipzig, 1897.
- Insler, S., 'The Ahuna Vairya Prayer', Monumentum H.S. Nyberg, AI 4 (1975), 409-21.
- Insler, S., The Gāthās of Zarathustra, Acta Iranica 8, Leiden, 1975.

- Jackson, A.V.W., Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran, New York, 1899, repr. 1965.
- Jamasp, H., Vendidad, etc., Bombay, 1907.
- Jamasp, Asa, J.H., & Hang, M., The Book of Arda Viraf, Bombay & London, 1872 (AVN).  
(ed. and transl.)
- Jamasp Asa, K.J., 'On the symbolism of the Darun', Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, ed. J.J. Modi. (DHMV)
- Jamasp-Asana, J.M., The Pahlavi Texts contained in the Codex MK, Bombay, 1913.
- Justi, F., Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg, 1895.
- Kotwal, F., The Supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest, text with English transl. and notes, København, 1969.
- Lévi-Strauss, C., The Elementary Structures of Kinship, transl. J. Harle Bell, J. Richard Von Sturmer, London, 1969.
- Lilla, S.R.C., Clement of Alexandria, A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism, O.U.P., London, 1971.
- Mackenzie, D.N., A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary, O.U.P., 1971.
- Madan, D.M. (ed.), The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard, 2 vols., Bombay, 1911 (DKM).
- Markwart, J., A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānšahr, Rome, 1931.
- Markwart, J., 'Das Nauroz-seine Geschichte und seine Bedeutung', Dr Modi Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1930, 766ff (MMV).
- de Menasce, P.J., 'Un lapidaire pehlevi', Anthropos, XXXVII/XL (1942-1945), 180-186.
- de Menasce, P.J., 'La Rivāyat de Ēmet ī Asavahistan', RHR CLXII (1962), 82.
- de Menasce, P.J., Škand-Gumanik Vičār, Fribourg en Suisse, 1945.
- de Menasce, P.J., 'Le témoignage de Jayhanti sur le mazdéisme', Donum natalicum Nyberg, 50-59.
- de Menasce, P.J., Le troisième livre du Dēnkart, traduit du pehlevi, Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Iranienne de l'Université de Paris III, 5, Bibliothèque des Oeuvres Classique Persanes, 4, Paris, 1973.
- Messina, G., Libro apocalitto persiano Aijatkar ī Žamaspiḱ, Rome, 1939.
- Minorsky, V., 'Vis u Ramin (II)', BSOAS XII, i (1947).
- Mirza, H.K., The Pahlavi Rivāyat Preceding the Dādestān ī Dinik, unpublished London University PhD thesis, 1942 (M.).
- Modi, J.J., Mādigān-ī Hazār Dādistan, Bombay, 1901 (MHD).
- Modi, J.J., The religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1937 (CC).
- Molé, M., Culte mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien, Paris, 1963 (Culte).
- Molé, M., 'Daēna, Le pont Činvāt et l'initiation dans le Mazdéisme', RHR CLVII (1960), 155-185.
- Molé, M., La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis, Paris, 1967 (légende).
- Molé, M., 'Un ascétisme moral dans les livres pehlevis?', RHR CLV (1959), 145-190.

- Moulton, J.H.,  
Needham, R.,  
Nyberg, H.S.,  
Nyberg, H.S.,  
Nyberg, H.S.,  
Nyberg, H.S.,  
Nyberg, H.S.,  
Pavry, J.C.,  
Reichelt, H.,  
Reitzenstein, R.,  
Rosenberg, F.,  
Sachan, E.,  
Safa-Isfahani, N.,  
Salemann, C.,  
Sanjana, D.P.,  
Sanjana, D.P.,  
Sanjana, P.B. (and  
Sanjana, D.P.),  
Schippmann, K.,  
Shaked, S.,  
Shaked, S.,  
Slotkin, J.S.,  
Spooner, B.,  
Steingass, F.,  
Taqizadeh, S.H.,  
Taqizadeh, S.H.,
- Early Zoroastrianism, London, 1913, repr. 1972.  
Remarks and Inventions: Skeptical Essays about Kinship, Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1974.  
A Manual of Pahlavi, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1964 (Man.Pahl.).  
'Question de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéenne', JA CXXIV, (1929), 194-310.  
Die Religionen des Alten Iran Leipzig, 1938, repr. 1960 (Die Religionen).  
Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender, Uppsala, 1934.  
translation of PRDd. 18.f., Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London, 1933, pp. 336-352.  
The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life from Death to the Individual Judgement, New York, 1929.  
'Der Frahang ī oīm', WZKM XV, (1901) 117-186.  
Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928.  
Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarātusht Nāma) Saint Pétersbourg, 1904.  
The Chronology of Ancient Nations (of Al-Biruni), London, 1879, repr. 1969.  
Rivāyat-i Hemit-i Ašawahistān A Study in Zoroastrian Law, Harvard Iranian Series, Vol. II, 1980.  
Manichaeische Studien, Saint Petersburg, 1908.  
'The Alleged Practice of Consanguineous Marriages in Ancient Iran', Collected Works of D.P. Sanjana, ed., 472-499.  
Nīrangistān, text, Bombay, 1894 (Nir.S.).  
Dinkart, in 19 vols., Bombay, 1874-1928.  
Die iranischen Feuerheiligthümer, Berlin-New York, 1971.  
'Esoteric Trends in Zoroastrianism', The Israel Academy of Sciences & Humanities, proceedings vol. III, 175-221.  
Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages, (Dēnkard VI) Persian Heritage Series, 34, Boulder, Colorado, 1979 (WSS).  
'On a possible lack of incest regulations in Old Iran', American Anthropologist XLIX (1947) 612-7.  
'Iranian Kinship and Marriage', Iran IV (1966) 51-9.  
Persian-English Dictionary, 1892, repr. Beirut 1970.  
'An Ancient Persian Practice Preserved by a Non-Iranian people'. BSOS IX.3 (1938) 603-619.  
'Various Eras and Calendars of Islam', BSOS IX.4 (1939) 917-8.

- Tarn, W.W., Hellenistic Civilisation, London, 2nd ed., 3rd impr.
- Tavadia, J.C., 'A Pahlavi Text on Communism', Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1930, 479ff. (MMV).
- Tavadia, J.C., Šāyast nē-šāyast, Hamburg, 1930 (SnS)
- Tavadia, J.C., Sur saxvan, Bombay, 1934 (SS)
- Tavadia, J.C., 'Zum Šahrestaniha i Evansahr', OLZ, 1926, 883.
- Unvala, M.R., Darab Hormazyar's Rivayat, text, 2 vols., Bombay, 1922 (Riv.)
- West, E.W., (transl.) Pahlavi texts I-V in SBE series.
- West, E.W., The Book of the Mainyo-i Khard, text with English transl. and notes, Stuttgart and London 1871.
- Widengren, G., 'Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte' Numen I 1954, 16-83, II 1955, 47-134.
- Wikander, S., Die arische Mannerbund, Lund, 1938.
- Wikander, S., Feuerpreester in Kleinasien und Iran, Lund, 1946.
- Wilson, J., The Parsi Religion, Bombay, 1843.
- Wirbelauer, K.W., Antike Lapidarien, Würzburg, 1937.
- Yamamoto, Y., 'The Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire in Archaeology and Literature, I, Orient Vol. XV (1979); II Orient Vol. XVII (1981).
- Zaehner, R.C., The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961, repr 1975. (Dawn)
- Zaehner, R.C., 'Post-script to Zurvan', BSOAS, XVII (1955), 232-249.
- Zaehner, R.C., Teachings of the Magi, London 1956 (ToM)
- Zaehner, R.C., Zurvan, A Zoroastrian dilemma, Oxford, 1955.